A LIBRARY

OF

AMERICAN LITERATURE

Vol. I.

JOHN SMITH

Admiral of New England

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A LIBRARY OF

AMERICAN LITERATURE

FROM THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME

COMPILED AND EDITED BY

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IN TEN VOLUMES

VOL. I

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PREFACE.

THE design of this work is to afford the reader a general view of the course of American Literature from the outset to the present time. It is made for popular use and enjoyment, and to occupy a vacant field. There are several anthologies of our native verse. There is a compilation of specimens from our prose writers of the last hundred years; and we have a standard "Cyclopædia" in two large volumes, containing biographical and critical notices, with extracts from the writings of all American authors, great and small. The last-named work, so wide in scope and not limited to what is best and representative, is chiefly valuable to the curious student. Our own object is to place before the reader select and characteristic examples of the literature of this country, and to do so, as far as possible, without note or comment, leaving to others the field of critical review.

If our task shall be rightly executed, an important addition will be provided for the library of an American household. The work, as its name implies, will be a library in itself, whose contents are most attractive, offering precisely that of which the home-reader wishes to be informed. After all, as with the study of Nature, the best way to gain a knowledge of literature is to survey it with our own eyes. Nothing can enable one sooner to test the quality of our native product,—to comprehend its origin and development, and its reflection of the different stages of American history and aspiration,—than such an exhibition as we propose.

As this work is neither a history nor an encyclopædia, we are not forced to place all American writers, colonial and national, upon the list of those represented. Some, of more or less note,—divines, orators, journalists, romancers, poets,—will be omitted, so that our selections from those quoted may often be of greater length than is

usual in books of this kind. Our aim is to give distinctive, readable examples of the writings of every class and of each successive period; to form a collection that shall be to our literature what a "National Gallery" is to national art; to bring together practical illustrations of the work of centuries,—of the changes of topic and style, the rise of learning, imagination, and creative power,—which finally resulted in a true home-school of authorship, upon which our people now rely with increasing confidence and pride.

We shall not overlook those noteworthy specimens of prose and verse which, although anonymous, or possessing slight literary merit, have a special and independent value. State papers, and the utterances of famous public men, come within our field. Nothing will be rejected because it is already familiar; pieces that have established a claim are representative and likely to be found in this collection. Examples are chosen for the genuine interest of their style or subject-matter. Short poems, tales, and sketches are given in full; from longer works we select the most vital and significant passages, or those that have a completeness of their own. At least five of the ten volumes will be devoted to the literature of the last half-century, but, owing to its wealth, and to the steadily enlarging number of modern authors, less proportional space can be given to many of those cited.

It has not been thought best to follow in all cases the quaint and often inconsistent spelling, and the undue use of Italic and capital letters, to which the earlier writers were addicted, but to present only so much of this as illustrates the usage of their time. Otherwise, when practicable, we give the text of original or authoritative editions, closely reproducing it where the old manner lends a charm to some narrative like that of Captain John Smith. In recent editions found of service, the orthography often has been modernized already. Failing to procure certain rare books, we sometimes profit by the research of former explorers. The arrangement of this work is chronological, with an order of succession not strictly governed by the order of the births of authors, but occasionally taking into consideration the dates of their important writings. Where the statisticians differ, we follow those who seem most trustworthy. With respect to living female writers, we have not felt bound to extend our scrutiny to dates which are not already matters of published record.

Our survey, beginning with the annals of the earliest successful colonies,—those of Virginia and New England,—naturally divides itself into successive Periods. The written product of each is charged with the temper and conditions of its time. The EARLY COLONIAL LITERATURE (1607–1675) starts with the tales of the Voyagers who first gained a permanent foothold on these shores. Their choicest quality is displayed in the Jamestown and Plymouth narratives,—from which we take our extracts, without going back to the records of Raleigh's earlier ventures, or to Captain Gosnold's and Captain Waymouth's explorations in 1602 and 1605. Having to do with the writings of the English tongue, we include no translations from the French and Spanish explorers of the Canadian and Southern coasts and the Dutch settlers of New Netherlands. The striking accounts of voyaging, shipwreck, discovery, connected with the two settlements first-named, are a breezy introduction to the whole work. Otherwise the literature of the first Colonial Period comprises the history of that time, and the theology, the law, the fancy in prose and verse, of the educated judges and divines who were the ruling class in the colonies for more than a century. The books and pamphlets of these writers were published in England, and were modelled in style as closely upon that of the old country as the speech of a child is upon that of its parents. But their spirit was one of independence and New World life. The first American book-press was set up in Cambridge, Mass., A. D. 1640, and with resources of the scantiest limit. But we term all literature American that was produced by the heroic pioneers, whose thought, learning and resolution shaped the colonial mind.

The LATER COLONIAL LITERATURE (1676–1764) is less flavored with adventure, but abounds in religious and political discussion. The divines were still the ruling class. Their polemic theology, varied by their records of startling and mysterious "Providences," characterized the writings of this time.

With the REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD (1765–1787) we come to the speeches and writings of patriotic statesmen,—the founders of the Republic,—to a wealth of political wisdom, eloquence, and law, bequeathed to us by Franklin, Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson and Adams. The public journals, on their part, throughout and after the War, were enlivened with metrical satire, and printed not a few

Tyrtæan lyrics. The vigorous intellects that combined to form a new Government gave it an enduring guide in the Federal Constitution of 1787. The ensuing epoch was one of rest from strife. Public and private energies were applied to the recuperation of strength, and to the maintenance and comprehension of the new liberty, so that little attention could be paid to letters and the liberal arts. Our first volume (1788–1820) of the LITERATURE OF THE REPUBLIC may seem less significant and historic than its predecessors. But it covers a time rich in analysis and settlement of the Constitutional law, and one that, on its imaginative side, produced a writer of singular genius, the first American romancer, Charles Brockden Brown.

From the close of the War of 1812, until the year 1835, was the noontide of American Oratory. Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Benton, and their compeers, were masters of that classic eloquence whose practice and grandeur belong chiefly to the past. Some of their speeches fastened the idea of Liberty, the reverence for Union, upon the minds of their own and younger generations. And now a school of novelists arose, with Paulding, Cooper and Irving in the foreground. Bryant, Dana, Drake, Halleck, and others, gave the country a poetry of her own. Channing enfranchised her moral thought. These authors were the begetters of a genuine literature, preparing the way for an advance in imagination, reason, feeling, which on the whole has marked the course of American letters since their time.

The second half of our work is wholly occupied with the best and most creative Literature of the Republic, that of the last Fifty Years. Three volumes are required for any representation of the genius of Poe, Emerson, Longfellow, Bancroft, Motley, Hawthorne, Lowell and other worthies of their prime. Two more will be devoted to the prose and verse of the most recent period, our own, inaugurated by the War for the Union and its great result,—the Abolition of Slavery in the United States. We close, therefore, with the presage of a new and different era. For the first time we have an absolutely free and democratic Republic, extending from sea to sea. It is a fitting moment for this historical survey of the stages through which we have reached the threshold of an assured future.

In proportion with the advance of authorship as a profession in this country, and with the increase of American works of a purely

literary character, theology and politics seem to us of less relative value for the purposes of this compilation. Our first two volumes contain, we believe, a more select and compact representation of the writings of our Colonial divines than has before been attempted. In volumes III. and IV., American statesmanship and oratory, at their most famous period, will be prominently illustrated. The last half-century's roll of clergymen and scholars, with whom writing has been a habit, is very large, so that of the making of their many books there seems indeed no end. We therefore shall be compelled to quote seldom and sparingly from even our most brilliant modern divines, savants, and civil or military "public men." A few whose fame and influence have taken hold upon the nation at large we shall not overlook; but our concluding volumes must be devoted chiefly to the rich and increasing yield of history, poetry, fiction, and other productions of a strictly literary order.

Doubtless the better portion of our literature has originated, hitherto, within the territory of the primitive "Thirteen States." We endeavor to make a just and impartial representation of all sections, old or new. In the latest period, the West, the South, and the Pacific coast, offer abundant claims for recognition. Henceforth the country will look to them for their equal share of what is best and most indigenous in our national literature.

The Tenth volume of this series will contain a careful Index to the whole work, and a brief Supplementary Preface. The latter will enable us to make acknowledgments to friends and institutions rendering us assistance. We shall express our thanks to those who have permitted us to make extracts from copyright works, sharing their belief that the popular desire for a knowledge of the authors quoted will be increased by the study of this compendium.

Edmund C. Stedman,
Ellen M. Hutchinson.

New York, *March*, 1887.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

Early Colonial Literature—Part I.

	PAGE
CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.	
An Adventure on the Chickahominy	3
The Sea Mark	7
On the Advantages of New England; with Historical Reflections	7
The Romance of Pocahontas	10
JOHN ROLFE.	
Why he Married Pocahontas	17
R. RICH.	
A Ballad of Virginia	21
WILLIAM STRACHEY.	
A Storm off the Bermudas	24
A Portrait of King Powhatan	27
The Aboriginal Devil	29
GEORGE PERCY.	
The Experiences of a Virginia Colony	32
ALEXANDER WHITAKER.	
An Infant Colony	36
JOHN PORY.	
A Philosophical Adventurer	41
How the Colonists went into Indian Society	42
ANONYMOUS.	
How the English Settled in Maryland	44
COLONEL NORWOOD.	
A Dolorous Journey to the New World	50
A Fight for Life	62
The Rescue	69

Early Colonial Literature—Part II.

WILLIAM BRADFORD. PAGE

Divers Recollections of Puritan Strictness 93
Sundry Reasons for the Removal from Leyden 95
How the Colony was Troubled with a Hypocrite 98
The Pestilent Morton and his Merry Mount 107
The Life and Death of Elder Brewster 111
Providence and the Pilgrim 115

"BRADFORD'S AND WINSLOW'S JOURNAL."

An Excursion up Cape Cod 116
The Story of the First Encounter 120
The Landing of the Pilgrims and their Settlement at Plymouth 124

EDWARD WINSLOW.

How the Pilgrims Sailed from Delft Haven 130
Massasoit's Illness, and how Winslow Cured him 133

WILLIAM MORRELL.

A Recommendation of New-England 138

FRANCIS HIGGINSON.

On a Voyage to the Massachusetts 140
The Commodities of New-England 142
A Setting-Forth of Discommodities 146

THOMAS MORTON.

On the Punctilio of the Savage 147
Of a Vision and a Battle 148
The Revels at Merry Mount 149
The Valiant Expedition of Captain Shrimp, otherwise Miles Standish . . . 151
How the Separatists Paid Debts to Them that were Without 154

WILLIAM WOOD.

Aboriginal Cookery 156
Woodland Adventures 158
Anecdotes of the Natives 160
The Meek Wives of the New World 162

ANTHONY THACHER.

The Woful Shipwreck of Master Anthony Thacher 165

RICHARD MATHER.

A Good Man's Promises to God 170
A Chronicle of Wind and Wave 171

CAPTAIN JOHN UNDERHILL.

Of the Advice of Mistress Underhill 175
The End of a Majestical Embassy 176

MAJOR JOHN MASON.

The Taking of the Fort at Mystic 180
The Bloody Harvest of Pawcatuck 185
A Remembrance of Special Providences 188

THOMAS HOOKER.

PAGE

The Weak Minister and the Impenitent Hearer 189
The Sinner at the King's Court 192
On Groundless Hopes of Heaven 195
The Fearful Soul 199
God's Dealings with his Servants 201

WILLIAM HOOKE.

On Horrible War 202
Christian Liberty 206
The Death of the Protector 209

THE BAY PSALM BOOK.

Songs of the Puritans 211

THOMAS SHEPARD.

The Spiritual Experiences of a Puritan 216
A Character of Mistress Joanna Shepard 219
The Way to Heaven 221
On the Glory of God 224
The Last Judgment 226

THOMAS WELDE.

The Heresies of Anne Hutchinson and her Followers 233
How the Heresies came to an End 242

PETER BULKLEY.

New England and her Covenant 244

ROGER WILLIAMS.

The Bloody Tenent of Persecution 246
A Warning to Endicott 249
Of the Heavenly Bodies 251
In the Valley of the Shadow of Death 251

JOHN COTTON.

An Epitaph for Sara and Roland Cotton 253
Psalm-Singing a Godly Exercise 254
On the Composing and Singing of Psalms with a Lively Voice 260
Concerning the Singers: Whether Women, Pagans, and Profane and Carnal Persons 265
An Exposition of Hypocrites 270
In Praise of Master Stone 272

SAMUEL STONE.

Why Socrates is not Plato, nor Plato Socrates 272

JAMES NOYES.

The Power of Magistrates in the Church 274

NATHANIEL WARD.

On the Frivolities of Fashion 276
The Gift of Poetry 280
A Lesson on Practical Religion 280
A Word to England 282
A Word of Ireland 283
Six Hobnails 284
In Praise of Mistress Bradstreet 285

THE CAMBRIDGE PLATFORM.

Of the Nature of the Catholic Church in General 285
Of Ruling Elders 286
Of Excommunication and Other Censures 287

PAGE

ANONYMOUS.
The New England Preachers 290

THOMAS DUDLEY.
A New England Gentleman's Epitaph 290

JOHN WINTHROP.
A Night in the Forest 291
The Reconciliation of Winthrop and Dudley 292
How the Fathers Disciplined Governor Vane 292
A Puritan School-Master 294
The Penitence of Captain Underhill 297
A Puritan Opinion of Literary Women 299
A Punishment of Parental Love 299
The Manner of Master Eliot's Teaching 300
Of Liberty and Authority 302
A Model of Christian Charity 304
A Preparation for Parting 307
A Farewell from the "Arbella" 308

MARGARET WINTHROP.
A Puritan Wife to her Husband 310
The Trust of a Godly Woman 310

ANNE BRADSTREET.
Of the Four Ages of Man 311
A Love-Letter to her Husband 312
Meditations Divine and Moral 313
Contemplations 314

CAPTAIN EDWARD JOHNSON.
A Leave-Taking at Southampton 316
The Courage of the Mothers in Israel 318
The Escape of Shepard and Norton 320
How Nimble Captain Davenport Saved a Soldier 321
An Answer to Prayer 322
Of John Winthrop, Esq. 324
Of the Reverend Mr. Higginson 324
The First Promotion of Learning in New England 325
The Wages of Discontent 327
A Cry unto the Lord to Stay his Hand 329

JOHN ELIOT.
On Admonishing the Indians 332
Pills for the Sachems 336
A Scandal in the Indian Israel 339
Character of a True Christian 342

JOHN HAMMOND.
The Virtuous Virginians 343
A Story of Colonial Ingratitude 347

EDWARD HOLYOKE.
How Tirzana Beguiled the King 351

BENJAMIN WOODBRIDGE.
A New England Saint 359

JOHN NORTON.
The Life of Master Cotton 361
God's Relation to Man 384

PAGE

JOHN DAVENPORT.
Of Miracles 386
The Sinful Keeping of Christmas 388

JAMES CUDWORTH.
An Opponent of Persecution 390

LETTERS OF THE QUAKERS.
To the Bloody Town of Boston 394
The Cry of the Persecuted 397
The Farewell of a Victim 399

THE QUAKER PETITION.
A Recital of Grievous Outrages 401

GEORGE ALSOP.
The Lofty Virtues of the Marylanders 403
Divers Aboriginal Customs and Absurdities 405
Upon a Purple Cap 409

THOMAS WALLEY.
The Languishing Commonwealth 410

NATHANIEL MORTON.
The Separation of Roger Williams 412
Samuel Gorton, the Subtle Deceiver 415
In Remembrance of Winthrop 417
A Boston Divine 417

DANIEL DENTON.
New York in the Seventeenth Century 419

JOHN JOSSELYN.
An Indian Beauty 427
A Report of Wonders 428
The Ways of the Men of Maine 431

DANIEL GOOKIN.
Conjectures of the Savage, his Original 433
Diplomacy in Boston 436
Concerning Learned Indian Youth 439
The Praying Savages of Natick 441
Wannalancet's Canoe 443
Heresy in Martha's Vineyard 444

SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY.
His Declaration against the Proceedings of Nathaniel Bacon 445

NATHANIEL BACON.
His Declaration in the Name of the People of Virginia. July 30th, 1676 . . . 448

ANONYMOUS.
Causes of the Strife between Governor Berkeley and Nathaniel Bacon, Gentleman . 450
The Lion's Strength aided by the Fox's Brains 455
Bacon's Death, Eulogy, and Execration 456
The Self-Made General Ingram 458
His Decline and Fall 459

T. M.
The Virginia Rebellion in the Seventeenth Century 462

PETER FOLGER.
A Homely Plea for Toleration 479

CAPTAIN THOMAS WHEELER. PAGE
The Siege of Brookfield 485

ROGER CLAP.
How the Puritans Suffered and Loved One Another 496
The Building of Boston Castle 498
Thorns in the Flesh of the Fathers 499

Portraits in this Volume.

ON STEEL.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH . . . . . FRONTISPIECE.
JOHN WINTHROP 292

MISCELLANEOUS.

FAC-SIMILE OF THE PORTRAIT IN SMITH'S MAP OF "NEW ENGLAND" . 10
POCAHONTAS 18
GEORGE PERCY 32
MILES STANDISH 122
EDWARD WINSLOW 130
RICHARD MATHER 170
JOHN COTTON 254
JOHN ELIOT 332
JOHN DAVENPORT 386
GEORGE ALSOP 404

NOTE.—The authentic portraits of but few of the Early Colonial writers have come down to us. To increase the attractions of the present volume, therefore, engravings are inserted of Pocahontas and Capt. Miles Standish, notable figures in the record of the original settlements.

EARLY

COLONIAL LITERATURE

1607—1675

PART I.

TO THE VIRGINIAN VOYAGE.

YOU brave heroic minds,
Worthy your country's name,
That honour still pursue,
Whilst loit'ring hinds
Lurk here at home, with shame,
Go, and subdue.

Britons, you stay too long,
Quickly aboard bestow you,
And with a merry gale
Swell your stretch'd sail,
With vows as strong
As the winds that blow you.

Your course securely steer,
West and by south forth keep,
Rocks, lee-shores, nor shoals,
When Eolus scowls,
You need not fear,
So absolute the deep.

And cheerfully at sea
Success you still entice,
To get the pearl and gold,
And ours to hold
Virginia,
Earth's only paradise.

Where nature hath in store
Fowl, venison, and fish,
And the fruitful'st soil,
Without your toil,
Three harvests more,
All greater than your wish.

The ambitious vine
Crowns with his purple mass
The cedar reaching high
To kiss the sky,
The cypress, pine,
And useful sassafras.

. . . . .

When as the luscious smell
Of that delicious land,
Above the seas that flows,
The clear wind throws,
Your hearts to swell
Approaching the dear strand,

In kenning of the shore
(Thanks to God first given)
O you the happy'st men,
Be frolic then,
Let cannons roar,
Frighting the wide heaven.

And in regions far
Such heroes bring ye forth
As those from whom we came,
And plant our name
Under that star
Not known unto our north.

And as there plenty grows
Of laurel every where,
Apollo's sacred tree,
You it may see,
A poet's brows
To crown, that may sing there.

. . . . .

MICHAEL DRAYTON. A. D. 1606

EARLY

COLONIAL LITERATURE.

Captain John Smith.

BORN in Lincolnshire, England, 1579. DIED in London, 1631.

AN ADVENTURE ON THE CHICKAHOMINY.

[*A True Relation.* 1608.]

OUR president having occasion to chide the smith for his misdemeanor, he not only gave him bad language, but also offered to strike him with some of his tooles; for which rebellious act the smith was by a Jury condemned to be hanged, but being upon the ladder continuing very obstinate, as hoping upon a rescue: when he saw no other way but death with him, he became penitent, and declared a dangerous conspiracy, for which Captaine Kendall as principal was by a Jury condemned and shot to death. This conspiracy appeased, I set forward for the discovery of the River of Checka Hamania. . . . .

Forty miles I passed up the river, which for the most part is a quarter of a mile broad, and three fatham and a half deep, exceeding osey, many great low marshes, and many high lands, especially about the midst at a place called Moysonicke, a Peninsule of four miles circuit, betwixt two rivers joined to the main, by a necke of forty or fifty yards, and forty or fifty yards from the high water marke. On both sides in the very neck of the maine, are high hills and dales, yet much inhabited, the Ile declining in a plaine fertile corne field, the lower end a low marsh; more plentie of swannes, cranes, geese, duckes, and mallards, and divers sorts of fowles none would desire: more plaine fertile planted ground, in such great proportions

as there I had not seene, of a light blacke sandy mould, the cliffes commonly red, white and yellowe colored sand, and under red and white clay, fish great plenty, and people aboundance, the most of their inhabitants, in view of the neck of Land, where a better seat for a towne cannot be desired. At the end of forty miles this river invironeth many low Ilands, at each high water drowned for a mile, where it uniteth it selfe, at a place called Apokant the highest Towne inhabited. Ten miles higher I discovered with the barge; in the mid way, a great tree hindred my passage which I cut in two: heere the river became narrower, eight, nine, or ten foote at a high water, and six or seven at a lowe: the streame exceeding swift, and the bottom hard channell, the ground most part a low plaine, sandy soyle; this occasioned me to suppose it might issue from some lake or some broad ford, for it could not be far to the head, but rather then I would endanger the barge, yet to have beene able to resolve this doubt, and to discharge the imputation of malicious tungs, that halfe suspected I durst not for so long delaying, some of the company as desirous as my self, we resolved to hier a Canow, and returne with the barge to Apocant, there to leave the barge secure, and put our selves uppon the adventure: the country only a vast and wilde wildernes, and but only that Towne. Within three or foure mile we hired a Canow, and two Indians to row us the next day a fowling: having made such provision for the barge as was needfull, I left her there to ride, with expresse charge not any to go ashore til my returne. Though some wise men may condemn this too bould attempt of too much indiscretion, yet if they well consider the friendship of the Indians, in conducting me, the desolatenes of the country, the probabilitie of some lacke, and the malicious judges of my actions at home, as also to have some matters of worth to incourage our adventurers in England, might well have caused any honest minde to have done the like, as wel for his own discharge as for the publike good. Having two Indians for my guide and two of our own company, I set forward, leaving seven in the barge; having discovered twenty miles further in this desart, the river stil kept his depth and bredth, but much more combred with trees: here we went ashore (being some twelve miles higher then the barge had bene) to refresh our selves, during the boyling of our vituals. One of the Indians I tooke with me, to see the nature of the soile, and to crosse the boughts of the river, the other Indian I left with M. Robbinson and Thomas Emry, with their matches light and order to discharge a peece, for my retreat at the first sight of any Indian, but within a quarter of an houre I heard a loud cry, and a hollowing of Indians, but no warning peece.

Supposing them surprised, and that the Indians had betraid us, presently I seazed him and bound his arme fast to my hand in a garter, with my pistoll ready bent to be revenged on him: he advised me to fly, and seemed ignorant of what was done, but as we went discoursing, I was struck with an arrow on the right thigh, but without harme. Upon this occasion I espied two Indians drawing their bowes, which I prevented in discharging a French pistoll: by that I had charged againe three or four more did the like, for the first fell downe and fled: at my discharge they did the like, my hinde I made my barricado who offered not to strive. Twenty or thirty arrowes were shot at me but short, three or four times I had discharged my pistoll ere the king of Pamaunck called Opeckankenough with two hundred men, invironed me, eache drawing their bowe, which done they laid them upon the ground, yet without shot, my hinde treated betwixt them and me of conditions of peace, he discovered me to be the Captaine, my request was to retire to the boate, they demaunded my armes, the rest they saide were slaine, only me they would reserve: the Indian importuned me not to shoot. In retiring being in the midst of a low quagmire, and minding them more then my steps, I stept fast into the quagmire, and also the Indian in drawing me forth: thus surprised, I resolved to trie their mercies, my armes I caste from me, till which none durst approch me.

Being ceazed on me, they drew me out and led me to the King; I presented him with a compasse diall, describing by my best meanes the use therof, whereat he so amazedly admired, as he suffered me to proceed in a discourse of the roundnes of the earth, the course of the sunne, moone, starres and plannets. With kinde speeches and bread he requited me, conducting me where the Canow lay and John Robbinson slaine, with twenty or thirty arrowes in him. Emry I saw not, I perceived by the aboundance of fires all over the woods, at each place I expected when they would execute me, yet they used me with what kindnes they could: approaching their Towne, which was within six miles where I was taken, only made as arbors and covered with mats, which they remove as occasion requires: all the women and children, being advertised of this accident, came foorth to meet them, the King well guarded with twenty bowmen five flanck and rear, and each flanck before him a sword and a peece, and after him the like, then a bowman, then I, on each hand a boweman, the rest in file in the reare, which reare led foorth amongst the trees in a bishion, eache his bowe and a handfull of rrowes, a quiver at his back grimly painted: on eache flanck a sargeant, the one running alwaiss towards the front the other towards the reare,

each a true pace and in exceeding good order. This being a good time continued, they caste themselves in a ring with a daunce, and so eache man departed to his lodging, the Captain conducting me to his lodging. A quarter of Venison and some ten pound of bread I had for supper; what I left was reserved for me, and sent with me to my lodging: each morning three women presented me three great platters of fine bread, more venison then ten men could devour I had; my gowne, points and garters, my compas and a tablet they gave me again. Though eight ordinarily guarded me, I wanted not what they could devise to content me: and still our longer acquaintance increased our better affection. Much they threatened to assault our forte, as they were solicited by the King of Paspahegh, who shewed at our fort great signes of sorrow for this mischance.

The King tooke great delight in understanding the manner of our ships, and sayling the seas, the earth and skies and of our God: what he knew of the dominions he spared not to acquaint me with, as of certaine men cloathed at a place called Ocanahonan, cloathed like me, the course of our river, and that within four or five daies journey of the falles, was a great turning of salt water. I desired he would send a messenger to Paspahegh, with a letter I would write, by which they shold understand, how kindly they used me, and that I was well, least they should revenge my death; this he granted and sent three men, in such weather, as in reason were unpossible, by any naked to be indured. Their cruell mindes towards the fort I had deverted, in describing the ordinance and the mines in the fields, as also the revenge Captain Newport would take of them at his returne, their intent, I incerted the fort, the people of Ocanahonum and the back sea; this report they after found divers Indians that confirmed. The next day after my letter, came a salvage to my lodging, with his sword to have slaine me, but being by my guard intercepted, with a bowe and arrow he offred to have effected his purpose: the cause I knew not, till the King understanding thereof came and told me of a man a dying, wounded with my pistoll: he tould me also of another I had slayne, yet the most concealed they had any hurte: this was the father of him I had slayne, whose fury to prevent, the King presently conducted me to another Kingdome, upon the top of the next northerly river, called Youghanan.

THE SEA MARK.

[*Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England.* 1631.]

ALOOF, aloof, and come no near.
The dangers do appear
Which, if my ruin had not been,
You had not seen:
I only lie upon this shelf
To be a mark to all
Which on the same may fall,
That none may perish but myself.

If in or outward you be bound
Do not forget to sound;
Neglect of that was caused of this
To steer amiss.
The seas were calm, the wind was fair,
That made me so secure,
That now I must endure
All weathers, be they foul or fair.

The winter's cold, the summer's heat
Alternatively beat
Upon my bruised sides, that rue,
Because too true,
That no relief can ever come:
But why should I despair
Being promised so fair,
That there shall be a day of Doom.

ON THE ADVANTAGES OF NEW ENGLAND; WITH HISTORICAL REFLECTIONS.

[*A Description of New England.* 1616.]

WORTHY is that person to starve that heere cannot live; if he have sense, strength and health: for there is no such penury of these blessings in any place, but that a hundred men may, in one houre or two, make their provisions for a day: and he that hath experience to manage well these affaires, with fortie or thirtie honest industrious men, might well undertake (if they dwell in these parts) to subject the Salvages, and feed daily two or three hundred men, with as good corn, fish and flesh, as the earth hath of those kindes,

and yet make that labor but their pleasure: provided that they have engins, that be proper for their purposes.

Who can desire more content, that hath small meanes; or but only his merit to advance his fortune, then to tread, and plant that ground he hath purchased by the hazard of his life? If he have but the taste of virtue, and magnanimitie, what to such a mind can be more pleasant, then planting and building a foundation for his Posteritie, gotte from the rude earth, by Gods blessing and his owne industrie, without prejudice to any? If he have any grain of faith or zeal in Religion, what can he doe lesse hurtfull to any; or more agreeable to God, then to seeke to convert those poore Salvages to know Christ, and humanitie, whose labors with discretion will triple requite thy charge and paines? What so truely sutes with honour and honestie, as the discovering things unknowne? erecting Townes, peopling Countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things unjust, teaching virtue; and gaine to our Native mother-countrie a kingdom to attend her; finde imployment for those that are idle, because they know not what to doe: so farre from wronging any, as to cause Posteritie to remember thee; and remembring thee, ever honour that remembrance with praise? Consider: What were the beginnings and endings of the Monarkies of the Chaldeans, the Syrians, the Grecians, and Romanes, but this one rule; What was it they would not doe, for the good of the common-wealth, or their Mother-citie? For example: Rome, What made her such a Monarchesse, but only the adventures of her youth, not in riots at home; but in dangers abroade? and the justice and judgement out of their experience, when they grewe aged. What was their ruine and hurt, but this; The excesse of idlenesse, the fondnesse of Parents, the want of experience in Magistrates, the admiration of their undeserved honours, the contempt of true merit, their unjust jealosies, their politicke incredulities, their hypocriticall seeming goodnesse, and their deeds of secret lewdnesse? finally, in fine, growing only formall temporists, all that their predecessors got in many years, they lost in few daies. Those by their pains and vertues became Lords of the world; they by their ease and vices became slaves to their servants. This is the difference betwixt the use of Armes in the field, and on the monuments of stones; the golden age and the leaden age, prosperity and miserie, justice and corruption, substance and shadowes, words and deeds, experience and imagination, making Commonwealths and marring Commonwealths, the fruits of vertue and the conclusions of vice.

Then, who would live at home idly (or thinke in himselfe any worth to live) only to eate, drink, and sleepe, and so die? Or by

consuming that carelesly, his friends got worthily? Or by using that miserably, that maintained vertue honestly? Or, for being descended nobly, pine with the vaine vaunt of great kindred, in penurie? Or to (maintaine a silly shewe of bravery) toyle out thy heart, soule, and time, basely, by shifts, tricks, cards, and dice? Or by relating newes of others actions, sharke here or there for a dinner, or supper; deceive thy friends, by faire promises, and dissimulation, in borrowing where thou never intendest to pay; offend the lawes, surfeit with excesse, burden thy Country, abuse thy selfe, despaire in want, and then couzen thy kindred, yea even thine owne brother, and wish thy parents death (I will not say damnation) to have their estates? though thou seest what honours, and rewards, the world yet hath for them will seeke them and worthily deserve them.

I would be sorry to offend, or that any should mistake my honest meaning: for I wish good to all, hurt to none. But rich men for the most part are growne to that dotage, through their pride in their wealth, as though there were no accident could end it, or their life. And what hellish care do such take to make it their owne miserie, and their Countries spoile, especially when there is most neede of their imployment? drawing by all manner of inventions, from the Prince and his honest subjects, even the vitall spirits of their powers and estates: as if their Bagges, or Bragges, were so powerfull a defence, the malicious could not assault them; when they are the only baite, to cause us not to be only assaulted; but betrayed and murdered in our owne security, ere we well perceive it.

. . . . . .

I have not beene so ill bred, but I have tasted of Plenty and Pleasure, as well as Want and Miserie: nor doth necessity yet, or occasion of discontent, force me to these endeavors: nor am I ignorant what small thanke I shall have for my paines; or that many would have the Worlde imagine them to be of great judgement, that can but blemish these my designes, by their witty objections and detractions: yet (I hope) my reasons with my deeds, will so prevaile with some, that I shall not want imployment in these affaires, to make the most blinde see his owne senselesnesse, and incredulity.

. . . . . .

I assure my selfe there are who delight extreamly in vaine pleasure, that take much more paines in England, to enjoy it, then I should doe heere to gaine wealth sufficient: and yet I thinke they should not have halfe such sweet content: for, our pleasure here is still gaines; in England charges and losse. Heer nature and liberty affords us that freely, which in England we want, or it costeth us

dearely. What pleasure can be more, then (being tired with any occasion a-shore) in planting Vines, Fruits, or Hearbs, in contriving their owne Grounds, to the pleasure of their owne mindes, their Fields, Gardens, Orchards, Buildings, Ships, and other works, &c. to recreate themselves before their owne doores, in their owne boates upon the Sea, where man, woman and childe, with a small hooke and line, by angling, may take diverse sorts of excellent fish, at their pleasures? And is it not pretty sport, to pull up two pence, six pence, and twelve pence, as fast as you can hale and veare a line? He is a very bad fisher, cannot kill in one day with his hooke and line, one, two, or three hundred Cods: which dressed and dryed, if they be sould there for ten shillings the hundred, though in England they will give more then twentie; may not both the servant, the master, and marchant, be well content with this gaine? If a man worke but three dayes in seaven, he may get more then hee can spend, unlesse he will be excessive. Now that Carpenter, Mason, Gardiner, Taylor, Smith, Sailer, Forgers, or what other, may they not make this a pretty recreation though they fish but an houre in a day, to take more then they eate in a weeke: or? if they will not eate it, because there is so much better choise; yet sell it, or change it, with the fisher men, or marchants, for any thing they want. And what sport doth yeeld a more pleasing content, and lesse hurt or charge then angling with a hooke, and crossing the sweete ayre from Ile to Ile, over the silent streames of a calme Sea?

THE ROMANCE OF POCAHONTAS.

[*Generall Historie of Virginia, etc.* 1624.]

OPITCHAPAM the King's brother invited him to his house, where, with as many platters of bread, foule, and wild beasts, as did inviron him, he bid him welcome; but not any of them would eate a bit with him, but put up all the remainder in Baskets. At his returne to Opechancanough's all the King's women, and their children, flocked about him for their parts, as a due by Custome, to be merry with such fragments.

> But his waking mind in hydeous dreams did oft see wondrous shapes
> Of bodies strange, and huge in growth, and of stupendious makes.

At last they brought him to Werowocomoco, where was Powhatan,

These are the Lines that shew thy Face; but those
That shew thy Grace and Glory, brighter bee:
Thy Faire-Discoueries and Fowle-Ouerthrowes
Of Salvages, much Civillized by thee
Best shew thy Spirit; and to it Glory Wyn:
So, thou art Brasse without, but Golde within.

their Emperor. Here more then two hundred of those grim Courtiers stood wondering at him, as he had beene a monster; till Powhatan and his train had put themselves in their greatest braveries. Before a fire upon a seat like a bedsted, he sat covered with a great robe, made of Rarowcun skinnes, and all the tayles hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench of 16 or 18 years, and along on each side the house, two rowes of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red; many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds; but every one with something: and a great chain of white beads about their necks. At his entrance before the King, all the people gave a great shout. The Queene of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, instead of a towel to dry them. Having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then as many as could laid hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, Pocahontas the King's dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him as well of all occupations as themselves. For the King himselfe will make his owne robes, shooes, bowes, arrowes, pots; plant, hunt, or doe any thing so well as the rest.

They say he bore a pleasant shew,
But sure his heart was sad.
For who can pleasant be, and rest,
That lives in feare and dread:
And having life suspected, doth
It still suspected lead.

. . . . . .

To conclude our peace, thus it happened. Captaine Argall having entered into a great acquaintance with Japazaws, an old friend of Captaine Smith's, and so to all our Nation, ever since hee discovered the Countrie: hard by him there was Pocahontas, whom Captaine Smith's Relations intituleth the Numparell of Virginia, and though she had beene many times a preserver of him and the whole Colonie, yet till this accident shee was never seene at James towne since his departure, being at Patawomeke, as it seemes, thinking her selfe unknowne, was easily by her friend Japazaws perswaded to goe abroad with him and his wife to see the ship, for Captaine Argall had

promised him a Copper Kettle to bring her but to him, promising no way to hurt her, but keepe her till they could conclude a peace with her father. The Salvage for this Copper Kettle would have done any thing, it seemed by the Relation; for though she had seene and beene in many ships, yet he caused his wife to faine how desirous she was to see one, and that he offered to beat her for her importunitie, till she wept. But at last he told her, if Pocahontas would goe with her, he was content: and thus they betrayed the poore innocent Pocahontas aboord, where they were all kindly feasted in the cabin. Japazaws treading oft on the Captaine's foot, to remember he had done his part, the Captaine when he saw his time, perswaded Pocahontas to the gun-roome, faining to have some conference with Japazaws, which was only that she should not perceive he was any way guiltie of her captivitie: so sending for her againe, he told her before her friends, she must goe with him, and compound peace betwixt her Countrie and us, before she ever should see Powhatan, whereat the old Jew and his wife began to howle and crie as fast as Pocahontas, that upon the Captaine's fair perswasions, by degrees pacifying her selfe, and Japazaws and his wife, with the Kettle and other toys, went merrily on shore, and she to Jamestowne. A messenger forthwith was sent to her father, that his daughter Pocahontas he loved so dearly, he must ransome with our men, swords, pieces, tooles, &c., he trecherously had stolne.

This unwelcome newes much troubled Powhatan, because hee loved both his daughter and our commodities well, yet it was three months after ere he returned us any answer: then by the perswasion of the Council, he returned seven of our men, with each of them an unserviceable musket, and sent us word, that when wee would deliver his daughter, hee would make us satisfaction for all injuries done us, and give us five hundred bushels of Corne, and for ever be friends with us. That he sent, we received in part of payment, and returned him this answer:—That his daughter should be well used, but we coulde not believe the reste of our armes were either lost or stolne from him, and therefore till hee sent them, we would keepe his daughter.

This answer, it seemed, much displeased him, for we heard no more from him a long time after, when with Captaine Argall's ship, and some other vessels belonging to the Colonie, Sir Thomas Dale, with a hundred and fiftie men well appointed, went up into his owne River, to his chiefe habitation, with his daughter. With many scornful bravado's they affronted us, proudly demanding why wee came thither; our reply was, wee had brought his daughter, and to receive the ransome for her that was promised, or to have it perforce.

They nothing dismayed thereat, told us, We were welcome if wee came to fight, for they were provided for us, but advised us, if wee loved our lives to retire; else they would use us as they had done Captaine Ratcliffe. We told them, wee would presently have a better answer; but we were no sooner within shot of the shore than they let flie their Arrowes among us in the ship.

Being thus justly provoked, wee presently manned our Boats, went on shore, burned all their houses, and spoiled all they had we could finde; and so the next day proceeded higher up the River, where they demanded why wee burnt their houses, and wee, why they shot at us: They replyed it was some stragling Salvage, with many other excuses; they intended no hurt, but were our friends. We told them, wee came not to hurt them, but visit them as friends also. Upon this we concluded a peace, and forthwith they dispatched messengers to Powhatan, whose answer, they told us, wee must expect foure and twentie houres ere the messengers could returne: . . . . Two of the Powhatan's sons came unto us to see their sister, at whose sight, seeing her well, though they heard to the contrarie, they much rejoiced, promising they would perswade her father to redeeme her, and for ever be friends with us. And upon this the two brethren went aboord with us, and we sent Master John Rolfe and Master Sparkes to Powhatan, to acquainte him with the businesse; kindly they were entertained, but not admitted the presence of Powhatan, but they spoke with Opechancanough, his brother and successor; hee promised to doe the best he could to Powhatan, all might be well. So it being Aprill and time to prepare our ground and set our corne, we returned to James towne, promising the forbearance of their performing their promise, till the next harvest.

Long before this, Master John Rolfe, an honest Gentleman, and of good behaviour, had beene in love with Pocahontas, and she with him, which thing at that instant I made knowne to Sir Thomas Dale by a letter from him, wherein hee intreated his advice, and she acquainted her brother with it, which resolution Sir Thomas Dale well approved. The bruit of this mariage came soone to the knowledge of Powhatan, a thing acceptable to him, as appeared by his sudden consent, for within ten days he sent Opachisco, an old Uncle of hers, and two of his sons, to see the manner of the mariage, and to doe in that behalfe what they requested, for the confirmation thereof, as his deputie; which was accordingly done about the first of Aprill. And ever since we have had friendly trade and commerce, as well with Powhatan himself, as all his subjects. . . . . .

The Lady Rebecca, alias Pocahontas, daughter to Powhatan, by the diligent care of Master John Rolfe her husband and his friends, as

taught to speake such Englishe as might well bee understood, well instructed in Christianitie, and was become very formal and civil after our English manner; she had also by him a childe which she loved most dearely and the Treasurer and Company tooke order both for the maintenance of her and it, besides there were divers persons of great ranke and qualitie had beene very kinde to her; and before she arrived at London, Captaine Smith to deserve her former courtesies, made her qualities knowne to the Queene's most excellent Majestie and her Court, and writ a little booke to this effect to the Queene: An abstract whereof followeth.

To the most high and vertuous Princesse Queene Anne of Great Brittanie.

Most Admired Queene,

The love I beare my God, my King and Countrie hath so oft emboldened mee in the worst of extreme dangers, that now honestie doth constraine mee presume thus far beyond my selfe, to present your Majestie this short discourse: If ingratitude be a deadly poyson to all honest vertues, I must bee guiltie of that crime if I should omit any meanes to bee thankful. So it is, that some ten yeers agoe being in Virginia, and taken prisoner by the power of Powhatan their chiefe King, I received from this great Salvage exceeding great courtesie, especially from his son Nantaquaus, the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit, I ever saw in a Salvage, and his sister Pocahontas, the King's most deare and well-beloved daughter, being but a childe of twelve or thirteene yeers of age, whose compassionate pitiful heart, of desperate estate, gave me much cause to respect her: I being the first Christian this proud King and his grim attendants ever saw: and thus inthralled in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortal foes to prevent, notwithstanding all their threats. After some six weeks fatting among those Salvage Courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to save mine, and not only that, but so prevailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to James towne, where I found about eight and thirtie miserable poore and sicke creatures, to keepe possession of all those large territories of Virginia. Such was the weaknesse of this poore Commonwealth, as had the Salvages not fed us, we directly had starved.

And this reliefe, most gracious Queene, was commonly brought us by this Lady Pocahontas, notwithstanding all these passages when inconstant Fortune turned our peace to war, this tender Virgin would still not spare to dare to visit us, and by her our jars have beene

oft appeased, and our wants still supplyed; were it the policie of her father thus to imploy her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinarie affection to our Nation, I know not: but of this I am sure:—when her father with the utmost of his policie and power, sought to surprize mee, having but eighteene with mee, the darke night could not affright her from comming through the irkesome woods, and with watered eyes gave me intelligence, with her best advice to escape his furie; which had hee knowne, hee had surely slaine her. James towne with her wild traine she as freely frequented, as her father's habitation; and during the time of two or three yeeres, she next under God, was still the instrument to preserve this Colonie from death, famine and utter confusion, which if in those times had once beene dissolved, Virginia might have line as it was at our first arrival to this day. Since then, this businesse having beene turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at: it is most certaine, after a long and troublesome war after my departure, betwixt her father and our Colonie, all which time shee was not heard of, about two yeeres after she her selfe was taken prisoner, being so detained neere two yeeres longer, the Colonie by that meanes was relieved, peace concluded, and at last rejecting her barbarous condition, was maried to an English Gentleman, with whom at this present she is in England; the first Christian ever of that Nation, the first Virginian ever spake English, or had a childe in mariage by an Englishman, a matter surely, if my meaning bee truly considered and well understood, worthy a Prince's understanding.

Thus, most gracious Lady, I have related to your Majestie, what at your best leasure our approved histories will account you at large, and done in the time of your Majestie's life, and however this might bee presented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot from a more honest heart. As yet I never begged anything of the State, or any, and it is my want of abilitie and her exceeding desert, your birth, meanes, and authoritie, her birth, vertue, want and simplicitie, doth make mee thus bold, humbly to beseech your Majestie to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so unworthy to be the reporter, as myselfe, her husband's estate not being able to make her fit to attend your Majestie. The most and least I can doe, is to tell you this, because none so oft hath tried it as myselfe; and the rather being of so great a spirit, however her stature: if she should not be well received, seeing this Kingdome may rightly have a Kingdome by her meanes; her present love to us and Christianitie, might turne to such scorne and furie, as to divert all this good to the worst of evil, where finding so great a Queene should doe her

some honour more than she can imagine, for being so kinde to your servants and subjects, would so ravish her with content, as endeare her dearest bloud to effect that, your Majestie and all the King's honest subjects most earnestly desire. And so I humbly kisse your gracious hands.

Being about this time preparing to set saile for New-England, I could not stay to doe her that service I desired, and shee well deserved; but hearing shee was at Branford with divers of my friends, I went to see her: After a modest salutation, without any word, she turned about, obscured her face, as not seeming well contented; and in that humour her husband, with divers others, we all left her two or three houres, repenting myself to have writ shee could speake English. But not long after, she began to talke, and remembered mee well what courtesies shee had done: saying, "You did promise Powhatan what was yours should bee his, and he the like to you; you called him father being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I doe you;"—which though I would have excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a Kings daughter. With a well set countenance she said: "Were you not afraid to come into my father's Countrie, and caused feare in him and all his people (but mee) and feare you here I should call you father; I tell you then I will, and you shall calle mee childe, and so I will bee for ever and ever your Countrieman. They did tell us alwaies you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to Plymouth; yet Powhatan did command Uttamatomakkin to seeke you, and know the truth, because your Countriemen will lie much."

This Salvage, one of Powhatan's Council, being amongst them held an understanding fellow, the King purposely sent him, as they say, to number the people here, and informe him well what wee were and our state. Arriving at Plymouth, according to his directions, he got a long sticke, whereon by notches hee did thinke to have kept the number of all the men hee could see, but he was quickly wearie of that taske. Coming to London, where by chance I met him, having renewed our acquaintance, where many were desirous to heare and see his behaviour, hee told me Powhatan did bid him to finde me out, to shew him our God, the King, Queene, and Prince, I so much had told them of. Concerning God, I told him the best I could; the King, I heard, he had seene, and the reste hee should see when he would. He denied ever to have seene the King, till by circumstances he was satisfied he had. Then he replyed very sadly: "You gave Powhatan a white Dog, which Powhatan fed as himselfe, but your King gave me nothing, and I am better than your white Dog."

The small time I staid in London, divers Courtiers and others, my acquaintances, hath gone with mee to see her, that generally concluded, they did thinke God had a great hand in her conversion, and they have seene many English Ladies worse favoured, proportioned and behavioured, and as since I have heard, it pleased both the King and Queene's Majestie honourably to esteeme her, accompanied with that honourable Lady the Lady De la Warre, and that honourable Lord her husband, and divers other persons of good qualities, both publikely at the maskes and otherwise, to her great satisfaction and content, which doubtlesse she would have deserved had she lived to arrive in Virginia.

John Rolfe.

Of the Jamestowne Colony.

WHY HE MARRIED POCAHONTAS.

[*The coppie of the Gentle-man's letters to Sir Thomas Dale, that after maried Powhatan's daughter, containing the reasons moving him thereunto.* 1615.]

HONOURABLE Sir, and most worthy Governor: when your leasure shall best serve you to peruse these lines, I trust in God, the beginning will not strike you into a greater admiration, then the end will give you good content. It is a matter of no small moment, concerning my own particular which here I impart unto you, and which toucheth me so neerely, as the tenderness of my salvation. Howbeit I freely subject my selfe to your grave and mature judgement, deliberation, approbation and determination; assuring myselfe of your zealous admonitions, and godly comforts, either perswading me to desist, or incouraging me to persist therein, with a religious feare, and godly care, for which (from the very instant, that this began to roote it selfe, within the secret bosome of my brest) my daily and earnest prayers have bin, still are, and ever shall be produced forthwith, as sincere, a godly zeale, as I possiblely may to be directed, aided and governed in all my thoughts, words and deedes, to the glory of God, and for my eternal consolation. To persevere wherein I never had more neede, nor (till now) could ever imagine to have been moved with the like occasion.

But (my case standing as it doth) what better worldly refuge can I here seeke, then to shelter my selfe under the safety of your favourable protection? And did not my ease proceede from an unspotted

conscience, I should not dare to offer to your view and approved judgement, these passions of my troubled soule, so full of feare and trembling is hypocrisie and dissimulation. But knowing my owne innocency and godly fervor, in the whole prosecution hereof, I doubt not of your benigne acceptance, and clement construction. As for malicious depravers, and turbulent spirits, to whom nothing is tasteful, but what pleaseth their unsavory pallat, I passe not for them being well assured in my perswasion (by the often triall and proving of my selfe, in my holiest meditations and prayers) that I am called hereunto by the spirit of God; and it shall be sufficient for me to be protected by your selfe in all vertuous and pious indevours. And for my more happie proceeding herein, my daily oblations shall ever be addressed to bring to passe so good effects, that your selfe, and all the world may truely say: "This is the worke of God, and it is marvelous in our eyes."

But to avoid tedious preambles, and to come neerer the matter, first suffer me with your patence, to sweepe and make cleane the way wherein I walke, from all suspicions and doubts, which may be covered therein, and faithfully to reveale unto you, what should move me hereunto.

Let therefore this my well advised protestation, which here I make betweene God and my own conscience, be a sufficient witnesse, at the dreadful day of judgement (when the secret of all mens harts shall be opened) to condemne me herein, if my chiefest intent and purpose be not, to strive with all my power of body and minde, in the undertaking of so mightie a matter, no way led (so farre forth as mans weaknesse may permit) with the unbridled desire of carnal affection: but for the good of this plantation, for the honour of our countrie, for the glorie of God, for my owne salvation, and for the converting to the true knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, an unbeleeving creature, namely Pokahuntas. To whom my hartie and best thoughts are, and have a long time bin so intangled, and inthralled in so intricate a laborinth, that I was even awearied to unwinde my selfe thereout. But almighty God, who never faileth his, that truely invocate his holy name hath opened the gate, and lead me by the hand that I might plainely see and discerne the safe paths wherein to treade.

To you therefore (most noble Sir) the patron and Father of us in this countrey doe I utter the effects of this my setled and long continued affection (which hath made a mightie warre in my meditations) and here I doe truely relate, to what issue this dangerous combat is come unto, wherein I have not only examined, but throughly tried and pared my thoughts even to the quicke, before I could finde

Matoaks als Rebecka daughter to the mighty Prince Powhatan Emperour of Attanoughkomouck als virginia converted and baptized in the Christian faith, and wife to the wor.ll M.r Joh Rolff.

any fit wholesome and apt applications to cure so daungerous an ulcer. I never failed to offer my daily and faithfull prayers to God, for his sacred and holy assistance. I forgot not to set before mine eyes the frailty of mankinde, his prones to evill, his indulgencie of wicked thoughts, with many other imperfections wherein man is daily insnared, and oftentimes overthrowne, and them compared to my present estate. Nor was I ignorant of the heavie displeasure which almightie God conceived against the sons of Levie and Israel for marrying strange wives, nor of the inconveniences which may thereby arise, with other the like good motions which made me looke about warily and with good circumspection, into the grounds and principal agitations, which thus should provoke me to be in love with one whose education hath bin rude, her manners barbarous, her generation accursed, and so discrepant in all nurtriture from my selfe, that oftentimes with feare and trembling, I have ended my private controversie with this: surely these are wicked instigations, hatched by him who seeketh and delighteth in mans destruction; and so with fervent prayers to be ever preserved from such diabolical assaults (as I tooke those to be) I have taken some rest.

Thus when I had thought I had obtained my peace and quietnesse, beholde another, but more gracious tentation hath made breaches into my holiest and strongest meditations; with which I have bin put to a new triall, in a straighter manner then the former: for besides the many passions and sufferings which I have daily, hourely, yea and in my sleepe indured, even awaking me to astonishment, taxing me with remisnesse, and carelesnesse, refusing and neglecting to performe the dutie of a good Christian, pulling me by the eare, and crying: why dost thou not indevour to make her a Christian? And these have happened to my greater wonder, even when she hath bin furthest separated from me, which in common reason (were it not an undoubted worke of God) might breede forgetfulnesse of a farre more worthie creature. Besides, I say the holy spirit of God hath often demaunded of me, why I was created? If not for transitory pleasures and worldly vanities, but to labour in the Lord's vineyard, there to sow and plant, to nourish and increase the fruites thereof, daily adding with the good husband in the Gospell, somewhat to the tallent, that in the end the fruites may be reaped, to the comfort of the laborer in this life, and his salvation in the world to come? And if this be, as undoubtedly this is, the service Jesus Christ requireth of his best servant: wo unto him that hath these instruments of pietie put into his hands, and wilfully despiseth to worke with them. Likewise, adding hereunto her great apparance of love to me, her desire to be taught and instructed in the knowl-

edge of God, her capablenesse of understanding, her aptnesse and willingnesse to receive any good impression, and also the spiritual, besides her owne incitements stirring me up hereunto.

What should I doe? shall I be of so untoward a disposition, as to refuse to leade the blind into the right way? Shall I be so unnatural, as not to give bread to the hungrie? or uncharitable, as not to cover the naked? Shall I despise to actuate these pious dueties of a Christian? Shall the base feare of displeasing the world, overpower and with holde me from revealing unto man these spiritual workes of the Lord, which in my meditations and prayers, I have daily made knowne unto him? God for bid, I assuredly trust he hath thus delt with me for my eternal felicitie, and for his glorie: and I hope so to be guided by his heavenly graice, that in the end by my faithful paines, and christianlike labour, I shall attaine to that blessed promise, pronounced by that holy Prophet Daniell unto the righteous that bring many unto the knowledge of God. Namely, that they shall shine like the starres forever and ever. A sweeter comfort cannot be to a true Christian, nor a greater incouragement for him to labour all the daies of his life, in the performance thereof, nor a greater gaine of consolation, to be desired at the hower of death, and in the day of judgement.

Againe by my reading, and conference with honest and religious persons, have I received no small encouragement, besides, *serena mea conscientia*, the cleereness of my conscience, clean from the filth of impurity, *quæ est instar muri ahenei*, which is unto me, as a brasen wall. If I should set down at large, the perturbations and godly motions, which have striven within me, I should but make a tedious and unnecessary volume. But I doubt not these shall be sufficient both to certifie you of my tru intents, in discharging of my dutie to God, and to your selfe, to whose gracious providence I humby submit my selfe, for his glory, your honour, our Countreys good, the benefit of this Plantation, and for the converting of one unregenerate, to regeneration; which I beseech God to graunt, for his deere Sonne Christ Jesus his sake.

Now if the vulgar sort, who square all mens actions by the base rule of their own filthinesse, shall taxe or taunt me in this my godly labour; let them know, it is not any hungry appetite, to gorge my selfe with incontinency; sure (if I would, and were so sensually inclined) I might satisfie such desire, though not without a seared conscience, yet with Christians more pleasing to the eye, and lesse fearefull in the offence unlawfully committed. Nor am I in so desperate an estate, that I regard not what becommeth of me; nor am I out of hope but one day to see my Country, nor so void of friends,

nor mean in birth, but there to obtain a match to my great content: nor have I ignorantly passed over my hopes there, or regardlesly seek to loose the love of my friends, by taking this course: I know them all, and have not rashly overslipped any.

But shall it please God thus to dispose of me (which I earnestly desire to fullfill my ends before sette downe) I will heartely accept of it as a godly taxe appointed me, and I will never cease, (God assisting me) untill I have accomplished, and brought to perfection so holy a worke, in which I will daily pray God to blesse me, to mine, and her eternal happines. And thus desiring no longer to live, to enjoy the blessings of God, then this my resolution doth tend to such godly ends, as are by me before declared: not doubting of your favourable acceptance, I take my leave, beseeching Almighty God to raine downe upon you, such plenitude of his heavenly graces, as your heart can wish and desire, and so I rest,

At your commaund most willing to be disposed of

JOHN ROLFE.

R. Rich.

"One of the Voyage" to Virginia, 1608.

A BALLAD OF VIRGINIA.

[*Newes from Virginia. The Lost Flocke Triumphant.* 1610.]

READER,—how to stile thee I knowe not, perhaps learned, perhaps unlearned; happily captious, happily envious; indeed, what or how to tearme thee I knowe not, only as I began I will proceede.

Reader, thou dost peradventure imagine that I am mercenarie in this busines, and write for money (as your moderne Poets use) hired by some of those ever to be admired adventurers to flatter the world. No, I disclaime it. I have knowne the voyage, past the danger, seene that honorable work of Virginia, and I thanke God am arrived here to tell thee what I have seene, done and past. If thou wilt believe me, so; if not, so too; for I cannot force thee but to thy owne liking. I am a soldier, blunt and plaine, and so is the phrase of my newes; and I protest it is true. If thou ask why I put it in verse, I prethee knowe it was only to feede mine owne humour. I must confesse that, had I not debard myselfe of that large scope which to the writing of prose is allowed, I should have much easd

myselfe, and given thee better content. But I intreat thee to take this as it is, and before many daies expire, I will promise thee the same worke more at large.

I did feare prevention by some of your writers, if they should have gotten but some part of the newes by the tayle, and therefore, though it be rude, let it passe with thy liking, and in so doing I shall like well of thee; but, how ever, I have not long to stay. If thou wilt be unnatural to thy countryman, thou maist,—I must not loose my patrymonie, I am for Virginia againe, and so I will bid thee hartily farewell with an honest verse,—

As I came hether to see my native land,
To waft me backe lend me thy gentle hand.

Thy loving Country-man,

R. R.

NEWES FROM VIRGINIA

of the happy arrivall of that famous and worthy knight Sir Thomas Gates and well reputed and valiante Captaine Newport into England.

It is no idle fabulous tale, nor is it fayned newes:
For Truth herself is heere arriv'd, because you should not muse.
With her both Gates and Newport come, to tell Report doth lye,
Which did devulge unto the world, that they at sea did dye.

Tis true that eleaven monthes and more, these gallant worthy wights
Was in the shippe Sea-venture nam'd depriv'd Virginia's sight.
And bravely did they glyde the maine, till Neptune gan to frowne,
As if a courser prowdly backt would throwe his ryder downe.

The seas did rage, the windes did blowe, distressed were they then;
Their ship did leake, her tacklings breake, in daunger were her men.
But heaven was pylotte in this storme, and to an iland nere,
Bermoothawes call'd, conducted then, which did abate their feare.

But yet these worthies forced were, opprest with weather againe,
To runne their ship betweene two rockes, where she doth still remaine.
And then on shoare the iland came, inhabited by hogges,
Some foule and tortoyses there were, they only had one dogge.

To kill these swyne, to yeild them foode that little had to eate,
Their store was spent, and all things scant, alas! they wanted meate.
A thousand hogges that dogge did kill, their hunger to sustaine,
And with such foode did in that ile two and forty weekes remaine.

And there two gallant pynases did build of seader-tree;
The brave Deliverance one was call'd, of seaventy tonne was shee.
The other Patience had to name, her burthen thirty tonne;
Two only of their men which there pale death did overcome.

And for the losse of these two soules, which were accounted deere,
A sonne and daughter then was borne, and were baptized there.
The two and forty weekes being past, they hoyst sayle and away;
Their ships with hogs well freighted were, their harts with mickle joy.

And so unto Virginia came, where these brave soldiers finde
The English-men opprest with greife and discontent in minde.
They seem'd distracted and forlorne, for those two worthyes losse,
Yet at their home returne they joyd, among'st them some were crosse.

And in the mid'st of discontent came noble Delaware;
He heard the greifes on either part, and sett them free from care.
He comforts them and cheeres their hearts, that they abound with joy;
He feedes them full and feedes their soules with Gods word every day.

A discreet counsell he creates of men of worthy fame,
That noble Gates leiftenant was the admirall had to name.
The worthy Sir George Somers knight, and others of commaund;
Maister Georg Pearcy, which is brother unto Northumberland.

Sir Fardinando Wayneman knight, and others of good fame,
That noble lord his company, which to Virginia came,
And landed there; his number was one hundred seaventy; then
Ad to the rest, and they make full foure hundred able men.

Where they unto their labour fall, as men that meane to thrive;
Let's pray that heaven may blesse them all, and keep them long alive.
Those men that vagrants liv'd with us, have there deserved well;
Their governour writes in their praise, as divers letters tel.

And to th' adventurers thus he writes be not dismayd at all,
For scandall cannot doe us wrong, God will not let us fall.
Let England knowe our willingnesse, for that our worke is goode;
Wee hope to plant a nation, where none before hath stood.

To glorifie the lord tis done, and to no other end;
He that would crosse so good a worke, to God can be no friend.
There is no feare of hunger here for corne much store here growes,
Much fish the gallant rivers yeild, tis truth without suppose.

Great store of fowle, of venison, of grapes and mulberries,
Of chestnuts, walnuts, and such like, of fruits and strawberries,
There is indeed no want at all, but some, condiciond ill,
That wish the worke should not goe on with words doe seeme to kill.

And for an instance of their store, the noble Delaware
Hath for the present hither sent, to testifie his care
In mannaging so good a worke, to gallant ships, by name
The Blessing and the Hercules, well fraught, and in the same

Two ships, are these commodities, furres, sturgeon, caviare,
Blacke walnut-tree, and some deale boords, with such they laden are;
Some pearle, some wainscot and clapbords, with some sassafras wood,
And iron promist, for tis true their mynes are very good.

Then, maugre scandall, false report, or any opposition,
Th' adventurers doe thus devulge to men of good condition,
That he that wants shall have reliefe, be he of honest minde,
Apparel, coyne, or any thing, to such they will be kinde.

To such as to Virginia do purpose to repaire;
And when that they shall thither come, each man shall have his share.
Day wages for the laborer, and for his more content,
A house and garden plot shall have; besides, tis further ment

That every man shall have a part, and not thereof denaid,
Of generall profit, as if that he twelve pounds ten shillings paid;
And he that in Virginia shall copper coyne receive,
For hyer or commodities, and will the country leave

Upon delivery of such coyne unto the Governour,
Shall by exchange at his returne be by their treasurer
Paid him in London at first sight, no man shall cause to grieve,
For tis their generall will and wish that every man should live.

The number of adventurers, that are for this plantation,
Are full eight hundred worthy men, some noble, all of fashion.
Good, discreete, their worke is good, and as they have begun,
May Heaven assist them in their worke, and thus our newes is done.

William Strachey.

Resident in Virginia, 1610–12.

A STORM OFF THE BERMUDAS.

[*A True Reportory of the Wracke and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates.* 1610.]

ON St. James his day, July 24, being Monday (preparing for no less all the black night before) the clouds gathering thick upon us, and the winds singing and whistling most unusually, which made us to cast off our Pinnace, towing the same until then afterne, a dreadful storm and hideous began to blow from out the Northeast, which, swelling and roaring as it were by fits, some hours with more violence than others, at length did beat all light from heaven, which like an hell of darkness, turned black upon us, so much the more fuller of horror, as in such cases horror and fear use to overrun the troubled and overmastered senses of all, which (taken up with amazement) the ears lay so sensible to the terrible cries, and

murmurs of the winds and distraction of our Company, as who was most armed and best prepared, was not a little shaken. . . . .

For four and twenty hours the storm, in a restless tumult, had blown so exceedingly, as we could not apprehend in our imaginations any possibility of greater violence, yet did we still find it, not only more terrible, but more constant, fury added to fury, and one storm urging a second, more outrageous than the former, whether it so wrought upon our fears, or indeed met with new forces. Sometimes strikes in our Ship amongst women, and passengers not used to such hurly and discomforts, made us look one upon the other with troubled hearts, and panting bosoms, our clamors drowned in the winds, and the winds in thunder. Prayers might well be in the heart and lips, but drowned in the outcries of the Officers, — nothing heard that could give comfort, nothing seen that might encourage hope. . . . .

Our sails, wound up, lay without their use, and if at any time we bore but a Hollocke, or half forecourse, to guide her before the Sea, six, and sometimes eight men, were not enough to hold the whipstaffe in the steerage, and the tiller below in the Gunner room; by which may be imagined the strength of the storm, in which the Sea swelled above the Clouds and gave battle unto heaven. It could not be said to rain, the waters like whole Rivers did flood in the ayre. And this I did still observe, that whereas upon the Land, when a storm hath poured itself forth once in drifts of rain, the wind as beaten down, and vanquished therewith, not long after endureth—here the glut of water (as if throatling the wind ere while) was no sooner a little emptied and qualified, but instantly the winds (as having gotten their mouths now free and at liberty) spake more loud, and grew more tumultuous and malignant. What shall I say? Winds and Seas were as mad as fury and rage could make them.

. . . . . .

Howbeit this was not all; it pleased God to bring a greater affliction yet upon us, for in the beginning of the storm we had received likewise a mighty leak, and the ship in every joint almost having spewed out her Okam, before we were aware (a casualty more desperate than any other that a Voyage by Sea draweth with it) was grown five foot suddenly deep with water above her ballast, and we almost drowned within, whilest we sat looking when to perish from above. This, imparting no less terror than danger, ran through the whole Ship with much fright and amazement, startled and turned the blood, and took down the braves of the most hardy Mariner of them all, insomuch as he that before happily felt not the sorrow of others, now began to sorrow for himself, when he saw such a pond

of water so suddenly broken in, and which he knew could not (without present avoiding) but instantly sink him. So as joining (only for his own sake, not yet worth the saving) in the public safety, there might be seen Master, Master's Mate, Boatswain, Quarter Master, Coopers, Carpenters, and who not, with candles in their hands, creeping along the ribs, viewing the sides, searching every corner, and listening in every place, if they could hear the water run. Many a weeping leak was this way found and hastily stopt, and at length one in the Gunner room made up with I know not how many pieces of Beef; but all was to no purpose, the Leak (if it were but one) which drunk in our greatest Seas and took in our destruction fastest, could not then be found, nor ever was, by any labor, counsel, or search. The waters still increasing, and the Pumps going, which at length choaked with bringing up whole and continual Bisket (and indeed all we had, ten thousand weight) it was conceived as most likely, that the Leak might be sprung in the Bread room, whereupon the Carpenter went down and ript up all the room, but could not find it so. . . . .

Once so huge a Sea brake upon the poop and quarter, upon us, as it covered our ship from stern to stem, like a garment or a vast cloud. It filled her brimful for a while within, from the hatches up to the spar deck. This force or confluence of water was so violent, as it rushed and carried the Helm man from the Helm and wrested the Whipstaffe out of his hand, which so flew from side to side, that when he would have seized the same again, it so tossed him from starboard to larboard, as it was God's mercy it had not split him. It so beat him from his hold, and so bruised him, as a fresh man hazarding in by chance fell fair with it and by main strength bearing somewhat up, made good his place, and with much clamor encouraged and called upon others, who gave her now up, rent in pieces and absolutely lost. . . . .

During all this time the heavens looked so black upon us, that it was not possible the elevation of the Pole might be observed; not a star by night nor sunbeam by day was to be seen. Only upon the Thursday night, Sir George Summers being upon the watch, had an apparition of a little round light, like a faint star, trembling and streaming along with a sparkling blaze, half the height upon the main-mast, and shooting sometimes from shroud to shroud, tempting to settle as it were upon any of the four shrouds, and for three or four hours together, or rather more, half the night it kept with us, running sometimes along the mainyard to the very end, and then returning. At which Sir George Summers called divers about him and showed them the same, who observed it with much wonder and carefulness.

But upon a sudden, towards the morning watch, they lost the sight of it and knew not what way it made. . . . .

East and by South we steered away as much as we could to bear upright, which was no small carefulness nor pain to do, albeit we much unrigged our ship, threw overboard much luggage, many a trunk and chest (in which I suffered no mean loss) and staved many a butt of beer, hogsheads of oil, cider, wine, and vinegar, and heaved away all our ordnance on the starboard side, and had now purposed to have cut down the mainmast, the more to lighten her, for we were much spent, and our men so weary, as their strengths together failed them with their hearts, having travailed now from Tuesday till Friday morning, day and night, without either sleep or food; for the leakage taking up all the hold, we could neither come by beer nor fresh water. Fire we could keep none in the Cook-room to dress any meat, and carefulness, grief, and our turn at the Pump or Bucket, were sufficient to hold sleep from our eyes. . . . . Tuesday noon till Friday noon we bailed and pumped two thousand tun, and yet, do what we could, when our ship held least in her (after Tuesday night second watch) she bore ten foot deep, at which stay our extreme working kept her one eight glasses, forbearance whereof had instantly sunk us; and it being now Friday, the fourth morning, it wanted little but that there had been a general determination, to have shut up hatches and commending our sinful souls to God, committed the ship to the mercy of the sea. Surely that night we must have done it, and that night had we then perished; but see the goodness and sweet introduction of better hope by our merciful God given unto us. Sir George Summers, when no man dreamed of such happiness, had discovered and cried "Land!" Indeed the morning, now three quarters spent, had won a little clearness from the days before, and it being better surveyed, the very trees were seen to move with the wind upon the shore-side.

A PORTRAIT OF KING POWHATAN.

[*Historie of Travaile into Virginia. Written about* 1618.]

HE is a goodly old man, not yet shrinking, though well beaten with many cold and stormy winters, in which he hath been patient of many necessityes and attempts of his fortune to make his name and family great. He is supposed to be little less than eighty years old, I dare not say how much more; others say he is of a tall

stature and clean lymbes, of a sad aspect, rownd fat-visaged, with graie hairs, but plain and thin, hanging upon his broad showlders; some few hairs upon his chin, and so on his upper lip; he hath been a strong and able salvadge, synowye, and of a daring spirit, vigilant, ambitious, subtile to enlarge his dominions: for, but the countryes Powhatan, Arrohatock, Appamatuck, Panunky, Youghtamund, and Mattopaiment, which are said to come unto him by inheritance, all the rest of the territories before named and expressed in the map, and which are all adjoining to that river whereon we are seated, they report (as is likewise before remembered) to have been eyther by force subdued unto him, or through fear yielded. Cruel he hath been, and quarrellous as well with his own weroances for triffles, and that to strike a terror and awe into them of his power and condicion, as also with his neighbors in his yonger days, though now delighted in security and pleasure, and therefore stands upon reasonable condicions of peace with all the great and absolute weroances about him, and is likewise more quietly settled amongst his own.

Watchful he is over us, and keeps good espyall upon our proceedings, concerning which he hath his sentinels, that at what time soever any of our boats, pinacies, or ships, come in, fall down, or make up the river, give the alarum, and take it quickly one from the other, until it reach and come even to the court or hunting howse, wheresoever he and his cronoccoes, that is councellours, and priests are, and then he calls to advise, and gives out directions what is to be done, as more fearing than harmed, at any time, with the danger and mischief which he saith we intend unto him, by taking away his land from him and conspiring to surprise him, which we never yet ymagined nor attempted. And yet, albeit, the conceipt of as much strongly possesseth him; he doth often send unto us to temporize with us, awayting perhaps a fit opportunity (inflamed by his furious and bloody priests) to offer us a taste of the same cup which he made our poor countrymen drink of at Ronoak, not yet seeming willing to hold any open quarrel or hostility with us; but in all advantages which he sometimes takes against our credulous and beguiled people, he hath yet always so carried as, upon our complaint to him, yt is rather layed upon some of his worst and unruly people of which he tells us; even our King James (commaunding so many divers men) must have some irregular and unruly people, or ells upon some of his pettie weroances, whom, peradventure, we have attempted (saith he) with offences of a like nature, than that yt is any act of his, or done by his commaund, or according to his will, often flattering us that he will take order that it shall be no more so, but that the Tassantasses, that is, the stranger King James his people, and his people shall be all

one, brothers and friends. And thus he served us, at what time he wrought the Chickahamines (a nation, as we have learned before the coming in of us, so far from being his subjects, as they were ever his enemies), into a hatred of us (being a mighty people and our neighbors) and us into the suspicion of them, by urging them to betray such of our men as traded with them for corn; three, whereof yt is true, they slew without cause or offence given, and had done as much for the rest, had not their own fear and cowardize withheld them. And this he wholly laid upon them, excusing himself to us by their nomber and unruliness;—yea, so far he will go herein sometyme, that when some of his people have done us wrong, and by his provoking too, he will not fail underhand, after the fact, to tell us the authors of our wrong, giving us leave, and bidding us revendge us upon them, of such subtile understanding and pollitique carriage is he.

THE ABORIGINAL DEVIL.

[*From the Same.*]

THERE is yet, in Virginia, no place discovered to be so savadge and simple, in which the inhabitants have not a religion and the use of bow and arrows. All things they conceive able to do them hurt beyond their prevention, they adore with their kind of divine worship, as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our ordinaunce pieces, horses, etc.; but their chief god they worship is no other, indeed, then the devill, whom they make presentments of, and shadow under the form of an idol, which they entitle Okeus, and whom they worship, as the Romans did their hurtful God Vejovis, more for fear of harm than for hope of any good; they say they have conference with him, and fashion themselves in their disguisments as near to his shape as they can imagyn.

In every territory of a weroance is a temple and a priest, peradventure two or three; yet happy doth that weroance accompt himself who can detayne with him a Quiyoughquisock, of the best, grave, lucky, well instructed in their misteryes, and beloved of their God; and such a one is no less honored than was Diana's priest at Ephesus, for whom they have their more private temples, with oratories and chauncells therein, according as is the dignity and reverence of the Quiyoughquisock, which the weroance will be at charge to build upon purpose, sometyme twenty foote broad and a hundred in length, fashioned arbour wyse after their building, having commonly the door opening into the east, and at the west end a spence or chauncell from

the body of the temple with hollow windings and pillars, whereon stand divers black images, fashioned to the shoulders, with their faces looking down the church, and where within their weroances, upon a kind of bier of reeds, lie buried; and under them, apart, in a vault low in the ground (as a more secret thing), vailed with a mat, sits their Okeus, an image ill-favouredly carved, all black dressed, with chaynes of perle, the presentment and figure of that God (say the priests unto the laity, and who religiously believe what the priests say) which doth them all the harm they suffer, be it in their bodies or goods, within doors or abroad; and true it is, many of them are divers times (especially offenders) shrewdly scratched as they walk alone in the woods, it may well be by the subtyle spirit, the malicious enemy to mankind, whom, therefore, to pacify, and work to do them good (at least no harm) the priests tell them they must do these and these sacrifices unto Okeus, of these and these things, and thus and thus often, by which means not only their own children, but strangers, are sometimes sacrificed unto him: Whilst the great God (the priests tell them) who governs all the world, and makes the sun to shine, creating the moon and stars his companions, great powers, and which dwell with him, and by whose virtues and influences the under earth is tempered, and brings forth her fruits, according to her seasons, they call Ahone; the good and peaceable God requires no such duties, nor needs be sacrificed unto, for he intendeth all good unto them, and will do no harm, only the displeased Okeus, looking into all men's actions, and examining the same according to the severe scale of justice, punisheth them with sicknesses, beats them, and strikes their ripe corn with blastings, storms, and thunder claps, stirs up war, and makes their women false unto them. Such is the misery and thraldome under which Sathan hath bound these wretched miscreants. . . . .

Their principal temple, or place of superstition, is at Utamussack, at Pamunky. Near unto the town, within the woods, is a chief holy house, proper to Powhatan, upon the top of certain red sandy hills, and it is accompanied with two other sixty feet in length, filled with images of their kings and devills, and tombs of the predicessors. This place they count so holy as that none but the priests and kings dare come therein. In this (as the Grecian nigromancers psychomantie did use to call up spirits) eyther the priests have conference, or consult, indeed, with the devill, and receive verbal answers, and so saith Acosta; he spake to the *βοιτη* or chaplaines of the West Indies, in their guacas or oratories, or at least these conjurors make the simple laity so to believe, who therefore (so much are the people at the priests' devotion) are ready to execute any thing, how desperate soever, which they shall command. The salvadges dare not go up the river in boats by it, but

that they solemnly cast some piece of copper, white beads, or pochones into the river, for fear that Okeus should be offended and revenged of them. In this place commonly are resident seven priests, the chief differing from the rest in his ornament, whilst the inferior priests can hardly be known from the common people, save that they had not (it may be may not have) so many holes in their ears to hang their jewels at. The ornaments of the chief priest were, upon his shoulders a middle sized cloke of feathers much like the old sacrificing garment which Isodorus calls cassiola, and the burlett or attire of his head was thus made: some twelve or sixteen or more snakes' sloughs or skynns were stuffed with moss, and of weasells or other vermin were skynns perhaps as many; all these were tied by the tayles, so as their tayles meet in the tope of the head like a great tassel, and round about the tassel was circled a crownett (as it were) of feathers, the skynns hanging round about his head, neck, and shoulders, and in a manner covering his face. The faces of all their priests are painted so ugly as they can devise; in their hands they carry every one his rattle, for the most part as a symbol of his place and profession, some basse, some smaller. Their devotion is most in songs, which the chief priest begins and the rest follow him; sometimes he makes invocation with broken sentences, by starts and straung passions, and at every pause the rest of the priests give a short groan.

We have not yet hitherto perceived that any solemn fasti, or *feriæ præcidaneæ vigilli,* or any one day more holy than other, is amongst them, but only in some great distress of want, fear of enemies, tymes of tryumph, and gathering together their fruits. The whole country—men, women, and children—come together to their solempnities, the manner of which jolly devotion is sometimes to make a great fire in the house or fields, and all to sing and dance about it, in a ring like so many fairies, with rattles and showtes, four or five howers together, sometimes fashioning themselfes in twoo companies, keeping a great circuit; one company danceth one way and the other the contrary, all very finely painted, certain men going before with eyther of them a rattle, other following in the midst, and the rest of the trayne of both wings in order four and four; and in the rear certain of the chiefest young men with long switches in their hands to keep them in their places; after all which follows the governor, or weroance himself, in a more slow or solemn measure, stopping and dancing, and all singing very timable.

George Percy.

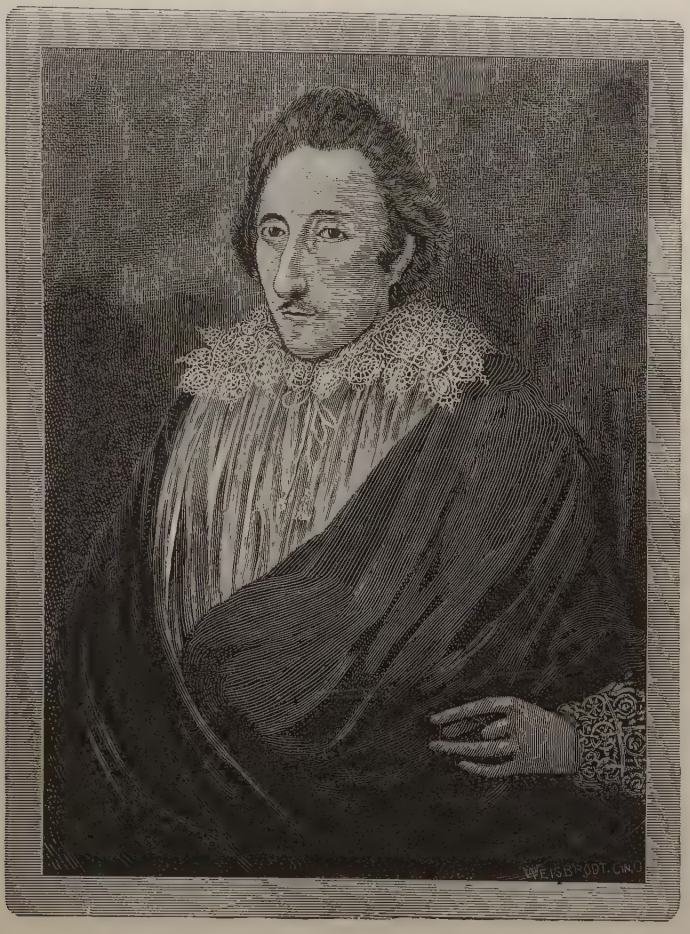
Governor of Virginia, 1609–10.

THE EXPERIENCES OF A VIRGINIA COLONY.

[*Observations gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia.*]

THIRTIETH day we came with our ships to Cape Comfort; where we saw five Salvages running on the shore; presently the Captain caused the shallop to be manned, so rowing to the shore, the Captain called to them in sign of friendship, but they were at first very timersome, until they saw the Captain lay his hand on his heart. Upon that they laid down their bows and arrows, and came boldly to us making signs to come ashore to their town, which is called by the Salvages Kecoughtan. We coasted to their town, rowing over a river running into the Maine where these Salvages swam over with their bows and arrows in their mouths.

When we came over to the other side there was a many of other Salvages which directed us to their town where we were entertained by them very kindly. When we came first a Land they made a doleful noise, laying their faces to the ground, scratching the earth with their nails. We did think that they had been at their Idolatry. When they had ended their Ceremonies, they went into their houses and brought out mats and laid upon the ground; the chieftest of them sat all in a rank. The meanest sort brought us such dainties as they had and of their bread which they made of their maize or Gennea wheat. They would not suffer us to eat unless we sat down which we did on a mat right against them. After we were well satisfied they gave us of their Tobacco which they took in a pipe made artificially of earth as ours are, but far bigger, with the bowl fashioned together with a piece of fine copper. After they had feasted us, they showed us, in welcome, their manner of dancing, which was in this fashion: one of the Salvages standing in the midst singing, beating one hand against another, all the rest dancing about him, shouting, howling, and stamping against the ground, with many Anticke tricks and faces, making noise like so many Wolves or Devils. One thing of them I observed; when they were in their dance, they kept stroke with their feet just one with another, but with their hands, heads, faces and bodies, every one of them had a several gesture; so they continued for the space of half an hour. When they had ended their dance, the Captain gave them beads and other trifling jewels. They hang through their ears fowls' legs; they shave the right side of their heads with a shell, the left side they wear



George Perry

of an ell long tied up with an artificial knot, with many of fowls' feathers sticking in it. . . . .

The next day being the first of May, the Werowance of Rapahanna sent a messenger to have us come to him. We entertained the said messenger, and gave him trifles which pleased him. We manned our shallop with Muskets and Targatiers sufficiently; this said Messenger guided us where our determination was to go. When we landed the Werowance of Rapahanna came down to the water side with all his train, as goodly men as I have seen of Salvages or Christians, the Werowance coming before them playing on a Flute made of a Reed, with a Crown of Deares' hair colored red, in fashion of a Rose fastened about his knot of hair, and a great Plate of Copper on the other side of his head, with two long feathers in fashion of a pair of horns placed in the midst of his Crown. His body was painted all with crimson, with a chain of beads about his neck, his face painted blue, besprinkled with silver ore as we thought, his ears all behung with bracelets of pearl, and in either ear a bird's claw through it, beset with fine copper or gold. He entertained us in so modest a proud fashion, as though he had been a Prince of civil government, holding his countenance without laughter or any such ill behavior.

He caused his mat to be spread on the ground, where he sat down with a great Majesty, taking a pipe of Tobacco, the rest of the company standing about him. After he had rested awhile he rose and made signs to us to come to his town. He went foremost and all the rest of his people and ourselves followed him up a steep Hill where his Palace was settled. We passed through the woods in fine paths, having most pleasant Springs which issued from the Mountains. We also went through the goodliest corn fields that ever was seen in any country. When we came to Rapahanna's Town he entertained us in good humanity. . . . . At Port Cotage, in our voyage up the River, we saw a Salvage Boy about the age of ten years, which had a head of hair of a perfect yellow, and a reasonable white skin, which is a miracle amongst all Salvages.

The River which we have discovered is one of the famousest rivers that ever was found by any Christian. It ebbs and flows a hundred and threescore miles, where ships of great burthen may harbor in safety. Wheresoever we landed upon this River, we saw the goodliest woods, as beech, oke, cedar, cypress, walnuts, sassafras and vines in great abundance which hang in great clusters on many trees, and other trees unknown, and all the grounds bespred with many sweet and delicate flowers of divers colors and kinds. There are also many fruits, as strawberries, mulberries, raspberries, and fruits unknown.

There are many branches of this River, which run flowing through the woods with great plenty of fish of all kinds; as for sturgeon, all the World can not be compared to it. In this Country I have seen many great and large meadows, having excellent good pasture for any cattle. There is also great store of deere, both red and fallow. There are bears, foxes, otters, beavers, muskats, and wild beasts unknown.

The four and twentieth day we set up a Cross at the head of this River, naming it King's River, where we proclaimed James, King of England, to have the most right unto it. When we had finished and set up our Cross, we shipt our men and made for James Fort. By the way we came to Pohatan's Towre, where the Captain went on shore, suffering none to go with him. He presented the Commander of this place with a Hatchet which he took joyfully, and was well pleased.

But yet the Salvages murmured at our planting in the Country, whereupon this Werowance made answer again very wisely of a Salvage: "Why should you be offended with them as long as they hurt you not, nor take anything away by force? They take but a little waste ground, which doth you nor any of us any good."

I saw bread made by their women which do all their drugerie. The men takes their pleasure in hunting and their wars, which they are in continually, one Kingdom against another.

The manner of baking of bread is thus:—after they pound their wheat into flowre, with hot water they make it into paste, and work it into round balls and cakes; then they put it into a pot of seething water. When it is sod thoroughly, they lay it on a smooth stone; there they harden it as well as in an Oven.

There is notice to be taken to know married women from Maids. The Maids you shall always see the fore part of their head and sides shaven close, the hinder part very long, which they tie in a plait hanging down to their hips. The married women wears their hair all of a length, and is tied of that fashion that the Maids' are. The women kind in this Country doth pounce and race their bodies, legs, thighs, arms, and faces, with a sharp iron, which makes a stamp in curious knots, and draws the proportion of Fowls, Fish, or Beasts; then with paintings of sundry lively colors, they rub it into the stamp, which will never be taken away, because it is dried into the flesh, where it is sered. The Salvages bear their years well, for when we were at Pamoukie's we saw a Salvage by their report was above eightscore years of age. His eyes were sunk into his head, having never a tooth in his mouth, his hair all gray, with a reasonable big beard which was as white as any snow. It is a Miracle to see a Salvage have any hair on their faces. I never saw, read, nor heard any have the like

before. This Salvage was as lusty and went as fast as any of us, which was strange to behold.

The fifteenth day of June, we had built and finished our Fort which was trianglewise, having three Bulwarks at every corner like a half Moon, and four or five pieces of artillery mounted in them. We had made ourselves sufficiently strong for these Salvages; we had also sown most of our corn on two mountains—it sprang a man's height from the ground. This Country is a fruitful soil, bearing many goodly and fruitful trees, as mulberries, cherries, walnuts, cedars, cypress, sassafras, and vines in great abundance.

Monday, the two and twentieth of June, in the morning, Captain Newport in the Admirall, departed from James Port for England. Captain Newport being gone for England, leaving us (one hundred and four persons) very bare and scanty of victuals, furthermore in wars and in danger of the Salvages. We hoped after a supply which Captain Newport promised within twenty weeks. But if the beginners of this action do carefully further us, the Country being so fruitful, it would be as great a profit to the Realm of England, as the Indies to the King of Spain. If this river which we have found, had been discovered in the time of war with Spain, it would have been a commoditie to our Realm, and a great annoyance to our enemies. The seven and twentieth of July the King of Rapahanna demanded a Canoa which was restored, lifted up his hand to the Sun, which they worship as their God, besides he laid his hand on his heart, that he would be our special friend. It is a general rule of these people when they swere by their God which is the Sun, no Christian will keep their Oath better upon this promise. These people have a great reverence to the Sun above all other things; at the rising and setting of the same, they sit down, lifting up their hands and eyes to the Sun, making a round Circle on the ground with dried Tobacco; then they began to pray, making many Devillish gestures with a Hellish noise, foming at the mouth, staring with their eyes, wagging their heads and hands in such a fashion and deformitie as it was monstrous to behold. . . . .

Our men were destroyed with cruel diseases as swellings, flixes, burning fevers, and by wars, and some departed suddenly; but for the most part they died of mere famine. There were never Englishmen left in a foreign country in such miserie as we were in this new discovered Virginia. We watched every three nights lying on the bare, cold ground, what weather soever came warded all the next day, which brought our men to be most feeble wretches. Our food was but a small Can of Barley sod in water to five men a day, our drink cold water taken out of the River, which was at a flood very salt, at a low

tide full of slime and filth, which was the destruction of many of our men. Thus we lived for the space of five months in this miserable distress, not having five able men to man our Bulwarks upon any occasion. If it had not pleased God to have put a terror in the Salvages hearts, we had all perished by those wild and cruel Pagans, being in that weak estate as we were, our men night and day groaning in every corner of the Fort most pitiful to hear. If there were any conscience in men, it would make their hearts to bleed to hear the pitiful murmurings and out-cries of our sick men without relief, every night and day for the space of six weeks, some departing out of the World, many times three or four in a night, in the morning their bodies trailed out of their Cabins like Dogs, to be buried. In this sort did I see the mortality of divers of our people.

It pleased God, after a while, to send those people which were our mortal enemies to relieve us with victuals, as Bread, Corn, Fish, and Flesh in great plenty, which was the setting up of our feeble men, otherwise we had all perished.

Alexander Whitaker.

Settled as Minister at Henrico, Virginia, 1611.

AN INFANT COLONY.

[*Good Newes from Virginia.* 1613.]

IF we consider the almost miraculous beginning and continuance of this plantation we must needs confess that God hath opened this passage unto us and led us by the hand unto this work. For the mariners that were sent hither first to discover this Bay of Chesapeake found it only by the mere directions of God's providence; for I heard one of them confess that even then, when they were entered within the mouth of the Bay, they deemed the place they sought for to have been many degrees further. The finding was not so strange, but the continuance and upholding of it hath been most wonderful. I may fitly compare it to the growth of an infant, which hath been afflicted from his birth with some grievous sickness that many times no hope of life hath remained and yet it liveth still. Again, if there were nothing else to encourage us, yet this one thing may stir us up to go on cheerfully with it: that the devil is a capital enemy against it, and continually seeketh which way to hinder the prosperity and

good proceedings of it. Yea, hath heretofore so far prevailed by his instruments, the covetous hearts of many backsliding adventurers at home, and also by his servants here—some striving for superiority, others by murmurings, mutinies, and plain treasons, and others by fornication, profaneness, idleness, and such monstrous sins—that he had almost thrust out of this kingdom, and had indeed quitted this land of us, if God had not then (as one awaked out of sleep) stood up and sent us means of great help when we needed most, and expected least relief.

The saving of those two honorable Knights, Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, with Captain Newport and the rest of the adventurers in the "Sea Venture," as also their happy deliverance out of those unhabited and unfrequented (because feared) Islands of the Bermudas, could proceed from none other but the singular providence of God. If this worthy Governor, Sir Thomas Gates, had been hindered but one week longer it might be feared that the famine, which had by that time devoured the most of our countrymen here, would have consumed the rest. And when he, considering that his weak means was not able to restore or sustain the burden of such woful distresses, had shipped the few remaining for England and had forsaken with Hannibal's sighs the first builded Jamestown: upon the sudden news met him, of the coming in of that Honorable Lord La War, with a fresh supply. Whereupon he presently returned to the town he had so lately forsaken. Since when this English colony hath taken better root; and as a spreading herb whose top hath been often cropped off renews her growth and spreads herself more gloriously than before, so this plantation, which the devil hath so often trodden down, is by the miraculous blessing of God revived and daily groweth to more happy and more hopeful success. I have shut up many things in few words and have alleged this only to prove unto us that the finger of God hath been the only true worker here; that God first showed us the place, God first called us hither, and here God by his special providence hath maintained us. Wherefore by Him let us be encouraged to lay our helping hands to this good work (yea, God's work) with all the strength of our ability.

Secondly, let the miserable condition of these naked slaves of the devil move you to compassion toward them. They acknowledge that there is a great good God, but know Him not, having the eyes of their understanding as yet blinded; wherefore they serve the devil for fear after a most base manner, sacrificing sometimes (as I have here heard) their own children to him. I have sent one image of their god to the council in England which is painted upon one side of a toad-stool, much like unto a deformed monster. Their priests (whom they

call Quiokosoughs) are no other but such as our English witches are. They live naked in body, as if their shame of their sin deserved no covering. Their names are as naked as their body. They esteem it a virtue to lie, deceive, and steal, as their master, the devil, teacheth them. Much more might be said of their miserable condition, but I refer the particular narration of these things to some other season. If this be their life, what, think you, shall become of them after death but to be partakers with the devil and his angels in hell for evermore? Wherefore, my brethren, put on the bowels of compassion and let the lamentable estate of these miserable people enter into your consideration. One God created us; they have reasonable souls and intellectual faculties as well as we; we all have Adam for our common parent: yea, by nature the condition of us both is all one, the servants of sin and slaves of the devil. Oh, remember (I beseech you) what was the state of England before the Gospel was preached in our country. How much better were we then and concerning our souls' health than these now are? Let the word of the Lord sound out, that it may be heard in these parts; and let your faith which is toward God spread itself abroad, and show forth the charitable fruits of it in these barren parts of the world. "And let him know that he which hath converted a sinner from going astray out of his way shall save a soul from death and hide a multitude of sins."

But if any of us should misdoubt that this barbarous people is uncapable of such heavenly mysteries, let such men know that they are far mistaken in the nature of these men; for beside the promise of God, which is without respect of persons, made as well to unwise men after the flesh as to the wise, etc., let us not think that these men are so simple as some have supposed them. For they are of body lusty, strong, and very nimble: they are a very understanding generation, quick of apprehension, sudden in their dispatches, subtle in their dealings, exquisite in their inventions, and industrious in their labor. I suppose the world hath no better marksmen with their bow and arrows than they be; they will kill birds flying, fishes swimming, and beasts running: they shoot also with marvellous strength. They shot one of our men (being unarmed) quite through the body and nailed both his arms to his body with one arrow. One of their children also, about the age of twelve or thirteen years, killed a bird with his arrow in my sight. The service of their God is answerable to their life being performed with great fear and attention and many strange dumb shows used in the same, stretching forth their limbs and straining their body much like to the counterfeit women in England who feign themselves bewitched or possessed of some evil spirit.

They stand in great awe of their Quiokosoughs or priests, which

are a generation of vipers even of Satan's own brood. The manner of their life is much like to the popish hermits of our age; for they live alone in the woods, in houses sequestered from the common course of men; neither may any man be suffered to come into their house or to speak with them but when this priest doth call him. He taketh no care for his victuals, for all such kind of things, both bread and water, etc., are brought unto a place near unto his cottage and there are left, which he fetcheth for his proper need. If they would have rain, or have lost any thing, they have their recourse to him who conjureth for them and many times prevaileth. If they be sick, he is their physician; if they be wounded, he sucketh them. At his command they make war and peace, neither do they any thing of moment without him. I will not be tedious in these strange narrations; when I have more perfectly entered into their secrets you shall know all. Finally, there is a civil government amongst them which they strictly observe and show thereby that the law of nature dwelleth in them, for they have a rude kind of commonwealth, and rough government, wherein they both honor and obey their kings, parents, and governors, both greater and less. They observe the limits of their own possessions and encroach not upon their neighbors' dwellings. Murder is a capital crime scarce heard of among them; adultery is most severely punished, and so are their other offences. These unnurtured grounds of reason in them may serve to encourage us to instruct them in the knowledge of the true God, the rewarder of all righteousness, not doubting but that He that was powerful to save us by His word when we were nothing, will be merciful also to these sons of Adam in His appointed time, in whom there be remaining so many footsteps of God's image. . . . .

Let then your liberal minds (you honorable and charitable adventurers of Virginia) be stirred up to cast your alms on the waters of Virginia without hope of present profit. The base affections of the usurer will not look for the overplus of increase until the covenanted time of his loan be expired. The husbandman casting his seed into the earth waiteth upon God until harvest for a fruitful crop. Verily he that believeth doth not make haste. Be not overhasty with God; God will not yet reward you, that he may make you more famous in the world, that the world may see your zeal, and bear witness to the patience of your faith, not to greedy haste of covetous desires. The work is honorable and now more than ever sustained by most honorable men.

. . . . . .

Remember, I beseech you, how many lives were lost, how many years were spent, what discouragements, what great losses the advent-

urers of Spain and Portugal suffered and underwent, before they could be settled in the West Indies, or receive any profitable return from thence. And now behold what rich loads, what profitable returns are yearly shipped from thence! Shall our nation, hitherto famous for noble attempts and the honorable finishing of what they have undertaken, be now taxed for inconstancy and blamed by the enemies of our protestation, for uncharitableness? Yea, shall we be a scorn among princes and a laughing-stock among our neighbor nations for basely leaving what we honorably began; yea, for beginning a discovery, whose riches other men shall gather so soon as we have forsaken it? Awake, you true-hearted Englishmen, you servants of Jesus Christ, remember that the plantation is God's and the reward your country's. Wherefore, aim not at your present private gain, but let the glory of God, whose kingdom you now plant, and good of your country whose wealth you seek, so far prevail with you that you respect not a present return of gain for this year or two; but that you would more liberally supply for a little space this your Christian work which you so charitably began. As for those spirits of slander whom the devil hath stirred up to speak evil of this good land and to weaken the hands of our brethren lest they should go forward and pull Satan out of his dominions, let them take heed lest the punishment of Shammua and his nine companions, the faithless searchers of the Land of Canaan, do befall them: and that they never live to taste of the commodities of this good land.

But lest I may seem to exhort you to an unprofitable liberality or to argue God of forgetfulness to those that serve him faithfully, hear now what a comfortable promise of reward God hath made unto us in these words: which is, "That after many days we shall find." If God should have commanded us to cast away without finding, some discouragement there might have been to our weak nature; but since God hath assuredly promised us that we shall find in the end, who will not obey the command? Who will not be liberal? God hath been always found true in his word, most faithful in his promises. . . . .

Wherefore you (right wise and noble adventurers of Virginia) whose hearts God hath stirred up to build Him a temple, to make Him an house, to conquer a kingdom for Him here, be not discouraged with those many lamentable assaults that the devil hath made against us; he now rageth most because he knoweth his kingdom is to have a short end. Go forward boldly and remember that you fight under the banner of Jesus Christ, that you plant His kingdom who hath already broken the serpent's head. God may defer His temporal reward for a season, but be assured that in the end you shall find riches and honor in this world and blessed immortality in the world to come.

John Pory.

BORN about 1570. DIED before 1635.

A PHILOSOPHICAL ADVENTURER.

[*Letter from James City, to Sir Dudley Carleton. Sept.* 30, 1619.]

NOWE that your lordship may knowe that we are not the veriest beggars in the worlde our cowekeeper here of James citty on Sundays goes accowtered all in freshe flaming silke; and a wife of one that in England had professed the black arte, not of a scholler, but of a collier of Croydon, weares her rough bever hatt with a faire perle hattband and a silken suite thereto correspondent. But to leave the Populace and to come higher:—the Governor here, who at his first coming, besides a great deale of worth in his person, brought only his sword with him, was at his late being in London, together with his lady, out of his meer gettings here able to disburse very near three thousand pounde to furnishe himselfe for his voyage. And once within seven yeares I am persuaded (*absit invidia verbo*) that the Governor's place here may be as profittable as the Lord Deputies' of Irland. All this notwithstanding, I may say of myselfe that when I was the last yeare with your lordship at Middleborough, *si mens non læva fuisset*, I might have gone to the Hagh with you and founde myselfe there nowe in far better company, which indeed is the soule of this life, and might have beene deeply ingrafted into your lordship's service, which since I have a thousand times affected in vaine. And therefore seeing I have missed that singular happiness I must for what remaines depende upon God's providence, who my hope is wilbe so merciful towards me as once more before I dye to vouchsafe me the sight of your countenance, wherein, I speak unfainedly, I shall enjoye as much happines as in any other thing I can imagine in this worlde.

At my first coming hither the solitary uncouthness of this place compared with those parts of Christendome or Turky where I had been; and likewise my being sequestred from all occurrents and passages which are so rife there, did not a little vexe me. And yet in these five months of my continuance here, there have come at one time or another eleven saile of ships into this river; but fraighted more with ignorance, then with any other marchandiże. At length being hardned to this custome of abstinence from curiosity, I am resolved wholly to minde my business here and nexte after my pen to have some good booke alwayes in store, being in solitude the best

and choicest company. Besides among these christall rivers and odoriferous woods I doe escape muche expense, envye, contempte, vanity, and vexation of minde.

HOW THE COLONISTS WENT INTO INDIAN SOCIETY.

[*Smith's "Generall Historie."* 1624.]

SIR George Yeardley intending to visit Smith's Iles, fell so sicke that he could not, so that he sent me with Estinien Moll, a Frenchman, to finde a convenient place to make salt in. Not long after Namenacus the king of Pawtuxunt, came to us to seeke for Thomas Salvage our Interpreter. Thus insinuating himselfe, he led us into a thicket, where all sitting downe, he shewed us his naked brest; asking if we saw any deformitie upon it, we told him, No. "No more," said hee, "is the inside, but as sincere and pure; therefore come freely to my Countrie and welcome;"—which wee promised wee would within six weekes after. Having taken a muster of the companie's tenants, I went to Smith's Iles, where was our salthouse; not farre off we found a more convenient place and so returned to James towne.

Being furnished the second time, wee arrived at Aquohanock, and conferred with Kiptopeke their King. Passing Russel's Ile and Onaucoke, wee arrived at Pawtuxunt. The discription of those places, you may reade in Captaine Smith's discoveries, therefore needlesse to bee writ againe. But here arriving at Attoughcomoco the habitation of Namenacus and Wamanato, his brother, long wee staied not ere they came aboord us with a brasse Kettle, as bright without as within, full of boyled Oisters. Strict order was given none should offend us, so that the next day I went with the two kings a-hunting, to discover what I could in their confines. Wamanato brought mee first to his house, where hee shewed mee his wife and children, and many Corne-fields; and being two miles within the woods a-hunting, as the younger conducted mee forth, so the elder brought mee home, and used mee as kindly as he could, after their manner. The next day he presented me twelve Bever skinnes and a Canow, which I requited with such things to his content, that he promised to keepe them whilst hee lived, and burie them with him being dead. Hee much wondered at our Bible, but much more to heare it was the Lawe of our God, and the first chapter of Genesis expounded of Adam and Eve, and simple mariage; to which hee replyed, hee was like Adam in one thing, for he never had but

one wife at once: but he as all the rest seemed more willing of other discourses they better understood.

The next day the two kings with their people came aboord us, but brought nothing according to promise; so that Ensigne Salvage challenged Namenacus the breach of three promises, *viz.* not in giving him a Boy, nor Corne, though they had plentie, nor Moutapass a fugitive, called Robert Marcum, that had lived five yeeres amongst those northerly nations, which hee cunningly answered by excuses. Wamanata, it seemes, was guiltlesse of this falshood, because hee staied alone when the rest were gone. I asked him if he desired to bee great and rich; he answered, they were things all men aspired unto: which I told him he should be, if he would follow my counsell. So he gave me two tokens, which being returned by a messenger, should suffice to make him confident the messenger could not abuse us.

Some things being stolne from us, he tooke such order that they were presently restored, then we interchanged presents: in all things he much admired our discretions, and gave us a guide that hee called "brother," to conduct us up the river: by the way we met with divers that still tould us of Marcum: and though it was in October, we found the Countrie very hot, and the Corne gathered before ours at James towne.—The next day we went to Paccamagannant, and they directed us to Assacomoco, where their king Cassatowap had an old quarrell with Ensigne Salvage, but now seeming reconciled, went with us, with another Werowance towards Mattapanient, where they perswaded us ashore upon the point of a thicket; but supposing it some trecherie, we returned to our boat. Far wee had not gone from the shore, but a multitude of Salvages sallied out of the wood, with all the ill words and signes of hostilitie they could. When wee saw plainly their bad intent, wee set the two werowances at libertie, that all this while had lain in the Cabbin, as not taking any notice of their villanie; because we would convert them by courtesie. Leaving them as we found them, very civil and subtil, wee returned the same way wee came, to the laughing king on the Easterne shore, who told us plainly, Namanicus would have allured him into his Countrie, under colour of trade to cut his throat. Hee told us also Opechankanough had imployed Onianimo to kill Salvage, because he brought the trade from him to the Easterne shore, and some disgrace hee had done his son, and some thirteene of his people before one hundred of those Easterlings in rescuing Thomas Graves whom they would have slaine, where hee and three more did challenge the thirteene Pamaunkes to fight, but they durst not, so that all those Easterlings so derided them, that they came there no more.

Anonymous.

The first publication issued in London describing the New Province.

HOW THE ENGLISH SETTLED IN MARYLAND.

[*A Relation of the Successful Beginnings of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Mary-land.* 1634.]

ON Friday the 22. of November 1633, a small gale of winde comming gently from the northwest, weighed from the Cowes, in the Ile of Wight, about ten in the morning; and (having stayed by the way twenty dayes at the Barbada's, and fourteene dayes at St. Christophers, upon some necessary occasions,) wee arrived at Point-Comfort in Virginia, on the 24. of February following, the Lord be praised for it. At this time one Captaine Claybourne was come from parts where wee intended to plant, to Virginia, and from him wee understood, that all the natives of these parts were in preparation of defence, by reason af a rumour some-body had raised amongst them, of sixe ships that were come with a power of Spanyards, whose meaning was to drive all the inhabitants out of the countrey.

Wee had good letters from his Majesty to the Governour and Councill of Virginia, which made him favor us and shew us as noble usage as the place afforded, with promise, that for their cattel and hoggs, corne and poultry, our plantation should not want the open way to furnish ourselves from thence: He told us likewise, that when his Lordship should be resolved on a convenient place to make himself a seat, he should be able to provide him with as much bricke and tile as he should have occasion to imploy, until his Lordship had made of his own: Also, that he had to furnish his Lordship with two or three hundred stocks ready grafted with peares, apples, plummes, apricotes, figgs, and peaches, and some cherries: That he had also some orange and limon trees in the grounds which yet thrived; Also filberds, hazelnuts and almonds; and in one place of the Colony, quince-trees, wherewith he could furnish his Lordship; and, in fine, that his Lordship should not want any thing that Colony had.

On the 3. of March wee came into Chesapeake Bay, and made sayle to the north of Patoemeck river, the Bay running betweene two sweete lands in the channell of 7, 8, and 9 fathome deepe, 10 leagues broad, and full of fish at the time of the yeere; It is one of the delightfullest waters I ever saw, except Potoemeck, which we named St. Gregories. And now being in our own countrey, wee began to give names to places, and called the southerne pointe, Cape Saint Gregory; and the northerly point, Saint Michaels.

This river, of all I know, is the greatest and sweetest, much broader than the Thames; so pleasant, as I for my part, was never satisfied in beholding it. Few marshes or swamps, but the greatest part sollid good earth, with great curiosity of woods which are not choaked up with undershrubbes, but set commonly one from the other in such distance as a coach and foure horses may easily travell through them.

At the first loaming of the ship upon the river, wee found (as was foretold us) all the countrey in Armes. The King of the Paschattowayes had drawen together 1500 bowe-men, which wee ourselves saw, the woods were fired in the manner of beacons the night after; and for that our vessell was the greatest that ever those Indians saw, the scowtes reported wee came in a Canoa, as bigge as an Island, and had as many men as there bee trees in the woods.

Wee sayled up the river until wee came to Heron Islands, so called from the infinite swarmes of that fowle there. The first of those Islands we called Saint Clement's: The second Saint Katharine's; And the third, Saint Cicilie's. We took land first in Saint Clement's, which is compassed about with a shallow water, and admitts no accesse without wading; here by the overturning of the shallop, the maids which had been washing at the land were almost drowned, beside the losse of much linnen, and amongst the rest, I lost the best of mine which is a very maine losse in these parts. The ground is covered thicke with pokickeries (which is a wild wall-nut very hard and thick of shell; but the meate (though little) is passing sweete,) with black wall-nuts, and acorns bigger than ours. It abounds with vines and salletts, hearbs and flowers, full of cedar and sassafras. It is but 400 acres bigg, and therefore too little for us to settle upon.

Heere we went to a place, where a large tree was made into a Crosse; and taking it on our shoulders, wee carried it to the place appointed for it. The Governour and Commissioners putting their hands first unto it, then the rest of the chiefest adventurers. At the place prepared wee all kneeled downe, and said certain prayers; taking possession of the countrey for our Saviour, and for our soveraigne Lord the King of England.

Here our Governour had good advice given him, not to land for good and all, before hee had beene with the Emperour of Paschattoway, and had declared unto him the Cause of our coming: Which was first to learne them a divine Doctrine, which would lead their soules to a place of happinesse after this life were ended; And also, to enrich them with such ornaments of a civil life wherewith our countrey doth abound: and this Emperour being satisfied, none of the inferiour Kings would stirre. In conformity to this advice, hee took two pinnaces, his owne, and another hired in Virginia; and leaving the ship before

St. Clements at anchor, went up the river and landing on the south side, and finding the Indians fled for feare, came to Potoemack Towne, when the King being a child, Archihau his uncle governed both him and his countrey for him. Hee gave all the company good welcome: and one of the company having entered into a little discourse with him touching the errours of their religion, hee seemed well pleased therewith; and at his going away desired him to return unto him againe, telling him he should live at his Table, his men should hunt for him, and hee would divide all with him.

From hence they went to Paschattoway. All were heere armed: 500 Bow-men came to the water-side. The Emperour himself, more fearlesse than the rest, came privately aboard, where he was courteously entertained; and understanding wee came in a peaceable manner, bade us welcome, and gave us leave to sit downe in what place of his Kingdome wee pleased. While this King was aboard, all the Indians came to the water-side, fearing treason, whereupon two of the King's men, that attended him in our shippe were appointed to row on shoare to quit them of this feare: but they refusing to goe for feare of the popular fury; the interpretours standing on the Deck shewed the King to them that hee was in safety, where-with they were satisfied. In this journey the Governour entertained Captaine Henry Fleete and his three barkes; who accepted a proportion in beaver trade to serve us, being skillfull in the tongue, and well beloved of the natives.

Whilest the Governour was abroad the Indians began to lay aside feare, and to come to our Court of guard, which wee kept night and day upon St. Clement's Ile: partly to defend our Barge, which was brought in pieces out of England, and there made up, and partly to defend the Captaines men, which were imployed in felling of trees, and cleaning pales for the pallizado: and at last they ventured to come aboard our ship. It was worth the hearing for those who understood them to heare what admiration at our ship; Calling it a Canow, and wondering where so great a tree grew that made it, conceiving it to bee made of one piece, as their Canows are. Our great Ordnance was a great and fearefull thunder, they had never heard any before; all the countrey trembles at them.

The Governour being returned, wee came some nine leagues lower to a river on the north side of that land, as bigg as the Thames: which wee called Saint Gregorie's river. It runs up to the North about 20 miles before it comes to the fresh. This river makes two excellent Bayes, for 300 sayle of shippes of 1000 tunne, to harbour in with great safety. The one Bay we named Saint George's; the other (and more inward) Saint Marie's. The King of Yaocomico, dwells on the left-hand or side thereof: and we tooke up our seate on the

right, one mile within the land. It is as brave a piece of ground to set down on as most is in the countrey, and I suppose as good, (if not much better) than the primest parcell of English ground.

Our town we call Saint Marie's; and to avoid all just occasion of offence, and collour of wrong, wee bought of the King for hatchetts, axes, howes, and cloathes, a quantitie of some 30 miles of Land, which wee call Augusta Carolina; And that which made them the more willing to sell it, was the warres they had with the Sasquesa-hanoughs, a mighty bordering nation, who came often into their countrey, to waste and destroy; and forced many of them to leave their countrey, and passe over Patoemeck to free themselves from perill before wee came. God no doubt disposing all this for them, who were to bring his law and light among the Infidells. Yet, seeing wee came so well prepared with armes, their feare was much lesse, and they could be content to dwell by us: Yet doe they daily relinquish their houses, lands, and Corne-fields, and leave them to us. Is not this a piece of wonder that a nation, which a few dayes before was in armes with the rest against us, should yeeld themselves now unto us like lambes, and give us their houses, lands and livings, for a trifle? *Digitus Dei est hic:* and surely some great good is intended by God to his Nation. Some few families of Indians are permitted to stay by us till next yeere, and then the land is free.

Wee had not beene long time seated there, ere Sir John Harvey, Governor of Virginia, did our Governour the honour (in most friendly manner) to visit him: and during the time of his being there, the King of Patuxunt also came to visit us; and being come aboard the Arke, and brought into the great Cabbin, and seated betweene the two Governors (Captaine Fleete and Master Golding the interpreters being present) he began his speech as followeth:

"When I heard that a great Werowance of the English was come to Yoacomoco, I had a great desire to see him. But when I heard the Werowance of Pasbie-haye was come thither also to visit him, I presently start up, and without further counsell came to see them both."

In the time of his stay at St. Marie's, wee kept the solemnitie of carrying our colours on shore: and the King of Patuxunt accompanying us, was much taken with the ceremony. But the same night (hee and Captaine Fleete being at the Indian House) the Arke's great gunnes, to honour the day, spake aloude; which the King of Patuxunt with great admiration hearing, counselled his friends the Yoacomoco Indians to be carefull that they breake not their peace with us; and said: "When we shoote, our Bow-strings give a twang that's heard but a little way off: But doe you not hear what cracks their Bow-strings give?" Many such pretty sayings hee used in the time of

his being with us, and at his departure, hee thus exprest his extraordinary affection unto us:

"I doe love the English so well, that if they should kill me, so that they left mee with so much breath, as to speake unto my people, I would commend them not to revenge my Death."

As for the natives they are proper tall Men of person; swarthy by nature but much more by art: painting themselves with colours in oyle, like a darke red, which they doe to keep the gnatts off: wherein, I confesse, there is more ease than comlinesse.

As for their faces, they have other colours at times, as blew from the nose upward, and red downeward, and sometime contrariwise in great variety, and in very gastly manner; sometimes they have no beards till they come to be very old, and therefore drawe from each side of their mouthes, lines to their very ears, to represent a beard; and this sometimes of one colour, and sometimes of another.

They wear their hair generally very long, and it is as black as Jett: which they bring up in a knott to the left eare, and tye it about with a large string of Wampampegge, or Roanoke, or some other of the best Jewels among them. Upon their forehead, some use to weare a fish of copper, and some weare other figures.

About their neckes, they use to weare many bugle chaynes, though these begin now not to be esteemed among them for truck. Their apparell generally is deere-skin, and some Furre, which they weare like loose mantles: yet under this about their middle, all women and men, at man's estate, weare Perizomata (or round aprons) of skinnes, which keeps them decently covered, that without any offence to chast eyes wee may converse with them.

All the rest of their bodies are naked, and at times, some of the youngest sort both of men and women have just nothing to cover them. Their feete are as hard as any horne, when they runne over prickles and thornes they feele it not. Their armes is a Bow, with a bunch of Arrowes, of a yard long, furnisht with three feathers at the top; and pointed either with the point of a deere's horne, or a sharp three-cornered white flint; the rest is a small cane, or straight sticke. They are so experte at these, that I have once seen one, a good distance off, strike a very small bird through the middelle: and they used to cast up a thing from hand, and before it come to the ground to meete it with a shaft. Their bowes are but weake, and carry not levell very farre; yet these are their livelyhood, and every day they are abroad after squirrells, paretidges, turkies, deere, and the like game; whereof there is a wonderfull plenty; though wee dare not yet be so bold ourselves, as to fetch fresh meate by this meanes, farre off.

The Indian houses are all built heere in a long halfe ovall; nine or

tenne foote high to the midelle top, where (as in ancient Temples) the light is admitted by a window, halfe a yarde square; which window is also the chimney, which giveth passage to the smoake, the fire being made in the middest of the floore (as in our old halls of England) and about it they use to lie. Save only that their Kings and great men have their Cabbins, and a bed of skinnes well dressed (wherein they are excellent) set on boards and foure stakes driven into the ground. And now at this present, many of us live in these Witchotts (as they terme them) conveniently enough till better bee sett up: But they are dressed up something better than when the Indians had them.

The natural witt of this nation is good and quick, and will concive a thing very readily: they excell in smell and tast, and have far sharper sight than wee. Their ordinary diet is poane and omine, both made of corne, to which they adde at times, fish, fowle, and venison.

They are of great temperance, especially from hott-waters or wine, which they are hardly brought to tast, save only whom the English have corrupted with their owne vices.

For modestie, I must confesse, I never saw from Man or Woman, any action tending to levitie; and yet daily the poore soules are heere in our houses, and take content to bee with us, bringing sometimes turkies, sometimes squirrells as bigge as English rabbetts, but much more dainty; at other times fine white cakes, patridges, oisters ready boil'd and stewed: and doe runne unto us with smiling countenance when they see us, and will fish and hunt for us, if wee will; and all this with entercourse of very few words, but wee have hitherto gathered their meaning by signes.

It is lawfull among them to have more wives than one: but all keepe the rigour of conjugall faith unto their husbands. The women's very aspect is modest and grave.

Generally the nation is so noble, that you cannot doe them any favour or good turnes but they returne it. There is small passion among them, but they weigh all with a calme and quiet reason. And to doe this the better, in greate affaires they are studdying in a long silence what is best to bee said or done: And then they answer yea or no, in two words: And stand constantly to their resolution.

If these people were once Christians (as by some signes wee have reason to think nothing hinders it but want of language) it would be a right vertuous and renowned Nation.

As for their religion, we have not language ourselves to find it out; Master Thoroughgood, who drives his Lordship's trade upon the river Patuxunt, hath related somewhat.

First they acknowledge one God of Heaven, which they call (our) God; and cry, a thousand shames upon those Christians that so lightly

offend so good a God. But they give no external honour unto him, but use all their might to please an Okee (or frantick spirit) for feare of harme from him. They adore also Wheat and Fire as two gods, very beneficial unto man's nature.

In the Machicomoco, or temple of Patuxunt, there was scene by our traders this Ceremony. Upon a day appointed all the Townes mett, and a great fire being made; about it stood the younger sort, and behinde them again the elder. Then taking a little deer suett, they cast it into the fire, crying "Taho, Taho," and lifting their hands to heaven. After this was brought before them a great bagg, filled with a large Tobacco-pipe and Poake, which is the word they use for our Tobacco. This was carried about the fire, the youth following, and singing "Taho, Taho," in very good tune of voice, and comely gesture of body.

The round ended, one comes reverently to the bagg, and opening it, takes out the Pipe, and divides the Poake from one to one. As every one tooke his draught, hee breath'd his smoake upon the limbs of his owne body; as it were to sanctifie them by this ceremony, to the honour and service of their God, whomsoever they meant.

This is all I can say touching their religion: save only that they seeme to have some knowledge, by tradition, of a flood wherein the world was drowned for sinne.

Colonel Norwood.

Related to Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia.

A DOLOROUS JOURNEY TO THE NEW WORLD.

[*A Voyage to Virginia.*]

THE month of August, Anno 1649, being the time I engag'd to meet my two comrades, Major Francis Morrison, and Major Richard Fox, at London, in order to a full accomplishment of our purpose to seek our fortunes in Virginia, (pursuant to our agreement the year before in Holland) all parties very punctually appear'd at the time and place assign'd, and were all still in the same mind, fully bent to put in practice what we had so solemnly agreed upon, our inclinations that way being nothing abated, but were rather quicken'd, by the new changes that we saw in the state of things,

and that very much for the worse. For if our spirits were somewhat depress'd in contemplation of a barbarous restraint upon the person of our king in the Isle of Wight, to what horrors and despairs must our minds be reduc'd at the bloody and bitter stroke of his assassination, at his palace of Whitehall?

This unparallel'd butchery made the rebels cast away the scabbards of their swords with both their hands, in full resolution never to let them meet again, either by submission or capitulation; so that the sad prospect of affairs in this juncture, gave such a damp to all the royal party who had resolved to persevere in the principle which engaged them in the war, that a very considerable number of nobility, clergy, and gentry, so circumstanc'd, did fly from their native country, as from a place infected with the plague, and did betake themselves to travel anywhere to shun so hot a contagion, there being no point on the compass that would not suit with some of our tempers and circumstances, for transportation into foreign lands.

Of the number who chose to steer their course for America, such of them as inclin'd to try their fortunes at Surinam, Barbados, Antigua, and the Leeward Islands, were to be men of the first rate, who wanted not money or credit to balance the expence necessary to the carrying on the sugar works. And this consideration alone was enough to determine our choice for Virginia, had we wanted other arguments to engage us in the voyage. The honour I had of being nearly related to Sir William Berkeley the governor, was no small incitation to encourage me with a little stock to this adventure. Major Morrison had the king's commission to be captain of the fort; and Mr. Fox was to share in our good or bad success. But my best cargaroon was his Majesty's gracious letter in my favour, which took effect beyond my expectation, because it recommended me (above whatever I had or could deserve) to the governor's particular care.

To proceed then, without any further exordium, to the subject of this narrative: It fell out to be about the first day of September, Anno 1649, that we grew acquainted on the Royal Exchange with Capt. John Locker, whose bills upon the posts made us know he was master of a good ship, (untruly so call'd) "The Virginia Merchant," burden three hundred tons, of force thirty guns, or more. We were not long in treaty with the captain, but agreed with him for our selves and servants at six pounds a head, to be transported into James River; our goods to be paid for at the current price.

About the fifteenth day, we were ordered to meet the ship at Gravesend, where the captain was to clear with his merchants, and we to make our several payments; which when we had performed,

we staid not for the ship, but took post for the Downs, where, with some impatience, we expected her coming there. About the sixteenth ditto, we could see the whole fleet under sail, with a south-west wind; which having brought them to that road, kept them there at anchor, until our money was almost spent at Deal.

September 23. the wind veered to the east, and we were summoned by signs and guns to repair on board. We had a fresh large gale three days, which cleared us of the channel, and put us out of soundings. With this propitious beginning we pursued our course for about twenty days, desiring to make the western islands; at which time the cooper began to complain, that our water-cask was almost empty, alledging, that there was not enough in hold, for our great family (about three hundred and thirty souls) to serve a month.

Our early want of water gave the master an alarm, and an occasion to consult with his officers for a remedy to so important an evil as that might be, if not timely helped. We were now, by all accounts, very near the western islands. Fyall was that we were likely first to see, and our captain resolved to touch there to supply this defect, as the most commodious port for our purpose; and this was good news to the passengers, who are always glad at sight of land.

The day-break of October 14th, shewed us the peek of that island, the highest and most conspicuous land of any I have heard the seamen mention for land-marks, except that of the Teneriff. We stood directly for the harbour, which is also a good road, land-lock'd by the peek, which stands easterly about a mile distant from the town.

As soon as we had saluted the castle, and returned thanks for being civilly answered, Captain John Tatam, our countryman, did the same from aboard his goodly ship, the "John." He was newly returned from Brasil, in the kingdom of Portugal's service, and now bound for Lisbon, with a rich freight, and some lady of great note, who with her family took passage with him.

The English merchants from the town came soon on board our ship, and gave us a very civil welcome. Of them, one Mr. Andrews invited me, with my two comrades, to refresh ourselves with fruit and meat such as the island produced. Our captain dined with us at his house, and so did Captain Tatam, who in like courteous manner engaged us all to dine on board his ship the next day. We visited the peach-trees for our desert, of which I took at least a double share, and did not fail to visit and revisit them in the dead of night, to satisfy a ravenous appetite nature has too prodigally given me for that species. . . . .

A little before the time of dinner Captain Tatam had sent his

boats to bring us on board his ship; and it was well for us he did so, our ship's long-boat having been staved in pieces the night before, by the seamen's neglect, who had all tasted so liberally of new wine, by the commodiousness of the vintage, that they lay up and down dead drunk in all quarters, in a sad pickle. . . .

At our arrival we were welcomed with a whole tyre of guns, and with a very kind aspect in the captain. He gave us excellent wines to drink before dinner, and at our meat as good of other sorts for concoction. There was a handsome plenty of fish and fowl, several ways cooked, to relish the Portuguese's and the English palates; and, which made our entertainment more complete, he had prevailed with that great lady, with her pretty son of about twelve years old (tho' contrary to the custom even of the meaner sort at land) to sit at the table with us. She was taller than the ordinary stature of that nation, finely shap'd, had a very clear skin; her eyes and hair vying for the blackness and beauty of the jet; her modesty served, without any other art, to put a tincture of red upon her face; for when she saw herself environed with a company of strange faces, that had or might have had beards upon them, her blushes raised in her face a delicate complexion of red and white.

The captain was our interpreter to tell her how much we esteemed our selves honoured with her presence, which (for her better justification) she was in a manner forced to grant us, the ship affording her no other place fit for her retreat whilst we were there. Her young son sat by her, on whom all our eyes were fix'd; and our minds united with one opinion, that the air and lineaments of his face, full of sweetness, made him so like our king when he was of that age, that, every one whispering his thoughts to his neighbour, we all broke out at length in an open admiration of so great resemblance.

The healths of the two kings were passing about with thundering peals of cannon; the youth was permitted by his mother to kiss the cup, and drink a small portion to that of our king; and she was in so pleasant an humour at this honour done to her son, that, to close our feast, she ordered the table to be covered anew, and a handsome banquet placed upon it, which we must partake of before we parted. To conclude this rare treat, she repeated the health of our king in a sort of choice rich wine that they make in Brasil, and drank the proportion she would take, without the allay of water, which till then she drank with little or no wine.

The approaching night made us take leave sooner than our inclinations would have led us ashore, the merchants having told us, there was no safe walking the streets in the night, for fear the Pycaroes

(a sort of land pyrates) should snatch away our hats and looser garments, as they use to treat strangers.

When we had paid our thanks to the captain, we desired his best language to make our compliments to the lady and her son, which she returned with her wishes for our happy voyage. . . .

It was about the 22. of October that we took leave of our landlord and Fyall. We had store of black pigs for fresh meat, and I carry'd peaches without number. We parted with an easterly wind a top-sail gate, which soon brought us into a trade-wind that favoured us at fifty or sixty leagues in twenty-four hours, till we came to the height of Bermudas. In that latitude it is the general observation of seamen, that the seas are rough, and the weather stormy. It was my fortune to have a curiosity to look out, when the officer on the watch shewed me a more than ordinary agitation of the sea in one particular place above the rest; which was the effect of what they call a spout, a raging in the bowels of the sea, (like a violent birth) striving to break out, and at last springs up like a mine at land, with weight and force enough to have hoised our ship out of her proper element, into the air (had the helm been for it) and to have made her do the supersalt; but God's providence secured us from that danger.

The sight of the island was welcome to all: the mariners learned thereby our true distance from Cape Hatteras; and the passengers were relieved with hopes to be soon at shore from a hungry pester'd ship and company.

The gale continued fair till November 8: then we observed the water changed; and having the lead, we had thirty-five fathom of water, which was joyful news; our want of all things necessary for human life, made it so.

Towards break of day, weary of my lodging, I visited Mate Putts on the watch, and would have treated him with brandy, but he refused that offer, unless I could also give him tobacco, which I had not. He said, "it was near break of day, and he would look out to see what change there was in the water." No sooner were his feet upon the deck, but with stamps and noise he calls up the seamen, crying out, "All hands aloft! Breaches, breaches on both sides! All hands aloft!"

The seamen were soon on deck with this dismal alarm, and saw the cause thereof; but instead of applying their hands for their preservation (through a general despondency) they fell on their knees, commending their souls as at the last gasp. The captain came out at the noise to rectify what was amiss; but seeing how the case stood, his courage failed. Mate Putts (a stout seaman)

took heart again, and cried out, "Is there no good fellow that will stand to the helm, and loose a sail?" But of all the ship's crew there were but two foremast men that would be perswaded to obey commands, namely, Thomas Reasin and John Smith, men of innate courage, who, for their good resolution on that and divers other occasions in the various traverses of this voyage, deserve to have their names kept in lasting remembrance.

One of them got up and loosed the fore top-sail, to put the ship (if possible) in steerage way, and under command; the other stood to the helm, and he shifted it in a nick of time; for the ship was at the point of dashing on the starboard breach: and altho', in the rest of the voyage, she was wont to be blamed for the ill quality of not feeling the helm, she did, in this important instance, redeem her credit, and fell round off for our rescue from that danger. But the sense of this escape lasted but a moment; for no sooner was she fallen from that breach, but another on the larboard-bow was ready to receive her. The ship's crew, by this time (reproached by the courage of Reasin and Smith) were all at work; and the helm shifting opportunely, she fell off again as before. The light of the day (which now broke forth) did discover our condition to be altogether as perillous as possible; for we now saw our selves surrounded with breaches; scarce any water like a channel appeared for a way to shun them. In this sad condition the ship struck ground, and raised such a war of water and sand together, which fell on the main-chains, that now all hopes of safety were laid aside; but the ship being still afloat, and the seamen all of them now under command, nothing was omitted for our preservation that was in their power.

Tom Reasin, seeing the ship go ahead in the likeliest water for a channel, and ordering the helm accordingly, heaved the lead; and after a little further advance into that new channel, wholly against his hopes, he had a good deal of water more than the ship drew, which soon mended upon us, the next cast of the lead affording eighteen or twenty foot. We stood to this channel, and the light of the morning enabling the quarter-masters to con the ship, we were by this miraculous mercy of God, soon clear of the breaches at Cape Hatteras, and got out to sea.

No sooner was the ship freed of this danger, and gotten a little into the offing, but the seamen (like so many spirits) surveyed each other, as if they doubted the reality of the thing, and shook hands like strangers, or men risen from the other world, and did scarce believe they were, what they seemed to be, men of flesh and blood. As they recovered force, they made what sail they could to stand to seaward. . . . .

I cannot forget the prodigious number of porpoises that did that evening appear about the ship, to the astonishment of the oldest seamen in her. They seemed to cover the surface of the sea as far as our eyes could discern; insomuch that a musket bullet, shot at random, could hardly fail to do execution on some of them. This the seamen would look upon as of bad portent, predicting ill weather; but in our case, who were in present possession of a storm, they appeared too late to gain the credit of foretelling what should come upon us in that kind.

The seas thus enraged, and all in foam, the gale still increasing upon us, the officers on the watch made frequent visits to the round-house, to prepare the captain for some evil encounter which this mighty tempest must bring forth: and their fears proved reasonable; for, about the hours of ten or eleven, our new disasters did begin with a crash from aloft. All hands were summon'd up with loud cries, that the fore-topmast was come by the board, not alone, but in conjunction with the foremast head broken short off, just under the cap.

This was a sore business, and put all to their wits' end to recover to any competent condition; what could be done was done to prevent further mischiefs; but the whole trim and rigging of a ship depending much upon stays and tackle fixed to that mast, we had reason to expect greater ruins to follow, than what had already befallen us. Mate Putts was then on the watch, and did not want his apprehension of what did soon ensue, which in all likelihood was to end in our utter perdition; for about the hours of twelve or one at night, we heard and felt a mighty sea break on our fore-ship, which made such an inundation on the deck where the mate was walking, that he retired back with all diligence up to his knees in water, with short ejaculations of prayers in his mouth, supposing the ship was foundering, and at the last gasp. This looked like a stroke of death in every seaman's opinion: the ship stood stock still, with her head under water, seeming to bore her way into the sea. My two comrades and myself lay on our platform, sharing liberally in the general consternation. We took a short leave of each other, men, women, and children. All assaulted with the fresh terror of death, made a most dolorous outcry throughout the ship, whilst Mate Putts perceiving the deck almost freed of water, called out aloud for hands to pump. This we thought a lightning before death, but gave me occasion (as having the best sea legs) to look and learn the subject of this astonishing alarm, which proved to arise from no less cause than the loss of our forecastle, with six guns, and our anchors (all but one that was fastened to a cable) together with our two cooks, whereof one was recovered by a strange providence.

This great gap, made by want of our forecastle, did open a passage

into the hold for other seas that should break there before a remedy was found out to carry them off, and this made our danger almost insuperable; but it fell out propitiously, that there were divers land-carpenter passengers, who were very helpful in this distress; and, in a little time, a slight platform of deal was tack'd to the timbers, to carry off any ordinary sea in the present straight we were in; every moment of this growing tempest cutting out new work to employ all hands to labour.

The bowsprit, too top-heavy in itself, having lost all stays and rigging that should keep it steady, sway'd to and fro with such bangs on the bows, that at no less rate than the cutting it close off, could the ship subsist.

All things were in miserable disorder, and it was evident our danger increas'd upon us: the stays of all the masts were gone, the shrouds that remained were loose and useless, and it was easy to foretell, our main-topmast would soon come by the board. Tom Reasin (who was always ready to expose himself) with an ax in his hand, ran up with speed to prevent that evil, hoping thereby to ease the main-mast, and preserve it; but the danger of his person in the enterprize, was so manifest, that he was called down amain; and no sooner was his foot upon the deck, but what was feared came to pass with a witness, both main and topmast all came down together, and, in one shock, fell all to the windward clear into the sea, without hurt to any man's person.

Our main-mast thus fallen to the broadside, was like to incommode us more in the sea, than in her proper station; for the shrouds and rigging not losing the hold they had of the ship, every surge did so check the mast (whose butt-end lay charg'd to fall perpendicular on the ship's side) that it became a ram to batter and force the plank, and was doing the last execution upon us, if not prevented in time by edge-tools, which freed the ship from that unexpected assault and battery.

Abandon'd in this manner to the fury of the raging sea, tossed up and down without any rigging to keep the ship steady, our seamen frequently fell overboard, without any one regarding the loss of another, every man expecting the same fate, tho' in a different manner. The ceilings of this hulk (for it was no better) were for the same cause so uneasy, that, in many tumbles, the deck would touch the sea, and there stand still as if she would never make another. Our mizzen-mast only remained, by which we hoped to bring the ship about in proper season, which now lay stemming to the east.

In this posture did we pass the tenth and eleventh days of November; the twelfth in the morning we saw an English merchant, who

shewed his ensign, but would not speak with us, tho' the storm was abated, and the season more fit for communication. We imagined the reason was, because he would not be compelled to be civil to us: he thought our condition desperate, and we had more guns than he could resist, which might enable us to take what he would not sell or give. He shot a gun to leeward, stood his course, and turn'd his poop upon us.

Before we attempted to bring the ship about, it was necessary to refresh the seamen, who were almost worn out with toil and want of rest, having had no leisure of eating set meals for many days. The passengers overcharged with excessive fears, had no appetite to eat; and (which was worst of all) both seamen and passengers were in a deplorable state as to the remaining victuals, all like to fall under extreme want; for the storm, by taking away the forecastle, having thrown much water into the hold, our stock of bread (the staff of life) was greatly damnified; and there remained no way to dress our meat, now that the cook-room was gone; the incessant tumbling of the ship (as has been observ'd) made all such cookery wholly impracticable. The only expedient to make fire betwixt decks, was, by sawing a cask in the middle, and filling it with ballast, which made a hearth to parch pease, and broil salt beef; nor could this be done but with great attendance, which was many times frustrated by being thrown topsy-turvy in spite of all circumspection, to the great defeat of empty stomachs.

The seas were much appeas'd the seventeenth day, and divers English ships saw, and were seen by us, but would not speak with us; only one, who kept the pump always going, for having tasted too liberally of the storm, he was so kind as to accost us. He lay by till our wherry (the only surviving boat that was left us) made him a visit. The master shewed our men his leaks, and proposed, that ours would spare him hands to pump in lieu of any thing he could spare for our relief. He promised, however, to keep us company, and give us a tow to help to weather the cape, if occasion offered; but that was only a copy of his countenance; for in the night we lost each other, and we never heard more of him, tho' he was bound to our port.

The weather now invited us to get the ship about with our mizzen; and having done so, the next consideration was, how to make sail. The foremast, all this while (as much as was of it) stood its ground: and as it was without dispute, that a yard must in the first place be fixed to it, so was it a matter of no small difficulty how to advance to the top of that greasy, slippery stump, since he that would attempt it, could take no hold himself, nor receive any help for his

rise, by other hands. This was a case that put all the ship's crew to a nonplus, but Tom Reasin (a constant friend at need, that would not be baffled by any difficulty) shewed by his countenance, he had a mind to try his skill to bring us out of this unhappy crisis. To encourage him the more, all passengers did promise and subscribe to reward his service, in Virginia, by tobacco, when God should enable us so to do. The proportions being set down, many were the more generous, because they never thought to see the place of payment, but expected to anticipate that by the payment of a greater debt to nature, which was like to be exacted every hour by an arrest of the merciless sea, which made small shew of taking bail for our appearance in Virginia.

The manner of Tom Reasin's ascent to this important work, was thus. Among the scatter'd parcels of the ship's stores he had the luck to find about half a dozen iron spikes fit for his purpose. His first onset was to drive one of them into the mast, almost to the head, as high as he could reach; which being done, he took a rope of about ten foot long, and having threaded the same in a block or pulley, so as to divide it in the middle, he made both ends meet in a knot upon the spike, on both sides of the mast; so that the block falling on the contrary side, became a stirrup to mount upon for driving another spike in the same manner: and thus from step to step, observing the best advantage of striking with his hammer in the smoothest sea, he got aloft, drove cleats for shrouds, to rest upon, and was soon in a posture of receiving help from his comrades, who got a yard and sails (with other accommodation) such as could be had, and thus we were enabled, in few hours time, to make some sail for our port.

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It would be too great a trial of the reader's patience to be entertain'd with every circumstance of our sufferings in the remaining part of this voyage, which continued in great extremity for at least forty days from the time we left the land, our miseries increasing every hour. I shall therefore omit the greatest number of our ill encounters, which were frequently repeated on us, and remember only what has in my thoughts been most remarkable, and have made the deepest impression in my memory.

To give us a little breathing, about the nineteenth day the wind shifted to the east, but so little to our avail (the gale so gentle, and the seas made against us like a strong current) that, with the sail we were able to make, we could hardly reckon the ship shortened the way, but that she rather lost ground. In less than two watches the gale faced about; and if we saved our own by the change, it was all we could pretend unto.

Our mortal enemy, the north-west gale, began afresh to send us out to sea, and to raise our terrors to a higher pitch. One of our pumps grew so unfix'd, that it could not be repair'd; the other was kept in perpetual motion; no man was excus'd to take his turn that had strength to perform it. Amongst the manifold perils that threatened every hour to be our last, we were in mortal apprehension, that the guns which were all aloft, would shew us a slippery trick, and some of them break loose, the tackle that held them being grown very rotten: and it was another providence they held so long, considering how immoderately the ship rolled, especially when the sails were mending that should keep them steady, which was very near a third part of our time, whilst we plyed to the windward with a contrary gale.

To prevent this danger which must befall when any one gun should get loose, Mate Putts found an expedient by a more than ordinary smooth water; and by placing timber on the hatchway, to supply the place of shrouds, he got them safe in hold; which tended much to our good, not only in removing the present danger, but by making the ship (as seamen say) more wholesome, by haveing so great weight removed from her upper works into her centre, where ballast was much wanted.

But the intolerable want of all provisions, both of meat and drink, jostled the sense of this happiness soon out of our minds. And to aggravate our misery yet the more, it was now our interest to pray, that the contrary gale might stand; for whilst the westerly wind held, we had rain water to drink, whereas at east the wind blew dry.

In this miserable posture of ship and provision, we reckoned our selves driven to the east, in less than a week's time, at least two hundred leagues, which we despaired ever to recover without a miracle of divine mercy. The storm continued so fresh against us, that it confounded the most knowing of our ship's company in advising what course to take. . . . .

Backwards we could not go, nor forwards in the course we desired: it followed then of consequence, that we must take the middle way; and it was resolved, that, without further persisting in endeavouring to gain our port by a close hale, we should raise our tackle, and sail tardy for the first American land we could fetch, tho' we ran to the leeward as far as the coast of New-England.

Whilst this determination was agreed and put in practice, the famine grew sharp upon us. Women and children made dismal cries and grievous complaints. The infinite number of rats that all the voyage had been our plague, we now were glad to make our prey to feed on; and as they were insnared and taken, a well grown rat was sold

for sixteen shillings as a market rate. Nay, before the voyage did end (as I was credibly inform'd) a woman great with child offered twenty shillings for a rat, which the proprietor refusing, the woman died.

Many sorrowful days and nights we spun out in this manner, till the blessed feast of Christmas came upon us, which we began with a very melancholy solemnity; and yet, to make some distinction of times the scrapings of the meal-tubs were all amassed together to compose a pudding. Malaga sack, sea water, with fruit and spice, all well fryed in oyl, were the ingredients of this regale, which raised some envy in the spectators; but allowing some privilege to the captain's mess, we met no obstruction, but did peaceably enjoy our Christmas pudding.

My greatest impatience was of thirst, and my dreams were all of cellars, and taps running down my throat, which made my waking much the worse by that tantalizing fancy. Some relief I found very real by the captain's favour in allowing me a share of some butts of small claret he had concealed in a private cellar for a dead lift. It wanted a mixture of water for qualifying it to quench thirst; however, it was a present remedy, and a great refreshment to me.

I cannot forget another instance of the captain's kindness to me, of a like obligation. He singled me out one day to go with him into the hold to seek fresh water in the bottoms of the empty casks. With much ado we got a quantity to satisfy our longing, tho' for the thickness thereof it was not palatable. We were now each of us astride on a butt of Malaga, which gave the captain occasion to taste of their contents. We tasted and tasted it again; and tho' the total we drank was not considerable, yet it had an effect on our heads that made us suspend (tho' we could not forget) our wants of water. The operation this little debauch had upon the captain, was very different from what it wrought on me, who felt myself refresh'd as with a cordial; but the poor captain fell to contemplate (as it better became him) our sad condition; and being troubled in mind for having brought so many wretched souls into misery, by a false confidence he gave them of his having a good ship, which he now thought would prove their ruin; and being conscious, that their loss would lie all at his door, it was no easy matter to appease his troubled thoughts. He made me a particular compliment for having engaged me and my friends in the same bottom, and upon that burst into tears. I comforted him the best I could, and told him: "We must all submit to the hand of God, and rely on his goodness, hoping, that the same providence which had hitherto so miraculously preserved us, would still be continued in our favour till we were in safety." We retired obscurely to our friends, who had been wondering at our absence.

The westerly wind continued to shorten our way to the shore, tho' very

distant from our port; but this did not at all incline us to change our resolution of sailing large for the first land; it did rather animate and support us in our present disasters of hunger and thirst, toil and fatigue. The hopes of touching land was food and raiment to us. In this wearisome expectation we pass'd our time for eight or nine days and nights, and then we saw the water change colour, and had soundings.

A FIGHT FOR LIFE.

WE approach'd the shore the night of January 3. with little sail; and, as the morning of the fourth day gave us light, we saw the land; but in what latitude we could not tell, for that the officers, whose duty it was to keep the reckoning of the ship, had for many days past totally omitted that part; nor had we seen the sun a great while, to take observations, which (tho' a lame excuse) was all they had to say for that omission. But in truth it was evident, that the desperate estate of the ship, and hourly jeopardy of life did make them careless of keeping either log or journal; the thoughts of another account they feared to be at hand, did make them neglect that of the ship as inconsiderable.

About the hours of three or four in the afternoon of the twelfth eve, we were shot in fair to the shore. The evening was clear and calm, the water smooth; the land we saw nearest was some six or seven English miles distant from us, our soundings twenty-five fathoms in good ground for anchor-hold. . . . .

When the anchor was let loose, Mate Putts was ordered to make the first discovery of what we might expect from the nearest land. He took with him twelve sickly passengers, who fancied the shore would cure them; and he carry'd Major Morrison on shore with him in pursuit of such adventures as are next in course to be related; for according to the intelligence that could be got from land, we were to take our measures at sea, either to proceed on in our voyage in that sad condition that has been in some proportion set forth, or to land our selves, and unload the ship, and try our fortunes amongst the Indians.

In four or five hours time we could discover the boat returning with Mate Putts alone for a setter, which we look'd upon as a signal of happy success. When he came on board his mouth was full of good tidings, as namely, that he discovered a creek that would harbour our ship, and that there was a depth of water on the bar, sufficient for her draught when she was light. That there was excellent fresh water, (a taste whereof Major Morrison had sent me in a bottle.) That the shore

swarm'd with fowl, and that Major Morrison stayed behind in expectation of the the whole ship's company to follow.

I opened mine ears wide to the motion, and promoted the design of our landing there with all the rhetorick and interest I had. The captain was no less forward for it, hoping thereby to save the lives of the passengers that remained: and that he might not wholly rely on Mate Putts's judgment in a matter wherein he was most concern'd, he embark'd with me in the wherry, with a kinsman of his, and some others; and the seamen were glad of my help to put the boat to shore, my hands having been very well season'd at the pump, by taking my turn for many weeks at the rate of three hours in twenty-four. My passionate desires to be on shore at the fountain head to drink without stint, did not a little quicken me, insomuch that the six or seven miles I rowed on this occasion, were no more than the breadth of the Thames at London, at another time, would have been toilsome to me. . . . .

As soon as I had set my foot on land, and had rendred thanks to Almighty God for opening this door of deliverance to us, after so many rescues even from the jaws of death at sea, Major Morrison was pleased to oblige me beyond all requital, in conducting me to the running stream of water, where, without any limitation of short allowance, I might drink my fill. I was glad of so great liberty, and made use of it accordingly, by prostrating myself on my belly, and setting my mouth against the stream, that it might run into my thirsty stomach without stop. The rest of the company were at liberty to use their own methods to quench their thirst; but this I thought the greatest pleasure I ever enjoyed on earth.

After this sweet refreshment, the captain, myself, and his kinsman crossed the creek in our wherry, invited thither by the cackling of wild-fowl. The captain had a gun charged, and the moon shining bright in his favour, he killed one duck of the flock that flew over us, which was roasted on a stick out of hand by a seaman, whilst we walk'd on the shore of the creek for further discovery.

In passing a small gullet we trod on an oyster bank that did happily furnish us with a good addition to our duck. When the cooks had done their parts, we were not long about ours, but fell on without using the ceremony of calling the rest of our company, which would have been no entertainment to so many, the proverb telling us, "The fewer the better chear." The bones, head, legs, and inwards were agreed to be the cooks' fees; so we gave God thanks, and return'd to our friends, without making boast of our good fortunes.

Fortify'd with this repast, we inform'd our selves of the depth of water at the bar of the creek, in which the captain seem'd satisfy'd,

and made shews in all his deportment, of his resolution to discharge the ship there in order to our safety. Towards break of day he ask'd me in my ear, "If I would go back with him on board the ship?" I told him, "No, because it would be labour lost, in case he would persist in his resolution to do what he pretended," which he ratify'd again by protestations, and so went off with his kinsman, who had a large coarse cloth gown I borrow'd of him to shelter me from the sharpest cold I ever felt. That which had sometimes been a paradox to me, was by this experience made demonstrable, *viz.*, That the land on the continent is much colder than that of islands, tho' in the the same latitude; and the reason is evident to any who shall consider the many accidents on the continent that cool the air by winds that come from the land; as in those parts of America, the mighty towring mountains to the north-west, covered all the year with snow, which does refrigerate the air even in the heat of summer; whereas winds coming from the sea are generally warm. And this hath proved a fatal truth to the inhabitants of Virginia, who, in the south-east winds, have gone to bed in sultry heat and sweat, without any covering, and have awaked in the night stiff and benumb'd with cold, without the use of their limbs, occasioned by a shifting of the wind in the night from sea to land.

No sooner had the captain cleared himself of the shore but the day-break made me see my error in not closing with his motion in my ear. The first object we saw at sea was the ship under sail, standing for the capes with what canvas could be made to serve the turn. It was a very heavy prospect to us who remained (we knew not where) on shore, to see our selves thus abandon'd by the ship, and more, to be forsaken by the boat, so contrary to our mutual agreement. Many hours of hard labour and toil were spent before the boat could fetch the ship: and the seamen (whose act it was to set sail without the captain's order, as we were told after) car'd not for the boat whilst the wind was large to carry them to the capes. But Mate Putts, who was more sober and better natur'd, discovering the boat from the mizzen-top, lay by till she came with the captain on board.

In this amazement and confusion of mind that no words can express, did our miserable distress'd party condole with each other our being so cruelly abandon'd and left to the last despairs of human help, or indeed of ever seeing more the face of man. We entered into a sad consultation what course to take; and having, in the first place, by united prayers, implored the protection of Almighty God, and recommended our miserable estate to the same providence which, in so many instances of mercy, had been propitious to us at sea; the whole party desired me to be as it were the father of this distressed family, to advise and conduct them in all things I thought might most tend to

our preservation. This way of government we agreed must necessarily reside in one, to avoid disputes, and variety of contradictory humours, which would render our deliverance the more impracticable; and it was thought most reasonable to be placed in me, for the health and strength it had pleased God to preserve unto me above my fellows, more than for any other qualification. . . . .

It was, to the best of my remembrance, upon the fifth day of January that we entred into this method of life, or rather into an orderly way unto our graves, since nothing but the image of death was represented to us: but that we might use our outmost endeavours to extract all the good we could out of those evil symptoms that did every way seem to confound us, I made a muster of the most able bodies for arms and labour; and, in the first place, I put a fowling-piece into every man's hand that could tell how to use it. Amongst the rest, a young gentleman, Mr. Francis Cary by name, was very helpful to me in the fatigue and active part of this undertaking. He was strong and healthy, and was very ready for any employment I could put upon him. He came recommended to me by Sir Edward Thurlan, his genius leading him rather to a planter's life abroad, than to any course his friends could propose to him in England; and this rough entrance was like to let him know the worst at first.

All our woodmen and fowlers had powder and shot given them, and some geese were killed for supper. Evening came on apace, and our resolution being taken to stay one night more in these quarters, I sent my cousin Cary to head the creek, and make what discovery he could as he passed along the shore, whether of Indians or any other living creatures that were likely to relieve our wants, or end our days. To prepare like men for the latter, we resolved to die fighting, if that should be the case; or if, on the contrary, the Indians should accost us in a mien of amity, then to meet them with all imaginable courtesy, and please them with such trivial presents as they love to deal in, and so engage them into a friendship with us.

My cousin Cary was not absent much above an hour, when we saw him return in a contrary point to that he sallied out upon. His face was clouded with ill news he had to tell us, namely, that we were now residing on an island without any inhabitant, and that he had seen its whole extent, surrounded (as he believed) with water deeper than his head; that he had not seen any native, or any thing in human shape, in all his round, nor any other creature besides the fowls of the air, which he would, but could not, bring unto us.

This dismal success of so unexpected a nature, did startle us more than any single misfortune that had befallen us, and was like to plunge us into utter despair. We beheld each other as miserable wretches

sentenc'd to a lingering death, no man knowing what to propose for prolonging life any longer than he was able to fast. My cousin Cary was gone from us without notice, and we had reason, (for what followed) to believe he was under the conduct of an angel; for we soon saw him return with a cheerful look, his hands carrying something we could not distinguish by any name at a distance; but by nearer approach we were able to descry they were a parcel of oysters, which, in crossing the island, as he stept over a small current of water, he trode upon to his hurt; but laying hands on what he felt with his feet, and pulling it with all his force, he found himself possessed of this booty of oysters, which grew in clusters, and were contiguous to a large bank of the same species, that was our staple subsistance whilst we remained there.

Whilst this very cold season continued, great flights of fowl frequented the island, geese, ducks, curlieus, and some of every sort we killed and roasted on sticks, eating all but the feathers. It was the only perquisite belonging to my place of preference to the rest, that the right of carving was annexed to it, wherein, if I was partial to my own interest, it was in cutting the wing as large and full of meat as possible; whereas the rest was measured out as it were with scale and compass.

But as the wind veered to the southward, we had greater warmth and fewer fowl, for they would then be gone to colder climates. In their absence we were confined to the oyster bank, and a sort of weed some four inches long, as thick as houseleek, and the only green (except pines) that the island afforded. It was very insipid on the palate; but being boiled with a little pepper (of which one had brought a pound on shore) and helped with five or six oysters, it became a regale for every one in turn.

In quartering our family we did observe the decency of distinguishing sexes: we made a small hut for the poor weak women to be by themselves; our cabbin for men was of the same fashion, but much more spacious, as our numbers were. One morning, in walking on the shore by the sea side, with a long gun in my hand loaden with small shot, I fired at a great flight of small birds called Oxeyes, and made great slaughter among them, which gave refreshment to all our company.

But this harvest had a short end; and as the weather by its warmth, chased the fowl to the north, our hunger grew sharper upon us. And in fine, all the strength that remained unto us was employed in a heartless struggling to spin out life a little longer; for we still deemed our selves doom'd to die by famine, from whose sharpest and most immediate darts tho' we seemed to be rescued for a small time, by

meeting these contingent helps on shore, yet still we apprehended (and that on too great probability) they only served to reprieve us for a little longer day of execution, with all the dreadful circumstances of a lingering death.

For the south-west winds that had carry'd away the fowl, brought store of rain; which meeting with a spring-tide, our chief magazine, the oyster bank, was overflown; and as they became more inaccessible, our bodies also decayed so sensibly, that we could hardly pull them out of their muddy beds they grew on. And from this time forward we rarely saw the fowl; they now grew shy and kept aloof when they saw us contriving against their lives.

Add to this, our guns most of them unfix'd and out of order, and our powder much decayed, insomuch that nothing did now remain to prolong life, but what is counted rather sauce to whet, than substance to satisfy the appetite; I mean the oysters, which were not easily gotten by our crazy bodies after the quantity was spent that lay most commodious to be reach'd, and which had fed us for the first six days we had been on the island. And thus we wish'd every day to be the last of our lives, (if God had so pleased) so hopeless and desperate was our condition, all expectation of human succour being vanished and gone.

Of the three weak women before mentioned, one had the envied happiness to die about this time; and it was my advice to the survivors, who were following her apace, to endeavour their own preservation by converting her dead carcase into food, as they did to good effect. The same counsel was embrac'd by those of our sex: the living fed upon the dead; four of our company having the happiness to end their miserable lives on Sunday night the ——— day of January. Their chief distemper, 'tis true, was hunger; but it pleased God to hasten their exit by an immoderate access of cold, caused by a most terrible storm of hail and snow at north-west, on the Sunday aforesaid, which did not only dispatch those four to their long homes, but did sorely threaten all that remained alive, to perish by the same fate.

Great was the toil that lay on my hands (as the strongest to labour) to get fuel together sufficient for our preservation. In the first place I divested myself of my great gown, which I spread at large, and extended against the wind in nature of a screen, having first shifted our quarters to the most calm commodious place that could be found to keep us, as much as possible, from the inclemency of that prodigious storm.

Under the shelter of this traverse I took as many of my comrades as could be comprehended in so small a space; whereas those who

could not partake of that accommodation, and were enabled to make provision for themselves, were forced to suffer for it. And it was remarkable, that notwithstanding all the provision that could possibly be made against the sharpness of this cold, either by a well-burning fire consisting of two or three loads of wood, or shelter of this great gown to the windward, we could not be warm. That side of our wearing cloaths was singed and burnt which lay towards the flames, whilst the other side that was from the fire, became frozen and congeal'd. Those who lay to the leeward of the flame, could not stay long to enjoy the warmth so necessary to life, but were forced to quit and be gone to avoid suffocation by the smoke and flame.

When the day appeared, and the sun got up to dissipate the clouds, with downcast looks and dejected, the survivors of us entred into a final deliberation of what remained to be done on our parts (besides our prayers to Almighty God) to spin out a little longer time of life, and wait a further providence from heaven for our better relief. There were still some hands that retained vigour, tho' not in proportion to those difficulties we were to encounter, which humanly did seem insuperable. The unhappy circumstance of our being coop'd up in an island, was that which took from us all probable hopes of escaping this terrible death that did threaten us every hour. Major Morrison, on whose counsel I had reason to rely most, was extremely decayed in his strength, his legs not being able to support him. It was a wonderful mercy that mine remained in competent strength, for our common good, which I resolved, by God's help, to employ for that end to the last gasp.

In this last resolution we had to make, I could not think on any thing worthy my proposal, but by an attempt to cross the creek, and swim to the main, (which was not above an hundred yards over) and being there to coast along the woods to the south-west (which was the bearing of Virginia) until I should meet Indians, who would either relieve or destroy us. I fancied the former would be our lot when they should see our conditions, and that no hurt was intended to them; or if they should prove inhuman, and of a bloody nature, and would not give us quarter, why even in that case it would be worth this labour of mine to procure a sudden period to all our miseries.

I open'd my thoughts to this purpose to the company, who were sadly surprized at the motion; but being fully convinc'd in their judgment, that this was the only course that could be depended on (humanly speaking) for our relief, they all agreed it must be done.

To fortify me for this expedition, it was necessary that some provision should be made for a daily support to me in this my peregri-

nation. Our choice was small; our only friend the oyster bank was all we had to rely on; which being well stew'd in their own liquor, and put up into bottles, I made no doubt, by God's blessing, but that two of them well filled, would suffice to prolong my life in moderate strength, until I had obtain'd my end. To accomplish this design, my cousin Cary laboured hard for oysters, hoping to make one in the adventure.

THE RESCUE.

ABOUT the ninth day of our being in the island, I fell to my oyster-cookery, and made a good progress that very day; when in the heat of my labour my cousin Cary brought me word, "That he had just in that instant seen Indians walking on the main." I suspended my cookery out of hand, and hastened with all possible speed to be an eye-witness of that happy intelligence; but with all the haste I could make I could see no such thing, but judg'd it a chimera that proceeded from some operation in my cousin's fancy, who was more than ordinary of a sanguine nature, which made him see (as it were by inchantment) things that were not, having many times been deluded (as I judg'd) by the same deception.

Defeated in this manner of my hopes to see Indians without the pains of seeking them, I returned to my work, and continued at it till one bottle was full, and myself tired: wherefore, that I might be a little recreated, I took a gun in my hand; and hearing the noise of geese on our shore, I approach'd them privately, and had the good hap to be the death of one. This goose, now in my possession without witnesses, I resolved to eat alone, (deducting the head, bones, guts, &c., which were the cook's fees) hoping thereby to be much the better enabled to swim the creek, and perform the work I had upon my hand. I hung my goose upon the twist of a tree in a shrubby part of the wood, whilst I went to call aside our cook with his broach, and a coal of fire to begin the roast. But when we came to the place of execution, my goose was gone all but the head, the body stolen by wolves, which the Indians told us after, do abound greatly in that island.

The loss of this goose, which my empty stomach look'd for with no small hopes of satisfaction, did vex me heartily. I wish'd I could have taken the thief of my goose to have serv'd him in the same kind, and to have taken my revenge in the law of retaliation. But

that which troubled me more, was an apprehension that came into my mind, that this loss had been the effect of divine justice on me, for designing to deal unequally with the rest of my fellow-sufferers; which I thought, at first blush, look'd like a breach of trust: but then again when I consider'd the equity of the thing, that I did it merely to enable myself to attain their preservation, and which otherwise I could not have done, I found I could absolve myself from any guilt of that kind. Whatever I suffer'd in this disappointment, the cook lost not all his fees; the head and neck remained for him on the tree.

Being thus over-reach'd by the wolf, it was time to return to my cookery, in order to my sally out of the island; for I had little confidence in the notice frequently brought me of more and more Indians seen on the other side, since my own eyes could never bear witness of their being there.

The next morning, being the ninth or tenth of our being there, I fell to work afresh, hoping to be ready to begin my journey that day; and being very busy, intelligence was brought, that a canoe was seen to lie on the broken ground to the south of our island, which was not discovered till now, since our being there: but this I thought might be a mistake cast in the same mould of many others that had deceived those discoverers, who fancy'd all things real according to their own wishes. But when it was told me, that Indians had been at the poor womens' cabbin in the night, and had given them shell-fish to eat, that was a demonstration of reality beyond all suspicion. I went immediately to be inform'd from themselves, and they both avowed it for truth, shewing the shells, (the like whereof I ne'er had seen) and this I took for proof of what they said.

The further account these women gave of the Indians, was, that they pointed to the south-east with their hands, which they know not how to interpret, but did imagine by their several gestures, they would be with them again to-morrow. Their pointing to the south-east was like to be the time they would come, meaning nine o'clock to be their hour, where the sun will be at that time. Had the women understood their language, they could not have learned the time of the day by any other computation than pointing at the sun. It is all the clock they have for the day, as the coming and going of the Cabuncks (the geese) is their almanack or prognostick for the winter and summer seasons.

This news gave us all new life, almost working miracles amongst us, by making those who desponded, and totally yielded themselves up to the weight of despair, and lay down with an intent never more to rise again, to take up their beds and walk. This friendly charitable visit of the Indians did also put a stop to my prepara-

tions to seek them, who had so humanely prevented me, by their seeking ways to preserve and save our lives.

Instead of those preparations for my march which had cost me so much pains, I passed my time now in contriving the fittest posture our present condition would allow us to put on when these angels of light should appear again with the glad tidings of our relief; and the result was, that every able man should have his gun lying by his side, laden with shot, and as fit for use as possible, but not to be handled unless the Indians came to us like enemies, (which was very unlikely, the premises considered) and then to sell our lives at as dear a rate as we could; but if they came in an amicable posture, then would we meet them unarm'd, chearfully, which the Indians like, and hate to see a melancholy face.

In these joyful hopes of unexpected deliverance by these Indians, did we pass the interval of their absence. Every eye look'd sharply out when the sun was at south-east, to peep thro' the avenues of the wood to discover the approaches of our new friends. When the sun came to the south we thought our selves forgotten by them, and began to doubt the worst, as losing gamesters, at play for their last estate, suspect some stabcast to defeat the hopes of the fairest game. We feared some miscarriage, either from their inconstancy by change of their mind, or that some unlook'd-for misfortune that our evil fates reserved for us, had interposed for our ruin.

Scouts were sent out to the right and left hands, without discovery of any body all the forenoon: and then, considering our case admitted no delay, I began to resume my former resolution of swimming to them that would not come to us. But how wholesome soever this counsel might seem in itself, it was most difficult to be put in practice, in regard of the cold time.

The northerly wind that in these climates does blow very cold in the heat of summer, does much more distemper the air in the winter season (as our poor comrades felt that Sunday night to their cost) and did send so cold a gale upon the surface of the water in the creek I was to pass, that, in the general opinion of all the concern'd, it was not a thing to be attempted; and that if I did, I must surely perish in the act. I was easily perswaded to forbear an action so dangerous, and the rather, because I verily believed the Indians would bring us off, if our patience would hold out.

About the hours of two or three o'clock it pleased God to change the face of our condition for the best; for whilst I was busy at the fire in preparations to wait on them, the Indians, who had placed themselves behind a very great tree, discovered their faces with most chearful smiles, without any kind of arms, or appearance of evil

design; the whole number of them (perhaps twenty or thirty in all) consisting of men, women and children; all that could speak accosting us with joyful countenances, shaking hands with every one they met. The words "Ny Top," often repeated by them, made us believe they bore a friendly signification, as they were soon interpreted to signify "my friend."

After many salutations and "Ny Tops" interchang'd, the night approaching, we fell to parley with each other; but perform'd it in signs more confounded and unintelligible than any other conversation I ever met withal; as hard to be interpreted as if they had express'd their thoughts in the Hebrew or Chaldean tongues.

They did me the honour to make all applications to me, as being of largest dimensions, and equip'd in a camblet coat glittering with galoon lace of gold and silver, it being generally true, that where knowledge informs not, the habit qualifies.

The ears of Indian corn they gave us for present sustenance, needed no other interpreter to let them know how much more acceptable it was to us than the sight of dead and living corpses, which raised great compassion in them, especially in the women, who are observed to be of a soft tender nature.

One of them made me a present of the leg of a swan, which I eat as privately as it was given me, and thought it so much the more excellent, by how much it was larger than the greatest limb of any fowl I ever saw.

The Indians stayed with us about two hours, and parted not without a new appointment to see us again the next day: and the hour we were to expect them by their pointing to the sun, was to be at two o'clock in the afternoon. I made the chief of them presents of ribbon and other slight trade, which they lov'd, designing, by mutual endearment, to let them see, it would gratify their interest as well as their charity, to treat us well. "Ha-na Haw" was their parting word, which is "farewell," pointing again at the place where the sun would be at our next meeting. We took leave in their own words "Ha-na Haw."

The going away of the Indians, and leaving us behind, was a separation hard to be borne by our hungry company, who nevertheless had received a competent quantity of corn and bread to keep us till they returned to do better things for our relief; we did not fail to give glory to God for our approaching deliverance, and the joy we conceiv'd in our minds in the sense of so great a mercy, kept us awake all the night, and was a cordial to the sick and weak to recover their health and strength.

The delay of the Indians coming next day, beyond their set time,

we thought an age of tedious years. At two o'clock we had no news of them, but by attending their own time with a little patience, we might see a considerable number of them, men, women, and children, all about our huts, with recruits of bread and corn to stop every mouth. Many of them desir'd beads and little truck they use to deal in, as exchange for what they gave us; and we as freely gave them what we had brought on shore; but to such of us as gave them nothing, the Indians failed not however to give them bread for nothing.

One old man of their company, who seem'd, by the preference they gave him, to be the most considerable of the party, apply'd himself to me by gestures and signs, to learn something (if possible) of our country, and occasion of the sad posture he saw us in, to the end that he might inform his master, the king of Kickotank, (on whose territories we stood) and dispose him to succour us, as we had need.

I made return to him in many vain words, and in as many insignificant signs as himself had made to me, and neither of us one jot the wiser. The several nonplus's we both were at in striving to be better understood, afforded so little of edification to either party, that our time was almost spent in vain. It came at last into my head, that I had long since read Mr. Smith's travels thro' those parts of America, and that the word "Werowance" (a word frequently pronounced by the old man) was in English "the king." That word, spoken by me, with strong emphasis, together with the motions of my body, speaking my desire of going to him, was very pleasing to the old man, who thereupon embrac'd me with more than common kindness, and by all demonstrations of satisfaction, did shew that he understood my meaning. This one word was all the Indian I could speak, which (like a little armour well plac'd) contributed to the saving of our lives.

In order to what was next to be done, he took me by the hand and led me to the sea side, where I embark'd with himself and one more Indian in a canoe, that had brought him there, which the third man rowed over to that broken ground, where, not long before, we made discovery of a canoe newly laid there, and (as they told us) was lodg'd there on purpose to be ready for our transport, at such time as they thought fit to fetch us off; and the reason of their taking me with them was to help launch this weighty embarkation, which was very heavy for its proportion, as being made of the body of an oak or pine, some twenty-two foot in length, hollowed like a pig-trough, which is the true description of a canoe. The manner of its being put into motion is very particular; the labourers with long booms place their feet on the starboard and larboard sides of the boat, and with this fickle footing do they heave it forward.

I cannot omit a passage of one Major Stephens, who had been an officer in the late civil war, under Sir William Waller, and was now one of our fellow-sufferers. He could not be persuaded by any means to give his vote for prosecuting the way we were in for our relief, but differ'd as much in judgment with us, in this our design of going to the king of this country, as he had done in England, by engaging against his natural sovereign; he cry'd out these rogues would draw us into their power, and take away our lives, advising, rather than to put our trust in this king, we should put ourselves into one of these canoes, and taking advantage of the calm time, we should try to get the north cape.

His fears and objections were so unreasonable, that they were not worth an answer, and his project of going thus by sea was so ridiculous, that it did exceed all chimera's of knight-errantry, and his apprehending the king would ensnare us, we all esteemed vain, as nothing could be more childish. We had been in the king's power (though we knew it not) ever since we set foot on that ground, so that had his mind been that way bent, he need use no other stratagem to end our lives, than to have forborne the sending us relief; every one dissented to the main project, and I did unfeignedly profess, for my own part, that I would much rather expose my life to the honour of a king (tho' never so mean) than to the billows of the sea, in such a bottom; which would be to tempt God to destroy us, and punish our presumption by his justice, at the same time that he was saving us by a miracle of his mercy.

I should not have remembred this passage of Major Stephens, had he only shew'd his antipathy in this single instance, but because he repeated the rancor of his mind, in two other very small occasions, which will follow, 'tis just that the malignity of so ill an humour should suffer some reprimand.

The canoes being fitted to take us in and waft us to the main, I made a fair muster of the remnant we had to carry off, and found we wanted six of the number we brought on shore, *viz.*, four men and two women: five of those six we knew were dead, but missing one of our living women, we made the Indians understand the same, who as readily made us know that she was in their thoughts, and should be cared for as soon as we were settled in our quarters.

In passing the creek that was to lead us to an honest fisherman's house, we entred a branch of it to the southward, that was the roadway to it. The tide was going out, and the water very shoal, which gave occasion to any one that had a knife, to treat himself with oysters all the way. At the head of that branch we were able in a short time to discover that heaven of happiness where our most courteous host did, with a chearful countenance, receive and entertain

us. Several fires were kindled out of hand, our arms and powder were laid up in safety, and divers earthen pipkins were put to boil with such varieties as the season would afford. Every body had something or other to defend and save them from the cold; and my obligation to him, by a peculiar care that he had of me, exceeded all the rest. I had one intire side of the fire, with a large platform to repose on, to myself; furrs and deer skins to cover my body, and support my head, with a priority of respect and friendly usage, which, to my great trouble, I was not able to deserve at his hands, by any requital then in my power to return.

Our kind entertainment in the house of this poor fisherman, had so many circumstances of hearty compassion and tenderness in every part of it, that as it ought to be a perpetual motive to engage all of us who enjoyed the benefit of it, to a daily acknowledgement of the Almighty's goodness for conducting us in this manner by his immediate hand, out of our afflictions, so may it ever be look'd upon as a just reproach to Christians, who, on all our sea-coasts, are so far from affording succour to those who, by shipwreck and misfortunes of the sea, do fall into their power, that they treat with all inhuman savage barbarity, those unhappy souls whom God hath thus afflicted, seizing on their goods as their proper perquisites, which the waves of the sea (by divine providence) would cast upon the shore for the true proprietors; and many times dispatching them out of the world to silence complaints, and to prevent all after-reckonings. And the better to intitle themselves to what they get in this way of rapine, they wickedly call such devilish acquests by the sacred name of God's good, prophaning and blaspheming at the same time that holy name, as they violate all the laws of hospitality and human society. Whereas, on the contrary, our charitable host, influenced only by natural law, without the least shew of coveting any thing we had, or prospect of requital in the future, did not only treat in this manner our persons, but did also, with as much honesty, secure for us our small stores of guns, powder, &c., as if he had read and understood the duty of the gospel, or had given his only child as a hostage to secure his dealing justly with us. So that I can never sufficiently applaud the humanity of this Indian, nor express the high contentment that I enjoyed in this poor man's cottage, which was made of nothing but mat and reeds, and bark of trees fix'd to poles. It had a loveliness and symmetry in the air of it, so pleasing to the eye, and refreshing to the mind, that neither the splendor of the Escurial nor the glorious appearance of Versailles were able to stand in competition with it. We had a boiled swan for supper, which gave plentiful repasts to all our upper mess.

Our bodies thus refresh'd with meat and sleep, comforted with fires, and secured from all the changes and inclemencies of that sharp piercing cold season, we thought the morning (tho' clad in sunshine) did come too fast upon us. Breakfast was liberally provided and set before us, our arms faithfully delivered up to my order for carriage; and thus in readiness to set forward, we put our selves in a posture to proceed to the place where the king resided. The woman left behind at the island, had been well look'd to, and was now brought off to the care of her comrade that came with us; neither of them in a condition to take a journey, but they were carefully attended and nourished in this poor man's house, till such time as boats came to fetch them to Virginia, where they did soon arrive in perfect health, and lived (one or both of them) to be well married, and to bear children, and to subsist in as plentiful a condition as they could wish.

In beginning our journey thro' the woods, we had not advanced half a mile till we heard a great noise of men's voices, directed to meet and stop our further passage. These were several Indians sent by the king to order us back to our quarters. Major Stephens (not cured of his jealous humour by the experience of what he felt the night before) took this alarm in a very bad sense, and as much different from the rest of the company as in his former fit. He was again deluded with a strong fancy, that these violent motions in the Indians who approach'd us, were the effect of some sudden change in their counsels to our detriment, and that nothing less than our perdition could be the consequence thereof, which he feared would immediately be put in practice by the clamorous men that made such haste to meet us, and (as he would apprehend) to kill and destroy us.

This passion of Major Stephens, cast in the same mould with that other he discovered in the island, had not (as we all thought and told him) whereon to raise the least foundation of terror to affright a child; for besides the earnest we had received of their good intentions the night before, these men who came so fast upon us, were all unarm'd; nor was it likely, that king would now possibly imbrew his hands in our blood, and provoke he knew not how powerful a nation to destroy him, after such kind caresses, and voluntary expressions of a temper very contrary to such cruelty. In fine, we saw no cause in all the carriage of the Indians on which I could ground any fear, and therefore I long'd with all impatience to see this king, and to enjoy the plenty of his table, as we quickly did.

When these Indians came up to us, this doubt was soon cleared. The good-natur'd king being inform'd of our bodily weakness, and

inability to walk thro' the woods to his house on foot, (which might be about four miles distant from our setting out) had a real tenderness for us, and sent canoes to carry us to the place nearest his house, by the favour of another branch of the same creek; and to the end we might take no vain steps (as we were going to do) and exhaust our strength to no purpose, these Indians made this noise to stop us.

We entred the canoes that were mann'd, and lay ready to receive us. We had a pleasant passage in the shallow water, eat oysters all the way: for altho' the breakfast we had newly made, might well excuse a longer abstinence than we were like to be put to, our arrear to our stomachs was so great, that all we swallowed was soon concocted, and our appetite still fresh and craving more.

Having pass'd this new course for some three English miles in another branch of the creek, our landing place was contriv'd to be near the house of the queen then in waiting. She was a very plain lady to see to, not young, nor yet ill-favour'd. Her complexion was of a sad white: but the measures of beauty in those parts where they are exposed to the scorching sun from their infancy, are not taken from red and white, but from colours that will better lie upon their tawny skins, as hereafter will be seen.

The beauty of this queen's mind (which is more permanent than that of colour) was conspicuous in her charity and generosity to us poor starved weather-beaten creatures, who were the object of it. A mat was spread without the house, upon the ground, furnish'd with pone, homini, oysters, and other things. The queen made us sit down and eat, with gestures that shewed more of courtesy than majesty, but did speak as hearty welcome as could in silence be expected: and these were the graces that, in our opinion, transcended all other beauties in the world, and did abundantly supply all defects of outward appearance in the person and garb of the queen. The southerly wind made the season tolerable; but that lasted but little, the north-west gale coming violently on us again.

When this collation of the queen was at an end, we took leave of her majesty with all the shews of gratitude that silence knew how to utter. We were now within half an hour's walk of the king's mansion, which we soon discovered by the smoak, and saw it was made of the same stuff with the other houses from which we had newly parted, namely, of mat and reed. Locust posts sunk in the ground at corners and partitions, was the strength of the whole fabrick. The roof was tied fast to the body with a sort of strong rushes that grow there, which supply'd the place of nails and pins, mortises and tenons.

The breadth of this palace was about eighteen or twenty foot, the

length about twenty yards. The only furniture was several platforms for lodging, each about two yards long and more, plac'd on both sides of the house, distant from each other about five foot; the space in the middle was the chimney, which had a hole in the roof over it, to receive as much of the smoak as would naturally repair to it; the rest we shared amongst us, which was the greatest part; and the sitters divided to each side, as our soldiers do in their *corps de guarde*.

Fourteen great fires, thus situated, were burning all at once. The king's apartment had a distinction from the rest; it was twice as long, and the bank he sat on was adorn'd with deer skins finely dress'd, and the best furrs of otter and beaver that the country did produce.

The fire assign'd to us was suitable to our number, to which we were conducted, without intermixture of any Indian but such as came to do us offices of friendship. There we were permitted to take our rest until the king pleased to enter into communication with us. Previous to which he sent his daughter, a well-favour'd young girl of about ten or twelve years old, with a great wooden bowl full of homini (which is the corn of that country, beat and boiled to mash). She did in a most obliging manner give me the first taste of it, which I would have handed to my next neighbour after I had eaten, but the young princess interposed her hand, and taking the bowl out of mine, delivered it to the same party I aimed to give it, and so to all the rest in order. Instead of a spoon there was a well-shap'd muscle-shell that accompanied the bowl.

The linen of that country grows ready made on the branches of oak trees (or pine); the English call it moss. It is like the threads of unwhited cotton-yarn ravelled, and hangs in parcels on the lower boughs, divine providence having so ordered it for the conveniency and sustenance of the deer, which is all the food they can get in times of snow. It is very soft, sweet and cleanly, and fit for the purpose of wiping clean the hands, and doing the duty of napkins.

About three hours after this meal was ended, the king sent to have me come to him. He called me "Ny a Mutt," which is to say, "My brother," and compelled me to sit down on the same bank with himself, which I had reason to look upon as a mighty favour. After I had sat there about half an hour, and taken notice of many earnest discourses and repartees betwixt the king and his "crotemen," (so the Indians call the king's council) I could plainly discover, that the debate they held was concerning our adventure and coming there. To make it more clear, the king address'd himself to me with many gestures of his body, his arms display'd in various postures, to explain

what he had in his mind to utter for my better understanding. By all which motions I was not edify'd in the least, nor could imagine what return to make by voice or sign, to satisfy the king's demands in any thing that related to the present straights of our condition. In fine, I admir'd their patient sufferance of my dulness to comprehend what they meant, and shew'd myself to be troubled at it; which being perceiv'd by the king, he turn'd all into mirth and jollity, and never left till he made me laugh with him, tho' I knew not why.

I took that occasion to present the king with a sword and long shoulder-belt, which he received very kindly; and to witness his gracious acceptance, he threw off his "Mach coat," (or upper covering of skin) stood upright on his bank, and, with my aid, did accoutre his naked body with his new harness, which had no other apparel to adorn it, besides a few skins about his loyns to cover his nakedness. In this dress he seem'd to be much delighted; but to me he appear'd a figure of such extraordinary shape, with sword and belt to set it off, that he needed now no other art to stir me up to laughter and mirth, than the sight of his own proper person.

Having made this short acquaintance with the king, I took leave, and returned to my comrades. In passing the spaces betwixt fire and fire, one space amongst the rest was blinded with a traverse of mat; and by the noise I heard from thence, like the beating of hemp, I took it to be some kind of elaboratory. To satisfy a curiosity I had to be more particularly inform'd, I edg'd close to the mat; and, by standing on tiptoe for a full discovery, I saw a sight that gave me no small trouble. The same specifical queen (whose courtesy for our kind usage the other day, can never be enough applauded) was now employed in the hard servile labour of beating corn for the king's dinner, which raised the noise that made me thus inquisitive. I wish'd myself in her place for her ease: but the queens of that country do esteem it a privilege to serve their husbands in all kinds of cookery, which they would be as loth to lose, as any Christian queen would be to take it from them.

Several Indians of the first rank followed me to our quarters, and used their best endeavours to sift something from us that might give them light into knowing what we were. They sought many ways to make their thoughts intelligible to us, but still we parted without knowing what to fix upon, or how to steer our course in advance of our way to Virginia.

In this doubtful condition we thought it reasonable to fall upon a speedy resolution what was next to be done on our parts, in order to the accomplishment of our voyage by land, which we hop'd (by the divine aid) we might be able to effect after a little more refreshment by the plenty of victuals allowed us by the king, who was no less

indulgent and careful to feed and caress us, than if we had been his children.

Towards morning we were treated with a new regale brought to us by the same fair hand again. It was a sort of spoon-meat, in colour and taste not unlike to almond-milk temper'd and mix'd with boiled rice. The ground still was Indian corn boiled to a pap, which they call "Homini," but the ingredient which performed the milky part, was nothing but dry pokickery nuts, beaten shells and all to powder, and they are like our walnuts, but thicker shell'd, and the kernel sweeter; but being beaten in a mortar, and put into a tray, hollow'd in the middle to make place for fair water, no sooner is the water poured into the powder, but it rises again white and creamish; and after a little ferment it does partake so much of the delicate taste of the kernel of that nut, that it becomes a rarity to a miracle.

Major Morrison, who had been almost at death's door, found himself abundantly refreshed and comforted with this delicacy; he wished the bowl had been a fathom deep, and would say, when his stomach called on him for fresh supplies, that if this Princess Royal would give him his fill of that food, he should soon recover his strength.

Our bodies growing vigorous with this plenty, we took new courage, and resolv'd (as many as were able) to attempt the finding out of Virginia. We guess'd the distance could not be great, and that it bore from us S. by W. to S. W. Our ignorance of the latitude we were in, was some discouragement to us; but we were confident, from what the seamen discoursed, we were to the southward of the Menados, then a Dutch plantation, now New York. Fair weather and full stomachs made us willing to be gone. To that end we laid out for a quantity of pone; and for our surer conduct we resolved to procure an Indian to be our pilot through the wilderness, for we were to expect many remora's in our way, by swamps and creeks, with which all those sea-coasts do abound.

The king remarking our more than ordinary care to procure more bread than amounted to our usual expence, gathered thence our design to leave him, and shift for our selves. To prevent the rashness and folly of such attempt, he made use of all his silent rhetorick to put us out of conceit of such design, and made us understand the peril and difficulty of it by many obstacles we must meet with. He shew'd us the danger we should expose ourselves unto, by rain and cold, swamps and darkness, unless we were conducted by other skill than we could pretend to. He pointed to his fires and shocks of corn, of which he had enough, and made it legible to us in his countenance, that we were welcome to it. All the signs the king made upon this occasion, we were content to understand in the best

sense; and taking for granted our sojourning there was renewed to another day, we retired to our quarters.

About midnight following, the king sent to invite me to his fire. He placed me near him as before, and in the first place shewing me quarters of a lean doe, new brought in. He gave me a knife to cut what part of it I pleased, and then pointing to the fire, I inferr'd, I was left to my own discretion for the dressing of it. I could not readily tell how to shew my skill in the cookery of it, with no better ingredients than appear'd in sight; and so did no more but cut a collop and cast it on the coals. His majesty laugh'd at my ignorance, and to instruct me better, he broach'd the collop on a long scewer, thrust the sharp end into the ground (for there was no hearth but what nature made) and turning sometimes one side, sometimes the other, to the fire, it became fit in short time to be served up, had there been a dining-room of state such as that excellent king deserved.

I made tender of it first to the king, and then to his nobles, but all refused, and left all to me, who gave God and the king thanks for that great meal. The rest of the doe was cut in pieces, stewed in a pipkin, and then put into my hands to dispose of amongst my company.

As soon as I had dispatch'd this midnight venison feast, and sent the rest to my comrades, the king was greatly desirous to make me comprehend, by our common dialect of signs and motions, the ingenious stratagem by which they used to take their deer in the winter season, especially when the surface of the earth is cover'd with snow. He shewed me in the first place a small leather thong, in which (said he) any kind of deer should be invited to hamper himself and lie fast ty'd on his back, until the engineer (or some body else for him) should take quiet possession of him. I could not conceive the particular structure of this machine, so as to direct the making of it elsewhere; but thus much in the general I did understand; they would fasten a pine green branch at the end of a pole (such as hops grow upon) which should lie athwart an oak, like the pole of a turner's lathe, and the green hanging dingle-dangle at the pole end, fastened by a string; it should be set at a height for a deer to reach, but not without mounting and resting on his hinder legs, that so in pulling the branch, as at a trigger, the machine discharging, his heels are struck up to fly in the air, and there he remains on his back so straitly hamper'd, that the least child may approach to touch and take him.

Before I parted, the king attack'd me again, with reiterated attempts to be understood, and I thought by these three or four days conversation, I had the air of his expression much more clear and intelligible than at first. His chief drift for the first essay seemed

to be a desire to know which way we were bound, whether north or south; to which I pointed to the south. This gave him much satisfaction, and thereupon steps in the little grotman before described, who by the motion of his hand seemed to crave my regard to what he was going about. He took up a stick, with which he made divers circles by the fire-side, and then holding up his finger to procure my attention, he gave to every hole a name; and it was not hard to conceive that the several holes were to supply the place of a sea-chart, showing the situation of all the most noted Indian territories that lay to the southward of Kickotank.

That circle that was most southerly, he called Achomack, which, tho' he pronounc'd with a different accent from us, I laid hold on that word with all demonstrations of satisfaction I could express, giving them to understand, that was the place to which I had a desire to be conducted.

The poor king was in a strange transport of joy to see me receive satisfaction, and did forthwith cause a lusty young man to be called to him, to whom, by the earnestness of his motions, he seemed to give ample instructions to do something for our service, but what it was we were not yet able to resolve. In two or three days' time, seeing no effect of what he had so seriously said, we began again to despond, and did therefore resume our former thoughts of putting our selves in posture to be gone; but the king seeing us thus ready at every turn to leave him, shewed in his looks a more than ordinary resentment; still describing (as he could) the care he had taken for us, and impossibility of accomplishing our ends by our selves, and that we should surely faint in the way and die without help, if we would not be ruled by him.

He shewed me again his stores of corn, and made such reiterated signs, by the chearfulness of his countenance, that we should not want, whilst he had such a plenty, as made us lay aside all thoughts of stirring till he said the word. But as oft as he look'd or pointed to the coast of Achomack, he would shake his head, with abundance of grimaces, in dislike of our design to go that way till he saw it good we should do so. I was abundantly convinced of our folly in the resolution we were ready to take of going away without better information of the distance from Achomack, and the way that led to it; and having so frank a welcome where we were, we resolved to stay till the king should approve of our departure, which he was not able to determine till the messenger came back, that he had sent to Achomack, who, it now seemed more plainly, was dispatch'd upon my owning that place to be our home, tho' we knew it not from any cause we could rely upon, before we saw the effect.

While we liv'd in this suspense, the king had a great mind to see our fire-arms, and to be acquainted with the use and nature of them. That which best did please his eye I presented to him, and shew'd him how to load and discharge it. He was very shy at first essay, fearing it might hurt him, but I made him stand upon his lodging place, and putting him in a posture to give fire, he presented the mouth of his gun to the chimney hole, and so let fly. The combustible nature of the king's palace not well consider'd, the fabrick was endangered by the king's own hand, for the flashing of the powder having taken hold of the roof at the smoak-hole, all was in a flame; but a nimble lad or two ran up to quench it, and did soon extinguish it without considerable damage to the building, which was of mat and boughs of oak as aforesaid.

The king's eldest son, of about eighteen years of age, was hugely enamour'd with our guns, and look'd so wistfully on me, when he saw what wonders they would do, that I could not forbear presenting him with a birding-piece. Some of our company, who knew that by the laws of Virginia, it was criminal to furnish the Indians with fire-arms, gave me caution in this case, but I resolved, for once, to borrow a point of that law; for tho' it might be of excellent use in the general, yet as our condition was, I esteemed it a much greater crime to deny those Indians any thing that was in our power, than the penalty of that law could amount to.

Father and son abundantly gratify'd in this manner, the king thought himself largely requited for the cost we put him to in our entertainment. I taught his son to shoot at fowls, to charge his gun and clean it, insomuch that in a few minutes, he went among the flocks of geese, and firing at random he did execution on one of them to his great joy, and returned to his father with the game in his hand, with such celerity, as if he had borrowed wings of the wind.

About three o'clock this afternoon, the king was pleased in great condescension to honour me with a visit, a favour which I may (without vanity) assume to myself, and my better habit, from the many particular applications that he made to me, exclusive of the rest of the company. He thought I was too melancholy, (for the Indians, as has been observ'd, are great enemies to that temper) and shew'd me by his own chearful looks, what humour he would have put me on; he would not have me in the least apprehensive of wanting any thing his country afforded, as his mien and gesture witnessed; and for the higher proof of his reality, he found me out a divertisement, that was very extraordinary. He came at this time attended by his young daughter, who had done us the good offices

before mention'd, and having first by kind words and pleasant gestures given us renewed assurance of hearty welcome, he singled me out, and pointed with his hand to a way he would have me take, but whither, or to what end, I was at liberty to guess; upon that he produced his little daughter for my conductrix to the place to which I should go, and shewed his desire that I should follow her where-ever she should lead me.

Major Stephens, not yet enough convinc'd of the Indians' fidelity, would have discouraged me from leaving the company in that manner, unreasonably fancying that this was a contrivance in the king to take away my life in a private way; but this I thought did so much outstrip all his other senseless jealousies, that after I had acknowledg'd the obligation I had to his care of my person, his needless caution had no other effect on me than to turn it into ridicule. These inordinate fears of this major in three foregoing instances, might (I confess) have been very well omitted, as not worthy the mention, and so they should have been, had his humour and constitution in prosperous times been any way suitable to this wary temper; but because his habits on shore were scandalously vicious, his mouth always belching oaths, and his tongue proving him the vainest hector I had seen, I thought it was pity to lose such a strong confirmation of that known truth, *viz.*, that true innate courage does seldom reside in the heart of a quarrelling and talking hector.

The weather (as I have said) was excessive cold, with frost, and the winds blowing very fresh upon my face, it almost stopt my breath. The late condition I had been in, under a roof, with great fires, and much smoak, did conduce to make me the more sensible of the cold air: but in less than half an hour that pain was over; we were now in sight of the house whereto we were bound, and the lady of the place was ready to receive us, (who proved to be the mother of my conductrix) and to shew me my apartment in the middle of her house, which had the same accommodation to sit and rest upon, as before has been described in other instances.

The lusty rousing fire, prepared to warm me, would have been noble entertainment of itself, but attended (as it was quickly) with good food for the belly, made it to be that compleat good chear, I only aimed at; a wild turkey boiled, with oysters, was preparing for my supper, which, when it was ready, was served up in the same pot that boiled it. It was a very savoury mess, stew'd with muscles, and I believe would have passed for a delicacy at any great table in England, by palates more competent to make a judgment than mine, which was now more gratify'd with the quantity than the quality of what was before me.

This queen was also of the same mould of her majesty whom we first met at our landing place, somewhat antient (in proportion to the king's age) but so gentle and compassionate, as did very bountifully requite all defects of nature; she passed some hours at my fire, and was very desirous to know the occasion that brought us there (as her motion and the emphasis of her words did shew) but I had small hopes to satisfy her curiosity therein, after so many vain attempts to inform the king in that matter. In fine, I grew sleepy, and about nine o'clock every one retired to their quarters, separated from each other by traverses of mat, which (besides their proper virtue) kept the ladies from any immodest attempts, as secure as if they had been bars of iron.

As soon as the day peeped in, I went out and felt the same cold as yesterday, with the same wind, N. W. I was not forward to quit a warm quarter, and a frank entertainment, but my young governess, who had her father's orders for direction, knew better than myself what I was to do: she put herself in a posture to lead the way back from whence we came, after a very good repast of stew'd muscles, together with a very hearty welcome plainly appearing in the queen's looks.

My nimble pilot led me away with great swiftness, and it was necessary so to do; the weather still continuing in that violent sharpness, nothing but a violent motion could make our limbs useful. No sooner had I set my foot in the king's house to visit my comrades, but a wonderful surprize appeared to me in the change of every countenance, and as every face did plainly speak a general satisfaction, so did they with one voice explain the cause thereof, in telling me the messengers of our delivery were arriv'd, and now with the king.

I hastened to see those angels, and addressing myself to one of them in English habit, ask'd him the occasion of his coming there? He told me his business was to trade for furrs, and no more; but as soon as I had told him my name, and the accidents of our being there, he acknowledg'd he came under the guidance of the Kickotank Indian (which I imagin'd, but was not sure the king had sent) in quest of me and those that were left on shore, sent by the governor's order of Virginia to enquire after us, but knew not where to find us till that Indian came to his house; he gave me a large account of the ship's arrival, and the many dangers and difficulties she encountred before she could come into James river, where she ran ashore, resolving there to lay her bones. His name was Jenkin Price. He had brought an Indian of his neighbourhood with him that was very well acquainted in those parts, for our conduct back to Achomack, which Indian was called Jack.

The king was very glad of this happy success to us, and was impatient to learn something more of our history than hitherto he had been able to extract from signs and grimaces. Jenkin Price, with his broken Indian, could make a shift to instruct Jack to say any thing he pleased, and Jack was the more capable to understand his meaning by some sprinklings of English, that he had learnt at our plantations. Betwixt them both they were able to satisfy the king in what he pleased to know. Jack told them of himself what a mighty nation we were in that country, and gave them caution not to imbezzle any goods we had brought with us, for fear of an after-reckoning. I wondered, upon this serious discourse he had with the king, to see guns and stockings, and whatever trifles we had given, offer'd to be return'd, and being told the reason of it by Jenkin Price, I was very much ashamed of Jack's too great zeal in our service, which, tho' it did proceed from a principle of honesty, and good morality in him, we were to consider that our dearest lives, and all we could enjoy in this world, was (next to divine providence) owing to the virtue and charity of this king, and therefore not only what they had in possession, but whatever else he should desire that was in my power, would be too mean an acknowledgment for so high obligations. I took care to let them know that I had no hand in the menace by which Jack brought them to refund what they had got of us; the right understanding whereof increased our good intelligence, and became a new endearment of affection betwixt us.

By better acquaintance with these our deliverers, we learn'd that we were about fifty English miles from Virginia. That part of it where Jenkin did govern, was call'd Littleton's Plantation, and was the first English ground we did expect to see. He gave me great encouragement to endure the length of the way, by assuring me I should not find either stone or shrub to hurt my feet thorow my thin-soaled boots, for the whole colony had neither stone nor underwood; and having thus satisfy'd my curiosity in the knowledge of what Jenkin Price could communicate, we deferred no longer to resolve how and when to begin our journey to Achomack.

The Indian he brought with him (who afterwards lived and died my servant) was very expert, and a most incomparable guide in the woods we were to pass, being a native of those parts, so that he was as our sheet-anchor in this our peregrination. The king was loth to let us go till the weather was better temper'd for our bodies; but when he saw we were fully resolved, and had pitch'd upon the next morning to begin our journey, he found himself much defeated in a purpose he had taken to call together all the flower of his kingdom to entertain us with a dance, to the end that nothing might be omitted on

his part for our divertisement, as well as our nourishment, which his small territory could produce. Most of our company would gladly have deferred our march a day longer, to see this masquerade, but I was wholly bent for Achomack, to which place I was to dance almost on my bare feet, the thoughts of which took off the edge I might otherwise have had to novelties of that kind.

When the good old king saw we were fully determined to be gone the next day, he desired as a pledge of my affection to him, that I would give him my camblet coat, which he vowed to wear whilst he lived for my sake; I shook hands to shew my willingness to please him in that or in any other thing he would command, and was the more willing to do myself the honour of compliance in this particular, because he was the first king I could call to mind that had ever shew'd any inclinations to wear my old cloaths.

To the young princess, that had so signally obliged me, I presented a piece of two-penny scarlet ribbon, and a French tweezer, that I had in my pocket, which made her skip for joy, and to shew how little she fancy'd our way of carrying them concealed, she retired apart for some time, and taking out every individual piece of which it was furnish'd, she tied a snip of ribbon to each, and so came back with scissars, knives and bodkins hanging at her ears, neck and hair. The case itself was not excus'd, but bore a part in this new dress: and to the end we might not part without leaving deep impressions of her beauty in our minds, she had prepared on her forefingers, a lick of paint on each, the colours (to my best remembrance) green and yellow, which at one motion she discharg'd on her face, beginning upon her temples, and continuing it in an oval line downwards as far as it would hold out. I could have wish'd this young princess would have contented herself with what nature had done for her, without this addition of paint (which, I thought, made her more fulsome than handsome); but I had reason to imagine the royal family were only to use this ornament exclusive of all others, for that I saw none other of her sex so set off; and this conceit made it turn again, and appear lovely, as all things should do that are honour'd with the royal stamp.

I was not furnish'd with any thing upon the place, fit to make a return to the two queens for the great charity they used to feed and warm me; but when I came into a place where I could be supply'd, I was not wanting that way, according to my power.

Early next morning we put our selves in posture to be gone, *viz.* Major Stephens, myself, and three or four more, whose names are worn out of my mind. Major Morrison was so far recovered as to be heart-whole, but he wanted strength to go thro' so great a labour as this was like to prove. We left him with some others to be brought

in boats that the governor had order'd for their accommodation; and with them the two weak women, who were much recover'd by the good care and nourishment they receiv'd in the poor fisherman's house.

Breakfast being done, and our pilot Jack ready to set out, we took a solemn leave of the good king. He inclosed me in his arms with kind embraces, not without expressions of sorrow to part, beyond the common rate of new acquaintance. I made Jack pump up his best compliments, which at present was all I was capable to return to the king's kindness; and so, after many "Hana haes," we parted.

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It pleased God to send us dry weather, and not excessive cold. We had made provision of Pone to bait on by the way, and we found good water to refresh us; but all this did not hinder my being tir'd and spent almost to the last degree. Jack very kindly offer'd his service to carry me on his shoulders (for I was brought to a moderate weight by the strict diet I had been in) but that would have been more uneasy to me, in contemplation of his more than double pains, and so I resolved to try my utmost strength, without placing so great a weight on his shoulders.

The hopes of seeing English ground in America, and that in so short a time as they made us expect, did animate my spirits to the utmost point. Jack fearing the worst, was of opinion, that we should call at his aunt's town, the queen of Pomumkin, not far out of the way: but Jenkin Price opposed that motion, and did assure me our journey's end was at hand. His words and my own inclination carried the question, and I resolved, by God's help, that night to sleep at Jenkin's house.

But the distance proving yet greater than had been described, and my boots trashing me almost beyond all sufferance, I became desperate, and ready to sink and lie down. Jenkin lull'd me on still with words that spurr'd me to the quick; and would demonstrate the little distance betwixt us and his plantation, by the sight of hogs and cattle, of which species the Indians were not masters. I was fully convinc'd of what he said, but would however have consented to a motion of lying without doors on the ground, within two or three flights shot of the place, to save the labour of so small a remainder.

The close of the evening, and a little more patience (thro' the infinite goodness of the Almighty) did put a happy period to our cross adventure. A large bed of sweet straw was spread ready in Jenkin's house for our reception, upon which I did hasten to extend and stretch my wearied limbs. And being thus brought into safe harbour by the many miracles of divine mercy, from all the storms and fatigues, perils and necessities to which we had been exposed by sea and land

for almost the space of four months, I cannot conclude this voyage in more proper terms, than the words that are the burthen of that psalm of providence, "O that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wondrous works unto the children of men!"

Our landlord Jenkin Price, and conductor Jack took great care to provide meat for us; and there being a dairy and hens, we could not want. As for our stomachs, they were open at all hours to eat what-e'er was set before us, as soon as our wearied bodies were refresh'd with sleep. It was on Saturday the —— day of January, that we ended this our wearisome pilgrimage, and entered into our king's dominions at Achomat, called by the English, Northampton county, which is the only county on that side of the bay belonging to the colony of Virginia, and is the best of the whole for all sorts of necessaries for human life. . . . .

When I came to the house of one Stephen Charlton, he did not only outdo all that I had visited before him, in variety of dishes at his table, which was very well order'd in the kitchen, but would also oblige me to put on a good farmer-like suit of his own wearing cloaths, for exchange of my dirty habit; and this gave me opportunity to deliver my camblet coat to Jack, for the use of my brother of Kickotank, with other things to make it worth his acceptance.

Having been thus frankly entertain'd at Mr. Charlton's, our company were in condition to take care for themselves. We took leave of each other, and my next stage was to Esquire Yardly, a gentleman of good name, whose father had sometime been governor of Virginia. There I was received and treated as if I had in truth and reality been that man of honour my brother of Kickotank had created me. It fell out very luckily for my better welcome, that he had not long before brought over a wife from Rotterdam, that I had known almost from a child. Her father (Custis by name) kept a victualling house in that town, liv'd in good repute, and was the general host of our nation there. The esquire knowing I had the honour to be the governor's kinsman, and his wife knowing my conversation in Holland, I was receiv'd and caress'd more like a domestick and near relation, than a man in misery, and a stranger. I stay'd there for a passage over the bay, about ten days, welcomed and feasted not only by the esquire and his wife, but by many neighbours that were not too remote.

About the midst of February, I had an opportunity to cross the bay in a sloop, and with much ado landed in York river, at Esquire Ludlow's plantation, a most pleasant situation. I was civilly receiv'd by him, who presently order'd an accommodation for me in a most obliging manner. But it fell out at that time, that Captain Wormly (of his majesty's council) had guests in his house (not a furlong dis-

tant from Mr. Ludlow's) feasting and carousing, that were lately come from England, and most of them my intimate acquaintance. I took a sudden leave of Mr. Ludlow, thank'd him for his kind intentions to me, and using the common freedom of the country, I thrust myself amongst Captain Wormly's guests in crossing the creek, and had a kind reception from them all, which answered (if not exceeded) my expectation.

Sir Thomas Lundsford, Sir Henry Chickly, Sir Philip Honywood, and Colonel Hamond were the persons I met there, and enjoy'd that night with very good chear, but left them early the next morning, out of a passionate desire I had to see the governor, whose care for my preservation had been so full of kindness.

Captain Wormly mounted me for James Town, where the governor was pleased to receive and take me to his house at Greenspring, and there I pass'd my hours (as at mine own house) until May following; at which time he sent me for Holland to find out the king, and to sollicite his majesty for the treasurer's place of Virginia, which the governor took to be void by the delinquency of Claybourne, who had long enjoy'd it. He furnish'd me with a sum of money to bear the charge of this sollicitation; which took effect, tho' the king was then in Scotland. He was not only thus kind to me (who had a more than ordinary pretence to his favour by our near affinity in blood) but, on many occasions, he shew'd great respect to all the royal party, who made that colony their refuge. His house and purse were open to all that were so qualify'd. To one of my comrades (Major Fox) who had no friend at all to subsist on, he shew'd a generosity that was like himself; and to my other (Major Morrison) he was more kind, for he did not only place him in the command of the fort, which was profitable to him whilst it held under the king, but did advance him after to the government of the country, wherein he got a competent estate.

And thus (by the good providence of a gracious God, who helpeth us in our low estate, and causeth his angels to pitch tents round about them that trust in him) have I given as faithful an account of this signal instance of his goodness to the miserable objects of his mercy in this voyage, as I have been able to call to a clear remembrance.

EARLY
COLONIAL LITERATURE
1607—1675
PART II.

RELIGION WESTWARD BENT.

RELIGION stands on tip-toe in our land,
Readie to passe to the American strand.
When height of malice, and prodigious lusts,
Impudent sinning, witchcrafts, and distrusts,
(The marks of future bane,) shall fill our cup
Unto the brimme, and make our measure up;
When Sein shall swallow Tiber, and the Thames
By letting in them both, pollutes her streams:
When Italie of us shall have her will,
And all her calender of sinnes fulfill;
Whereby one may foretell, what sinnes next years
Shall both in France and England domineer:
Then shall Religion to America flee:
They have their times of Gospel, ev'n as we.
My God, thou dost prepare for them a way,
By carrying first their gold from them away:
For gold and grace did never yet agree:
Religion alwaies sides with povertie.
We think we rob them, but we think amisse:
We are more poore, and they more rich by this.
Thou wilt revenge their quarrell, making grace
To pay our debts, and leave our ancient place
To go to them, while that, which now their nation
But lends to us, shall be our desolation.
Yet as the Church shall thither westward flie,
So Sinne shall trace and dog her instantly:
They have their period also and set times
Both for their vertuous actions and their crimes.

GEORGE HERBERT. A. D. 1633.

EARLY

COLONIAL LITERATURE.

William Bradford.

BORN in Yorkshire, England, 1590. DIED at Plymouth, Mass., 1657.

DIVERS RECOLLECTIONS OF PURITAN STRICTNESS.

[*Governor Bradford's Dialogue. Written* 1648.]

MR. JOHNSON, of whom something was spoken before, was pastor of the church of God at Amsterdam. A very grave man he was, and an able teacher, and was the most solemn in all his administrations that we have seen any, and especially in dispensing the seals of the covenant, both baptism and the Lord's supper. And a good disputant he was. We heard Mr. Smith upon occasion say, that he was persuaded no men living were able to maintain a cause against those two men, meaning Mr. Johnson and Mr. Ainsworth, if they had not the truth on their side. He, by reason of many dissensions that fell out in the church, and the subtilty of one of the elders of the same, came after many years to alter his judgment about the government of the church, and his practice thereupon, which caused a division amongst them. . . . .

In our time his wife was a grave matron, and very modest both in her apparel and all her demeanor, ready to any good works in her place, and helpful to many, especially the poor, and an ornament to his calling. She was a young widow when he married her, and had been a merchant's wife, by whom he had a good estate, and was a a godly woman; and because she wore such apparel as she had been formerly used to, which were neither excessive nor immodest, for their chiefest exceptions were against her wearing of some whalebone

in the bodice and sleeves of her gown, corked shoes, and other such like things as the citizens of her rank then used to wear. And although, for offense sake, she and he were willing to reform the fashions of them so far as might be without spoiling of their garments, yet it would not content them except they came full up to their size. Such was the strictness or rigidness (as now the term goes) of some in those times, as we can by experience and of our own knowledge show in other instances. We shall for brevity sake only show one.

We were in the company of a godly man that had been a long time prisoner at Norwich for this cause, and was by Judge Cooke set at liberty. After going into the country he visited his friends, and returning that way again to go into the Low Countries by ship at Yarmouth, and so desired some of us to turn in with him to the house of an ancient woman in the city, who had been very kind and helpful to him in his sufferings. She knowing his voice made him very welcome, and those with him. But after some time of their entertainment, being ready to depart, she came up to him and felt of his band, (for her eyes were dim with age,) and perceiving it was something stiffened with starch, she was much displeased, and reproved him very sharply, fearing God would not prosper his journey. Yet the man was a plain countryman, clad in gray russet, without either welt or guard, (as the proverb is,) and the band he wore scarce worth threepence, made of their own homespinning; and he was godly and humble as he was plain. What would such professors, if they were now living, say to the excess of our times? . . . .

At Amsterdam, before their division and breach, they were about three hundred communicants, and they had for their pastor and teacher those two eminent men before named, and in our time four grave men for ruling elders, and three able and godly men for deacons, one ancient widow for a deaconess, who did them service many years, though she was sixty years of age when she was chosen. She honored her place and was an ornament to the congregation. She usually sat in a convenient place in the congregation, with a little birchen rod in her hand, and kept little children in great awe from disturbing the congregation. She did frequently visit the sick and weak, especially women, and, as there was need, calling out maids and young women to watch and do them other helps as their necessity did require; and if they were poor, she would gather relief for them of those that were able, or acquaint the deacons; and she was obeyed as a mother in Israel and an officer of Christ.

SUNDRY REASONS FOR THE REMOVAL FROM LEYDEN.

[*History of Plymouth Plantation. Written* 1630–50.]

AFTER they had lived in this city about some eleven or twelve years, (which is the more observable, being the whole time of that famous truce between that state and the Spaniards,) and sundry of them were taken away by death, and many others began to be well stricken in years, the grave mistress Experience having taught them many things, those prudent governors, with sundry of the sagest members, began both deeply to apprehend their present dangers, and wisely to foresee the future, and think of timely remedy. In the agitation of their thoughts, and much discourse of things hereabout, at length they began to incline to this conclusion, of removal to some other place. Not out of any new-fangledness, or other such like giddy humor, by which men are oftentimes transported to their great hurt and danger, but for sundry weighty and solid reasons, some of the chief of which I will here briefly touch. And first, they saw and found by experience the hardness of the place and country to be such as few in comparison would come to them, and fewer that would bide it out, and continue with them. For many that came to them, and many more that desired to be with them, could not endure that great labor and hard fare, with other inconveniences which they underwent and were contented with. But though they loved their persons, approved their cause, and honored their sufferings, yet they left them as it were weeping, as Orpah did her mother-in-law Naomi, or as those Romans did Cato in Utica, who desired to be excused and borne with, though they could not all be Catos. For many, though they desired to enjoy the ordinances of God in their purity, and the liberty of the gospel with them, yet, alas! they admitted of bondage, with danger of conscience, rather than to endure these hardships; yea, some preferred and chose the prisons in England, rather than this liberty in Holland, with these afflictions. But it was thought that if a better and easier place of living could be had, it would draw many, and take away these discouragments. Yea, their pastor would often say, that many of those who both wrote and preached now against them, if they were in a place where they might have liberty and live comfortably, they would then practise as they did.

Secondly. They saw that though the people generally bore all these difficulties very cheerfully, and with a resolute courage, being in the best and strength of their years, yet old age began to steal on many of them, (and their great and continual labors, with other

crosses and sorrows, hastened it before the time,) so as it was not only probably thought, but apparently seen, that within a few years more they would be in danger to scatter, by necessities pressing them, or sink under their burdens, or both. And therefore according to the divine proverb, that a "wise man seeth the plague when it cometh, and hideth himself," so they, like skillful and beaten soldiers, were fearful either to be entrapped or surrounded by their enemies, so as they should neither be able to fight nor fly; and therefore thought it better to dislodge betimes to some place of better advantage and less danger, if any such could be found.

Thirdly. As necessity was a taskmaster over them, so they were forced to be such, not only to their servants, but in a sort, to their dearest children; the which as it did not a little wound the tender hearts of many a loving father and mother, so it produced likewise sundry sad and sorrowful effects. For many of their children, that were of best dispositions and gracious inclinations, having learned to bear the yoke in their youth, and willing to bear part of their parents' burden, were oftentimes so oppressed with their heavy labors, that though their minds were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same, and became decrepit in their early youth; the vigor of nature being consumed in the very bud, as it were. But that which was more lamentable, and, of all sorrows, most heavy to be borne, was that many of their children, by these occasions, and the great licentiousness of youth in that country, and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses, getting the reins of their necks, and departing from their parents. Some became soldiers, others took upon them far voyages by sea, and others some worse courses, tending to dissoluteness and the danger of their souls, to the great grief of their parents and dishonor of God. So that they saw their posterity would be in danger to degenerate and be corrupted.

Lastly, (and which was not least,) a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancing the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but even as stepping-stones unto others for the performing of so great a work.

These, and some other like reasons, moved them to undertake this resolution of their removal; the which they afterward prosecuted with so great difficulties, as by the sequel will appear.

The place they had thoughts on was some of those vast and unpeopled countries of America, which are fruitful and fit for habitation, being devoid of all civil inhabitants, where there are only savage and brutish

men, which range up and down, little otherwise than the wild beasts of the same. This proposition being made public and coming to the scanning of all, it raised many variable opinions amongst men, and caused many fears and doubts amongst themselves. Some, from their reasons and hopes conceived, labored to stir up and encourage the rest to undertake and prosecute the same; others, again, out of their fears, objected against it, and sought to divert from it, alleging many things, and those neither unreasonable nor unprobable; as that it was a great design, and subject to many unconceivable perils and dangers; as, besides the casualties of the seas, (which none can be freed from,) the length of the voyage was such, as the weak bodies of women and other persons worn out with age and travel (as many of them were) could never be able to endure. And yet if they should, the miseries of the land which they should be exposed unto, would be too hard to be borne; and likely, some or all of them together, to consume and utterly to ruinate them. For there they should be liable to famine, and nakedness, and the want, in a manner, of all things. The change of air, diet, and drinking of water, would infect their bodies with sore sicknesses and grievous diseases. And also those which should escape or overcome these difficulties, should yet be in continual danger of the savage people, who are cruel, barbarous, and most treacherous, being most furious in their rage, and merciless where they overcome; not being content only to kill, and take away life, but delight to torment men in the most bloody manner that may be; flaying some alive with the shells of fishes, cutting off the members and joints of others by piecemeal, and broiling on the coals, eat the collops of their flesh in their sight whilst they live; with other cruelties horrible to be related. And surely it could not be thought but the very hearing of these things could not but move the very bowels of men to grate within them, and make the weak to quake and tremble. It was further objected, that it would require greater sums of money to furnish such a voyage, and to fit them with necessaries, than their consumed estates would amount to; and yet they must as well look to be seconded with supplies, as presently to be transported. Also many precedents of ill success, and lamentable miseries befallen others in the like designs, were easy to be found, and not forgotten to be alleged; besides their own experience, in their former troubles and hardships in their removal into Holland, and how hard a thing it was for them to live in that strange place, though it was a neighbor country, and a civil and rich commonwealth.

It was answered, that all great and honorable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courages. It was granted the dangers were great, but not desperate; the difficulties were many, but not invincible. For though

there were many of them likely, yet they were not certain; it might be sundry of the things feared might never befall; others, by provident care and the use of good means, might in a great measure be prevented; and all of them, through the help of God, by fortitude and patience, might either be borne or overcome. True it was, that such attempts were not to be made and undertaken without good ground and reason; not rashly or lightly, as many have done for curiosity or hope of gain, etc. But their condition was not ordinary; their ends were good and honorable; their calling lawful, and urgent; and therefore they might expect the blessing of God in their proceeding. Yea, though they should lose their lives in this action, yet might they have comfort in the same, and their endeavors would be honorable. They lived here but as men in exile, and in a poor condition; and as great miseries might possibly befall them in this place, for the twelve years of truce were now out, and there was nothing but beating of drums, and preparing for war, the events whereof are always uncertain. The Spaniard might prove as cruel as the savages of America, and the famine and pestilence as sore here as there, and their liberty less to look out for remedy. After many other particular things answered and alleged on both sides, it was fully concluded by the major part, to put this design in execution, and to prosecute it by the best means they could.

HOW THE COLONY WAS TROUBLED WITH A HYPOCRITE.

[*From the Same.*]

THE third eminent person (which the letters before mention) was the minister which they sent over, by name John Lyford, of whom and whose doing I must be more large, though I shall abridge things as much as I can. When this man first came ashore, he saluted them with that reverence and humility as is seldom to be seen, and indeed made them ashamed, he so bowed and cringed unto them, and would have kissed their hands if they would have suffered him; yea, he wept and shed many tears, blessing God that had brought him to see their faces; and admiring the things they had done in their wants, etc., as if he had been made all of love, and the humblest person in the world. And all the while (if we may judge by his after carriages) he was but like him mentioned in Psa. x. 10; that croucheth and boweth, that heaps of poor may fall by his might; or like to that dissembling Ishmael, who, when he had slain Gedelia, went out weep-

ing and met them that were coming to offer incense in the house of the Lord, saying, "Come to Gedelia," when he meant to slay them. They gave him the best entertainment they could, (in all simplicity,) and a larger allowance of food out of the store than any other had; and as the Governor had used in all weighty affairs to consult with their Elder, Mr. Brewster, (together with his assistants,) so now he called Mr. Lyford also to counsel with them in their weightiest businesses. After some short time he desired to join himself a member to the church here, and was accordingly received. He made a large confession of his faith, and an acknowledgment of his former disorderly walking, and his being entangled with many corruptions, which had been a burden to his conscience, and blessed God for this opportunity of freedom and liberty to enjoy the ordinances of God in purity among his people, with many more such like expressions.

I must here speak a word also of Mr. John Oldham, who was a copartner with him in his after courses. He had been a chief stickler in the former faction among the particulars, and an intelligencer to those in England. But now, since the coming of this ship and he saw the supply that came, he took occasion to open his mind to some of the chief amongst them here, and confessed he had done them wrong both by word and deed, and writing into England; but he now saw the eminent hand of God to be with them, and his blessing upon them, which made his heart smite him, neither should those in England ever use him as an instrument any longer against them in any thing. He also desired former things might be forgotten, and that they would look upon him as one that desired to close with them in all things, with such like expressions. Now whether this was in hypocrisy, or out of some sudden pang of conviction (which I rather think), God only knows. Upon it they show all readiness to embrace his love, and carry towards him in all friendliness, and called him to counsel with them in all chief affairs, as the other, without any distrust at all.

Thus all things seemed to go very comfortably and smoothly on amongst them, at which they did much rejoice; but this lasted not long, for both Oldham and he grew very perverse, and showed a spirit of great malignancy, drawing as many into faction as they could; were they never so vile or profane, they did nourish and back them in all their doings; so they would but cleave to them and speak against the church here; so as there was nothing but private meetings and whisperings amongst them; they feeding themselves and others with what they should bring to pass in England by the faction of their friends there, which brought others as well as themselves into a fool's paradise. Yet they could not carry so closely but much of both their doings and sayings were discovered, yet outwardly they still set a fair face of things.

At length when the ship was ready to go, it was observed Lyford was long in writing, and sent many letters, and could not forbear to communicate to his intimates such things as made them laugh in their sleeves, and thought he had done their errand sufficiently. The Governor and some other of his friends knowing how things stood in England, and what hurt these things might do, took a shallop and went out with the ship a league or two to sea, and called for all Lyford's and Oldham's letters. Mr. William Peirce, being master of the ship, (and knew well their evil dealing both in England and here,) afforded him all the assistance he could. He found above twenty of Lyford's letters, many of them large, and full of slanders, and false accusations, tending not only to their prejudice, but to their ruin and utter subversion. Most of the letters they let pass, only took copies of them, but some of the most material they sent true copies of them, and kept the originals, lest he should deny them, and that they might produce his own hand against him. Amongst his letters they found the copies of two letters which he sent enclosed in a letter of his to Mr. John Pemberton, a minister, and a great opposite of theirs. These two letters of which he took the copies, were one of them written by a gentleman in England to Mr. Brewster here, the other by Mr. Winslow to Mr. Robinson, in Holland, at his coming away, as the ship lay at Gravesend. They lying sealed in the great cabin, (whilst Mr. Winslow was busy about the affairs of the ship,) this sly merchant takes and opens them, takes these copies, and seals them up again; and not only sends the copies of them thus to his friend and their adversary, but adds thereto in the margin many scurrilous and flouting annotations. The ship went out towards evening, and in the night the Governor returned. They were somewhat blank at it, but after some weeks, when they heard nothing, they then were as brisk as ever, thinking nothing had been known, but all was gone current, and that the Governor went but to dispatch his own letters. The reason why the Governor and rest concealed these things the longer, was to let things ripen, that they might the better discover their intents and see who were their adherents. And the rather because amongst the rest they found a letter of one of their confederates, in which was written that Mr. Oldham and Mr. Lyford intended a reformation in church and commonwealth; and, as soon as the ship was gone, they intended to join together, and have the sacraments, etc.

For Oldham, few of his letters were found, (for he was so bad a scribe as his hand was scarce legible,) yet he was as deep in the mischief as the other. And thinking they were now strong enough, they began to pick quarrels at every thing. Oldham being called to watch, (according to order,) refused to come, fell out with the Captain, called him "rascal," and "beggarly rascal," and resisted him, drew his knife

at him; though he offered him no wrong, nor gave him no ill terms, but with all fairness required him to do his duty. The Governor, hearing the tumult, sent to quiet it, but he ramped more like a furious beast than a man, and called them all traitors, and rebels, and other such foul language as I am ashamed to remember; but after he was clapt up awhile, he came to himself, and with some slight punishment was let go upon his behavior for further censure.

But to cut things short, at length it grew to this issue, that Lyford with his accomplices, without ever speaking one word either to the Governor, Church, or Elder, withdrew themselves and set up a public meeting apart, on the Lord's day; with sundry such insolent carriages, too long here to relate, beginning now publicly to act what privately they had been long plotting.

It was now thought high time (to prevent further mischief) to call them to account; so the Governor called a court and summoned the whole company to appear. And then charged Lyford and Oldham with such things as they were guilty of. But they were stiff, and stood resolutely upon the denial of most things, and required proof. They first alleged what was written to them out of England, compared with their doings and practices here; that it was evident they joined in plotting against them, and disturbing their peace, both in respect of their civil and church state, which was most injurious; for both they and all the world knew they came hither to enjoy the liberty of their conscience and the free use of God's ordinances; and for that end had ventured their lives and passed through so much hardship hitherto, and they and their friends had borne the charge of these beginnings, which was not small. And that Lyford for his part was sent over on this charge, and that both he and his great family was maintained on the same, and also was joined to the church, and a member of them; and for him to plot against them and seek their ruin, was most unjust and perfidious. And for Oldham or any other that came over at their own charge, and were on their particular, seeing they were received in courtesy by the plantation, when they came only to seek shelter and protection under their wings, not being able to stand alone, that they, (according to the fable,) like the hedgehog whom the cony in a stormy day in pity received into her burrow, would not be content to take part with her, but in the end with her sharp pricks forced the poor cony to forsake her own burrow; so these men with the like injustice endeavored to do the same to those that entertained them.

Lyford denied that he had any thing to do with them in England, or knew of their courses, and made other things as strange that he was charged with. Then his letters were produced and some of them

read, at which he was struck mute. But Oldham began to rage furiously because they had intercepted and opened his letters, threatening them in very high language, and in a most audacious and mutinous manner stood up and called upon the people, saying, "My masters, where is your hearts? Now show your courage; you have oft complained to me so and so; now is the time, if you will do any thing, I will stand by you," etc. Thinking that every one (knowing his humor) that had soothed and flattered him, or otherwise in their discontent uttered any thing unto him, would now side with him in open rebellion. But he was deceived, for not a man opened his mouth, but all were silent, being struck with the injustice of the thing. Then the Governor turned his speech to Mr. Lyford, and asked him if he thought they had done evil to open his letters; but he was silent, and would not say a word, well knowing what they might reply. Then the Governor showed the people he did it as a magistrate, and was bound to it by his place, to prevent the mischief and ruin that this conspiracy and plots of theirs would bring on this poor colony. But he, besides his evil dealing here, had dealt treacherously with his friends that trusted him, and stole their letters and opened them, and sent copies of them, with disgraceful annotations, to his friends in England. And then the Governor produced them and his other letters under his own hand, (which he could not deny,) and caused them to be read before all the people; at which all his friends were blank, and had not a word to say.

It would be too long and tedious here to insert his letters (which would almost fill a volume), though I have them by me. I shall only note a few of the chief things collected out of them, with the answers to them as they were then given; and but a few of those many, only for instance, by which the rest may be judged of.

1. First, he saith, the church would have none to live here but themselves. Secondly, neither are any willing so to do, if they had company to live elsewhere.

Answer: Their answer was, that this was false, in both the parts of it; for they were willing and desirous that any honest men may live with them, that will carry themselves peaceably, and seek the common good, or at least do them no hurt. And again, there are many that will not live elsewhere so long as they may live with them.

2. That if there come over any honest men that are not of the separation, they will quickly distaste them, etc.

Answer: Their answer was as before, that it was a false calumniation, for they had many amongst them that they liked well of, and were glad of their company; and should be of any such like that should come amongst them.

3. That they excepted against him for these two doctrines raised from 2. Sam. xii. 7: First, that ministers must sometimes particularly apply their doctrine to special persons; secondly, that great men may be reproved as well as meaner.

Answer: Their answer was, that both these were without either truth or color of the same (as was proved to his face), and that they had taught and believed these things long before they knew Mr. Lyford.

4. That they utterly sought the ruin of the particulars; as appears by this, that they would not suffer any of the general either to buy or sell with them, or to exchange one commodity for another.

Answer: This was a most malicious slander and void of all truth, as was evidently proved to him before all men; for any of them did both buy, sell, or exchange with them as often as they had any occasion. Yea, and also both lend and give to them when they wanted; and this the particular persons themselves could not deny, but freely confessed in open court. But the ground from whence this arose made it much worse, for he was in counsel with them. When one was called before them, and questioned for receiving powder and biscuit from the gunner of the small ship, which was the company's, and had it put in at his window in the night, and also for buying salt of one, that had no right to it, he not only stood to back him (being one of these particulars) by excusing and extenuating his fault, as long as he could, but upon this builds this mischievous and most false slander: That because they would not suffer them to buy stolen goods, ergo, they sought their utter ruin. Bad logic for a divine.

5. Next he writes, that he charged them with this: that they turned men into their particular, and then sought to starve them, and deprive them of all means of subsistence.

Answer: To this was answered, he did them manifest wrong, for they turned none into their particular; it was their own importunity and earnest desire that moved them, yea, constrained them to do it. And they appealed to the persons themselves for the truth hereof. And they testified the same against him before all present, as also that they had no cause to complain of any either hard or unkind usage.

6. He accuseth them with unjust distribution, and writeth, that it was a strange difference, that some have been allowed sixteen pounds of meal by the week, and others but four pounds. And then (floutingly) saith, "It seems some men's mouths and bellies are very little and slender over others."

Answer: This might seem strange indeed to those to whom he wrote his letters in England, which knew not the reason of it; but to him and others here, it could not be strange, who knew how things stood. For the first comers had none at all, but lived on their corn. Those

which came in the "Anne," the August before, and were to live thirteen months off the provisions they brought, had as good allowance in meal and pease as it would extend to, the most part of the year; but a little before harvest, when they had not only fish, but other fruits began to come in, they had but four pounds of meal a week, lived better than the other, as was well known to all. And yet it must be remembered that Lyford and his had always the highest allowance.

Many other things (in his letters) he accused them of, with many aggravations; as that he saw exceeding great waste of tools and vessels; and this, when it came to be examined, all the instance he could give was, that he had seen an old hogshead or two fallen to pieces, and a broken hoe or two left carelessly in the field by some. Though he also knew that a godly, honest man was appointed to look to these things. But these things and such like was written of by him, to cast disgrace and prejudice upon them; as thinking what came from a minister would pass for current. Then he tells them that Winslow should say, that there was not above seven of the adventurers that sought the good of the colony; that Mr. Oldham and himself had had much to do with them, and that the faction here might match the Jesuits for polity. With many the like grievous complaints and accusations.

1. Then, in the next place, he comes to give his friends counsel and direction. And first, that the Leyden company (Mr. Robinson and the rest) must still be kept back, or else all will be spoiled. And lest any of them should be taken in privately somewhere on the coast of England, (as it was feared might be done,) they must change the master of the ship (Mr. Wm. Peirce), and put another also in Winslow's stead, for merchant, or else it would not be prevented.

2. Then he would have such a number provided as might oversway them here. And that the particulars should have voices in all courts and elections, and be free to bear any office. And that every particular should come over as an adventurer, if he be but a servant; some other venturing ten pounds, the bill may be taken out in the servant's name, and then assigned to the party whose money it was, and good covenants drawn between them for the clearing of the matter; "and this," saith he, "would be a means to strengthen this side the more."

3. Then he tells them that if that captain they spoke of should come over hither as a general, he was persuaded he would be chosen captain; for this Captain Standish looks like a silly boy, and is in utter contempt.

4. Then he shows that if by the forementioned means they can not be strengthened to carry and overbear things, it will be best for them to plant elsewhere by themselves; and would have it articled by them

that they might make choice of any place that they liked best within three or four miles distance, showing there were far better places for plantation than this.

5. And lastly he concludes, that if some number came not over to bear them up here, then there would be no abiding for them, but by joining with these here. Then he adds: "Since I began to write, there are letters come from your company, wherein they would give sole authority in divers things unto the Governor here; which, if it take place, then, *ve nobis*. But I hope you will be more vigilant hereafter, that nothing may pass in such a manner. I suppose," saith he, "Mr. Oldham will write to you further of these things. I pray you conceal me in the discovery of these things," etc.

Thus I have briefly touched some chief things in his letters, and shall now return to their proceeding with him. After the reading of his letters before the whole company, he was demanded what he could say to these things. But all the answer he made was, that Billington and some others had informed him of many things, and made sundry complaints, which they now denied. He was again asked if that was a sufficient ground for him thus to accuse and traduce them by his letters, and never say word to them, considering the many bonds between them. And so they went on from point to point; and wished him, or any of his friends and confederates, not to spare them in any thing; if he or they had any proof or witness of any corrupt or evil dealing of theirs, his or their evidence must needs be there present, for there was the whole company and sundry strangers. He said he had been abused by others in their informations, (as he now well saw,) and so had abused them. And this was all the answer they could have, for none would take his part in any thing; but Billington, and any whom he named, denied the things, and protested he wronged them, and would have drawn them to such and such things which they could not consent to, though they were sometimes drawn to his meetings. Then they dealt with him about his dissembling with them about the church, and that he professed to concur with them in all things, and what a large confession he made at his admittance, and that he held not himself a minister till he had a new calling, etc. And yet now he contested against them, and drew a company apart, and sequestered himself; and would go minister the sacraments (by his episcopal calling) without ever speaking a word unto them, either as magistrates or brethren. In conclusion, he was fully convicted, and burst out into tears, and "confessed he feared he was a reprobate; his sins were so great that he doubted God would not pardon them; he was unsavory salt, etc.; and that he had so wronged them as he could never make them amends, confessing all

he had written against them was false and nought, both for matter and manner." And all this he did with as much fulness as words and tears could express.

After their trial and conviction, the court censured them to be expelled the place; Oldham presently, though his wife and family had liberty to stay all winter, or longer, till he could make provision to remove them comfortably. Lyford had liberty to stay six months. It was, indeed, with some eye to his release, if he carried himself well in the meantime, and that his repentance proved sound. Lyford acknowledged his censure was far less than he deserved.

Afterwards, he confessed his sin publicly in the church, with tears more largely than before. I shall here put it down as I find it recorded by some who took it from his own words, as himself uttered them. Acknowledging that he had done very evil, and slanderously abused them; and thinking most of the people would take part with him, he thought to carry all by violence and strong hand against them. And that God might justly lay innocent blood to his charge, for he knew not what hurt might have come of these his writings, and blessed God they were stayed. And that he spared not to take knowledge from any, of any evil that was spoken, but shut his eyes and ears against all the good; and if God should make him a vagabond in the earth, as was Cain, it was but just, for he had sinned in envy and malice against his brethren as he did. And he confessed three things to be the ground and causes of these his doings: pride, vainglory, and self-love. Amplifying these heads with many other sad expressions, in the particulars of them.

So as they began again to conceive good thoughts of him upon this his repentance, and admitted him to teach amongst them as before; and Samuel Fuller (a deacon amongst them), and some other tender-hearted men amongst them, were so taken with his signs of sorrow and repentance, as they professed they would fall upon their knees to have his censure released.

But that which made them all stand amazed in the end, and may do all others that shall come to hear the same, (for a rarer precedent can scarce be shown,) was, that after a month or two, notwithstanding all his former confessions, convictions, and public acknowledgments, both in the face of the church and the whole company, with so many tears and sad censures of himself before God and men, he should go again to justify what he had done.

THE PESTILENT MORTON AND HIS MERRY MOUNT.

[*From the Same.*]

HITHERTO the Indians of these parts had no pieces nor other arms but their bows and arrows, nor of many years after; neither durst they scarce handle a gun, so much were they afraid of them; and the very sight of one (though out of kilter) was a terror unto them. But those Indians to the east parts, which had commerce with the French, got pieces of them, and they in the end made a common trade of it; and in time our English fishermen, led with the like covetousness, followed their example, for their own gain; but upon complaint against them, it pleased the king's majesty to prohibit the same by a strict proclamation, commanding that no sort of arms, or munition, should by any of his subjects be traded with them.

About some three or four years before this time, there came over one Captain Wollaston, (a man of pretty parts,) and with him three or four more of some eminency, who brought with them a great many servants, with provisions and other implements for to begin a plantation; and pitched themselves in a place within the Massachusetts, which they called, after their captain's name, Mount Wollaston. Amongst whom was one Mr. Morton, who, it should seem, had some small adventure (of his own or other men's) amongst them; but had little respect amongst them, and was slighted by the meanest servants. Having continued there some time, and not finding things to answer their expectations, nor profit to arise as they looked for, Captain Wollaston takes a great part of the servants, and transports them to Virginia, where he puts them off at good rates, selling their time to other men; and writes back to one Mr. Rassdall, one of his chief partners, and accounted their merchant, to bring another part of them to Virginia likewise, intending to put them off there as he had done the rest. And he, with the consent of the said Rassdall, appointed one Fitcher to be his Lieutenant, and govern the remains of the plantation, till he or Rassdall returned to take further order thereabout. But this Morton above-said, having more craft than honesty, (who had been a kind of pettifogger, of Furnefells Inn,) in the other's absence, watches an opportunity, (commons being but hard amongst them,) and got some strong drink and other junkets, and made them a feast; and after they were merry, he began to tell them, he would give them good counsel.

"You see," saith he, "that many of your fellows are carried to Virginia; and if you stay till this Rassdall return, you will also be carried away and sold for slaves with the rest. Therefore I would

advise you to thrust out this Lieutenant Fitcher; and I, having a part in the plantation, will receive you as my partners and consociates; so may you be free from service, and we will converse, trade, plant, and live together as equals, and support and protect one another," or to like effect. This counsel was easily received; so they took opportunity, and thrust Lieutenant Fitcher out of doors, and would suffer him to come no more amongst them, but forced him to seek bread to eat, and other relief from his neighbors, till he could get passages for England.

After this they fell to great licentiousness, and led a dissolute life, powering out themselves into all profaneness. And Morton became lord of misrule, and maintained (as it were) a school of Atheism. And after they had got some goods into their hands, and got much by trading with the Indians, they spent it as vainly, in quaffing and drinking both wine and strong waters in great excess, and, as some reported, ten shillings worth in a morning. They also set up a May-pole, drinking and dancing about it many days together, inviting the Indian women, for their consorts, dancing and frisking together, (like so many fairies, or furies rather,) and worse practices. As if they had anew revived and celebrated the feast of the Roman goddess Flora, or the beastly practices of the mad Bacchanalians. Morton likewise (to show his poetry) composed sundry rhymes and verses, some tending to lasciviousness, and others to the detraction and scandal of some persons, which he affixed to this idle or idol May-pole. They changed also the name of their place, and instead of calling it Mount Wollaston, they call it Merry Mount, as if this jollity would have lasted ever. But this continued not long, for after Morton was sent for England, (as follows to be declared,) shortly after came over that worthy gentleman, Mr. John Endicott, who brought over a patent under the broad seal, for the government of the Massachusetts, who visiting those parts caused that May-pole to be cut down, and rebuked them for their profaneness, and admonished them to look there should be better walking; so they now, or others, changed the name of their place again, and called it Mount Dagon.

Now, to maintain this riotous prodigality and profuse excess, Morton, thinking himself lawless, and hearing what gain the French and fishermen made by trading of pieces, powder, and shot to the Indians, he, as the head of this consortship, began the practice of the same in these parts; and first he taught them how to use them, to charge and discharge, and what proportion of powder to give the piece, according to the size or bigness of the same; and what shot to use for fowl, and what for deer. And having thus instructed them, he employed some of them to hunt and fowl for him, so as they became far more active in that employment than any of the English, by reason of their swiftness of foot, and nimbleness of body, being also quick-sighted, and by

continual exercise well knowing the haunts of all sorts of game. So as when they saw the execution that a piece would do, and the benefit that might come by the same, they became mad, as it were, after them, and would not stick to give any price they could attain to for them; accounting their bows and arrows but baubles in comparison of them.

And here I may take occasion to bewail the mischief that this wicked man began in these parts, and which since base covetousness prevailing in men that should know better, has now at length got the upper hand, and made this thing common, notwithstanding any laws to the contrary; so as the Indians are full of pieces all over, both fowling pieces, muskets, pistols, etc. They have also their moulds to make shot, of all sorts, as musket bullets, pistol bullets, swan and goose shot, and of smaller sorts; yea, some have seen them have their screw-plates to make screw-pins themselves, when they want them, with sundry other implements, wherewith they are ordinarily better fitted and furnished than the English themselves. Yea, it is well known that they will have powder and shot, when the English want it, nor can not get it; and that in a time of war or danger, as experience hath manifested, that when lead hath been scarce, and men for their own defence would gladly have given a groat a pound, which is dear enough, yet hath it been bought up and sent to other places, and sold to such as trade it with the Indians, at twelve pence the pound; and it is like they give three or four shillings the pound, for they will have it at any rate. And these things have been done in the same times, when some of their neighbors and friends are daily killed by the Indians, or are in danger thereof, and live but at the Indians' mercy. Yea, some (as they have acquainted them with all other things) have told them how gunpowder is made, and all the materials in it, and that they are to be had in their own land; and I am confident, could they attain to make saltpetre, they would teach them to make powder. Oh, the horribleness of this villany! how many both Dutch and English have been lately slain by those Indians, thus furnished; and no remedy provided, nay, the evil more increased, and the blood of their brethren sold for gain, as is to be feared; and in what danger all these colonies are in is too well known. Oh! that princes and parliaments would take some timely order to prevent this mischief, and at length to suppress it, by some exemplary punishment upon some of these gain-thirsty murderers, (for they deserve no better title,) before their colonies in these parts be overthrown by these barbarous savages, thus armed with their own weapons, by these evil instruments, and traitors to their neighbors and country. But I have forgot myself, and have been too long in this digression; but now to return: This Morton having thus taught them the use of pieces, he sold them all he could spare; and he and his consorts deter-

mined to send for many out of England, and had by some of the ships sent for above a score; the which being known, and his neighbors meeting the Indians in the woods armed with guns in this sort, it was a terror unto them, who lived stragglingly, and were of no strength in any place. And other places (though more remote) saw this mischief would quickly spread over all, if not prevented. Besides, they saw they should keep no servants, for Morton would entertain any, how vile soever, and all the scum of the country, or any discontents, would flock to him from all places, if this nest was not broken; and they should stand in more fear of their lives and goods (in short time) from this wicked and debauched crew, than from the savages themselves.

So sundry of the chief of the straggling plantations, meeting together, agreed by mutual consent to solicit those of Plymouth (who were then of more strength than them all) to join with them to prevent the further growth of this mischief, and suppress Morton and his consorts before they grew to further head and strength. Those that joined in this action (and after contributed to the charge of sending him for England) were from Pascataway, Namkeake, Winisimett, Weesagascusett, Natasco, and other places where any English were seated. Those of Plymouth being thus sought too by their messengers and letters, and weighing both their reasons, and the common danger, were willing to afford them their help; though themselves had least cause of fear or hurt. So, to be short, they first resolved jointly to write to him, and in a friendly and neighborly way to admonish him to forbear these courses, and sent a messenger with their letters to bring his answer. But he was so high as he scorned all advice, and asked who had to do with him; he had and would trade pieces with the Indians in despite of all, with many other scurrilous terms full of disdain.

They sent to him a second time, and bade him be better advised, and more temperate in his terms, for the country could not bear the injury he did; it was against their common safety, and against the king's proclamation. He answered in high terms as before, and that the king's proclamation was no law; demanding what penalty was upon it. It was answered, more than he could bear, his majesty's displeasure. But insolently he persisted, and said the king was dead and his displeasure with him, and many the like things; and threatened withal that if any came to molest him, let them look to themselves, for he would prepare for them. Upon which they saw there was no way but to take him by force; and having so far proceeded, now to give over would make him far more haughty and insolent. So they mutually resolved to proceed, and obtained of the Governor of Plymouth to send Captain Standish, and some other aid with him, to take Morton by force. The which accordingly was done; but they found

him to stand stiffly in his defence, having made fast his doors, armed his consorts, set divers dishes of powder and bullets ready on the table; and if they had not been overarmed with drink, more hurt might have been done. They summoned him to yield, but he kept his house, and they could get nothing but scoffs and scorns from him; but at length, fearing they would do some violence to the house, he and some of his crew came out, but not to yield, but to shoot; but they were so steeled with drink as their pieces were too heavy for them; himself with a carbine (overcharged and almost half filled with powder and shot, as was after found) had thought to have shot Captain Standish; but he stepped to him, and put by his piece, and took him. Neither was there any hurt done to any of either side, save that one was so drunk that he ran his own nose upon the point of a sword that one held before him as he entered the house; but he lost but a little of his hot blood. Morton they brought away to Plymouth, where he was kept, till a ship went from the Isle of Shoals for England, with which he was sent to the Council of New-England; and letters written to give them information of his course and carriage; and also one was sent at their common charge to inform their Honors more particularly, and to prosecute against him. But he fooled of the messenger, after he was gone from hence, and though he went for England, yet nothing was done to him, not so much as rebuked, for aught was heard; but returned the next year. Some of the worst of the company were dispersed, and some of the more modest kept the house till he should be heard from. But I have been too long about so unworthy a person, and bad a cause.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF ELDER BREWSTER.

[*From the Same.*]

I AM to begin this year with that which was a matter of great sadness and mourning unto them all. About the 18th of April died their Reverend Elder, and my dear and loving friend, Mr. William Brewster; a man that had done and suffered much for the Lord Jesus and the gospel's sake, and had borne his part in weal and woe with this poor persecuted church above thirty-six years in England, Holland, and in this wilderness, and done the Lord and them faithful service in his place and calling. And notwithstanding the many troubles and sorrows he passed through, the Lord upheld him to a great

age. He was near fourscore years of age (if not all out) when he died. He had this blessing added by the Lord to all the rest, to die in his bed, in peace, amongst the midst of his friends, who mourned and wept over him, and ministered what help and comfort they could unto him, and he again recomforted them whilst he could. His sickness was not long, and till the last day thereof he did not wholly keep his bed. His speech continued till somewhat more than half a day, and then failed him; and about nine or ten o'clock that evening he died, without any pangs at all. A few hours before, he drew his breath short, and some few minutes before his last, he drew his breath long, as a man fallen into a sound sleep, without any pangs or gaspings, and so sweetly departed this life unto a better.

I would now demand of any, what he was the worse for any former sufferings? What do I say? Worse? Nay, sure he was the better, and they now added to his honor. "It is a manifest token," saith the Apostle, "of the righteous judgment of God that ye may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which ye also suffer; seeing it is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you: and to you who are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven, with His mighty angels. If you be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye, for the spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you." What though he wanted the riches and pleasures of the world in this life, and pompous monuments at his funeral? Yet the memorial of the just shall be blessed when the name of the wicked shall rot (with their marble monuments).

I should say something of his life, if to say a little were not worse than to be silent. But I can not wholly forbear, though happily more may be done hereafter. After he had attained some learning, viz., the knowledge of the Latin tongue, and some insight in the Greek, and spent some small time at Cambridge, and then being first seasoned with the seeds of grace and virtue, he went to the Court, and served that religious and godly gentleman, Mr. Davison, divers years, when he was Secretary of State; who found him so discreet and faithful as he trusted him above all other that were about him, and only employed him in all matters of greatest trust and secrecy. He esteemed him rather as a son than a servant, and for his wisdom and godliness (in private) he would converse with him more like a friend and familiar than a master. He attended his master when he was sent in embassage by the Queen into the Low Countries, in the Earl of Leicester's time, as for other weighty affairs of state, so to receive possession of the cautionary towns, and in token and sign thereof the keys of Flushing being delivered to him, in her Majesty's name, he kept them some time, and committed them to this his servant, who kept them

under his pillow, on which he slept the first night. And, at his return, the States honored him with a gold chain, and his master committed it to him, and commanded him to wear it when they arrived in England, as they rode through the country, till they came to the Court. He afterwards remained with him till his troubles, that he was put from his place about the death of the Queen of Scots; and some good time after, doing him many faithful offices of service in the time of his troubles. Afterwards he went and lived in the country, in good esteem amongst his friends and the gentlemen of those parts, especially the godly and religious.

He did much good in the country where he lived, in promoting and furthering religion, not only by his practice and example, and provoking and encouraging of others, but by procuring of good preachers to the places thereabout, and drawing on of others to assist and help forward in such a work; he himself most commonly deepest in the charge, and sometimes above his ability. And in this state he continued many years, doing the best good he could, and walking according to the light he saw, till the Lord revealed further unto him. And in the end, by the tyranny of the bishops against godly preachers and people, in silencing the one and persecuting the other, he and many more of those times began to look further into things, and to see into the unlawfulness of their callings, and the burden of many antichristian corruptions, which both he and they endeavored to cast off; as they also did, as in the beginning of this treatise is to be seen. After they were joined together in communion, he was a special stay and help unto them. They ordinarily met at his house on the Lord's day, (which was a manor of the bishop's,) and with great love he entertained them when they came, making provision for them to his great charge. He was the chief of those that were taken at Boston, and suffered the greatest loss; and of the seven that were kept longest in prison, and after bound over to the assizes. After he came into Holland he suffered much hardship, after he had spent the most of his means, having a great charge, and many children; and, in regard of his former breeding and course of life, not so fit for many employments as others were, especially such as were toilsome and laborious. But yet he ever bore his condition with much cheerfulness and contentation.

Towards the latter part of those twelve years spent in Holland, his outward condition was mended, and he lived well and plentifully; for he fell into a way (by reason he had the Latin tongue) to teach many students, who had a desire to learn the English tongue, to teach them English; and by his method they quickly attained it with great facility; for he drew rules to learn it by, after the Latin manner; and

many gentlemen, both Danes and Germans, resorted to him, as they had time from other studies, some of them being great men's sons. He also had means to set up printing, (by the help of some friends,) and so had employment enough, and by reason of many books which would not be allowed to be printed in England, they might have had more than they could do. But now removing into this country, all these things were laid aside again, and a new course of living must be framed unto; in which he was no way unwilling to take his part, and to bear his burden with the rest, living many times without bread, or corn, many months together, having many times nothing but fish, and often wanting that also; and drunk nothing but water for many years together, yea, till within five or six years of his death. And yet he lived (by the blessing of God) in health till very old age. And besides that, he would labor with his hands in the fields as long as he was able; yet when the church had no other minister, he taught twice every Sabbath, and that both powerfully and profitably, to the great contentment of the hearers, and their comfortable edification; yea, many were brought to God by his ministry. He did more in this behalf in a year, than many that have their hundreds a year do in all their lives.

For his personal abilities, he was qualified above many; he was wise and discreet and well spoken, having a grave and deliberate utterance, of a very cheerful spirit, very sociable and pleasant amongst his friends, of an humble and most modest mind, of a peaceable disposition, undervaluing himself and his own abilities, and sometimes overvaluing others; inoffensive and innocent in his life and conversation, which gained him the love of those without, as well as those within; yet he would tell them plainly of their faults and evils, both publicly and privately, but in such a manner as usually was well taken from him. He was tender-hearted, and compassionate of such as were in misery, but especially of such as had been of good estate and rank, and were fallen unto want and poverty, either for goodness and religion's sake, or by the injury and oppression of others; he would say, of all men these deserved to be pitied most. And none did more offend and displease him than such as would haughtily and proudly carry and lift up themselves, being risen from nothing, and having little else in them to commend them but a few fine clothes, or a little riches more than others.

In teaching, he was very moving and stirring of affections, also very plain and distinct in what he taught; by which means he became the more profitable to the hearers. He had a singular good gift in prayer, both public and private, in ripping up the heart and conscience before God, in the humble confession of sin, and begging the mercies of

God in Christ for the pardon of the same. He always thought it were better for ministers to pray oftener, and divide their prayers, than be long and tedious in the same (except upon solemn and special occasions, as in days of humiliation and the like). His reason was, that the heart and spirits of all, especially the weak, could hardly continue and stand bent (as it were) so long towards God, as they ought to do in that duty, without flagging and falling off. For the government of the church, (which was most proper to his office,) he was careful to preserve good order in the same, and to preserve purity, both in the doctrine and communion of the same; and to suppress any error or contention that might begin to rise up amongst them; and accordingly God gave good success to his endeavors herein all his days, and he saw the fruit of his labors in that behalf. But I must break off, having only thus touched a few, as it were, heads of things.

PROVIDENCE AND THE PILGRIM.

[*Certain verses left by the honored William Bradford, Esq., Governor of the jurisdiction of Plymouth, penned by his own hand, declaring the gracious dispensations of God's providence towards him in the time of his life, and his preparation and fittedness for death.*]

FROM my years young in days of youth,
God did make known to me his truth,
And call'd me from my native place
For to enjoy the means of grace.
In wilderness he did me guide,
And in strange lands for me provide.
In fears and wants, through weal and woe,
A pilgrim, passed I to and fro:
Oft left of them whom I did trust;
How vain it is to rest on dust!
A man of sorrows I have been,
And many changes I have seen.
Wars, wants, peace, plenty, have I known;
And some advanc'd, others thrown down.
The humble poor, cheerful and glad;
Rich, discontent, sower and sad:
When fears and sorrows have been mixt,
Consolations came betwixt.
Faint not, poor soul, in God still trust,
Fear not the things thou suffer must;
For, whom he loves he doth chastise,
And then all tears wipes from their eyes.
Farewell, dear children, whom I love,

Your better Father is above:
When I am gone, he can supply;
To him I leave you when I die.
Fear him in truth, walk in his ways,
And he will bless you all your days.
My days are spent, old age is come,
My strength it fails, my glass near run.
Now I will wait, when work is done,
Until my happy change shall come,
When from my labors I shall rest,
With Christ above for to be blest.

"Bradford's and Winslow's Journal."

Otherwise Known as Mourt's Relation and Printed in London in 1622.

AN EXCURSION UP CAPE COD.

MONDAY, the 13th of November, we unshipped our shallop, and drew her on land, to mend and repair her, having been forced to cut her down in bestowing her betwixt the decks, and she was much opened with the people's lying in her; which kept us long there, for it was sixteen or seventeen days before the carpenter had finished her. Our people went on shore to refresh themselves, and our women to wash, as they had great need. But whilst we lay thus still, hoping our shallop would be ready in five or six days, at the furthest, (but our carpenter made slow work of it, so that) some of our people, impatient of delay, desired for our better furtherance to travel by land into the country, (which was not without appearance of danger, not having the shallop with them, nor means to carry provision but on their backs,) to see whether it might be fit for us to seat in or no; and the rather, because, as we sailed into the harbour, there seemed to be a river opening itself into the main land. The willingness of the persons was liked, but the thing itself, in regard to the danger, was rather permitted than approved; and so with cautions, directions, and instructions, sixteen men were set out, with every man his musket, sword, and corslet, under the conduct of Captain Miles Standish; unto whom was adjoined, for counsel and advice, William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley.

Wednesday, the 15th of November, they were set ashore; and when they had ordered themselves in the order of a single file, and marched about the space of a mile by the sea, they espied five or six

people, with a dog, coming towards them, who were savages; who, when they saw them, ran into the wood, and whistled the dog after them, &c. First they supposed them to be Master Jones, the master, and some of his men, for they were ashore and knew of their coming; but after they knew them to be Indians, they marched after them into the woods, lest other of the Indians should lie in ambush. But when the Indians saw our men following them, they ran away with might and main; and our men turned out of the wood after them, for it was the way they intended to go, but they could not come near them. They followed them that night about ten miles by the trace of their footings, and saw how they had come the same way they went, and at a turning perceived how they ran up a hill, to see whether they followed them. At length night came upon them, and they were constrained to take up their lodging. So they set forth three sentinels; and the rest, some kindled a fire, and others fetched wood, and there held our rendezvous that night.

In the morning, so soon as we could see the trace, we proceeded on our journey, and had the track until we had compassed the head of a long creek; and there they took into another wood, and we after them, supposing to find some of their dwellings. But we marched through boughs and bushes, and under hills and valleys, which tore our very armor in pieces, and yet could meet with none of them, nor their houses, nor find any fresh water, which we greatly desired and stood in need of; for we brought neither beer nor water with us, and our victuals was only biscuit and Holland cheese, and a little bottle of aquavitæ, so as we were sore athirst. About ten o'clock we came into a deep valley, full of brush, wood-gaile, and long grass, through which we found little paths or tracks; and there we saw a deer, and found springs of fresh water, of which we were heartily glad, and set us down and drunk our first New England water, with as much delight as ever we drunk drink in all our lives.

When we had refreshed ourselves, we directed our course full south, that we might come to the shore, which within a short while after we did, and there made a fire, that they in the ship might see where we were, as we had direction; and so marched on towards this supposed river. And as we went in another valley, we found a fine clear pond of fresh water, being about a musket shot broad, and twice as long. There grew also many small vines, and fowl and deer haunted there. There grew much sassafras. From thence we went on, and found much plain ground, about fifty acres, fit for the plough, and some signs where the Indians had formerly planted their corn. After this, some thought it best, for nearness of the river, to go down and travel on the sea sands, by which means some of our men were

tired, and lagged behind. So we stayed and gathered them up, and struck into the land again; where we found a little path to certain heaps of sand, one whereof was covered with old mats, and had a wooden thing, like a mortar, whelmed on the top of it, and an earthen pot laid in a little hole at the end thereof. We, musing what it might be, digged and found a bow, and, as we thought, arrows, but they were rotten. We supposed there were many other things; but because we deemed them graves, we put in the bow again, and made it up as it was, and left the rest untouched, because we thought it would be odious unto them to ransack their sepulchres.

We went on further and found new stubble, of which they had gotten corn this year, and many walnut trees full of nuts, and great store of strawberries, and some vines. Passing thus a field or two, which were not great, we came to another, which had also been new gotten, and there we found where a house had been, and four or five old planks laid together. Also we found a great kettle, which had been some ship's kettle, and brought out of Europe. There was also a heap of sand, made like the former,—but it was newly done, we might see how they had paddled it with their hands,—which we digged up, and in it we found a little old basket, full of fair Indian corn; and digged further, and found a fine great new basket, full of very fair corn of this year, with some six and thirty goodly ears of corn, some yellow, and some red, and others mixed with blue, which was a very goodly sight. The basket was round, and narrow at the top. It held about three or four bushels, which was as much as two of us could lift up from the ground, and was very handsomely and cunningly made. But whilst we were busy about these things, we set our men sentinel in a round ring, all but two or three, which digged up the corn. We were in suspense what to do with it and the kettle; and at length, after much consultation, we concluded to take the kettle, and as much of the corn as we could carry away with us; and when our shallop came, if we could find any of the people, and come to parley with them, we would give them the kettle again, and satisfy them for their corn. So we took all the ears, and put a good deal of the loose corn in the kettle, for two men to bring away on a staff. Besides, they that could put any into their pockets, filled the same. The rest we buried again; for we were so laden with armor that we could carry no more.

Not far from this place we found the remainder of an old fort or palisado, which, as we conceived, had been made by some Christians. This was also hard by that place which we thought had been a river; unto which we went, and found it so to be, dividing itself into two arms by a high bank, standing right by the cut or mouth, which

came from the sea. That which was next unto us was the less. The other arm was more than twice as big, and not unlike to be a harbour for ships; but whether it be a fresh river, or only an indraught of the sea, we had no time to discover; for we had commandment to be out but two days. Here also we saw two canoes; the one on the one side, the other on the other side. We could not believe it was a canoe, till we came near it. So we returned, leaving the further discovery hereof to our shallop, and came that night back again to the fresh water pond; and there we made our rendezvous that night, making a great fire, and a barricado to windward of us, and kept good watch with three sentinels all night, every one standing when his turn came, while five or six inches of match was burning. It proved a very rainy night.

In the morning, we took our kettle and sunk it in the pond, and trimmed our muskets, for few of them would go off because of the wet; and so coasted the wood again to come home, in which we were shrewdly puzzled, and lost our way. As we wandered we came to a tree, where a young sprit was bowed down over a bow, and some acorns strewed underneath. Stephen Hopkins said, it had been to catch some deer. So as we were looking at it, William Bradford being in the rear, when he came looked also upon it, and as he went about, it gave a sudden jerk up, and he was immediately caught by the leg. It was a very pretty device, made with a rope of their own making, and having a noose as artificially made as any roper in England can make, and as like ours as can be; which we brought away with us. In the end we got out of the wood, and were fallen about a mile too high above the creek; where we saw three bucks, but we had rather have had one of them. We also did spring three couple of partridges; and as we came along by the creek, we saw great flocks of wild geese and ducks, but they were very fearful of us. So we marched some while in the woods, some while on the sands, and other while in the water up to the knees; till at length we came near the ship; and then we shot off our pieces, and the long boat came to fetch us. Master Jones and Master Carver being on the shore, with many of our people, came to meet us. And thus we came both weary and welcome home; and delivered in our corn into the store to be kept for seed, for we knew not how to come by any, and therefore were very glad, purposing, so soon as we could meet with any of the inhabitants of that place, to make them large satisfaction. This was our first discovery, whilst our shallop was in repairing.

Our people did make things as fitting as they could, and time would, in seeking out wood, and helving of tools, and sawing of timber, to build a new shallop. But the discommodiousness of the harbour did

much hinder us; for we could neither go to nor come from the shore but at high water, which was much to our hindrance and hurt; for oftentimes they waded to the middle of the thigh, and oft to the knees, to go and come from land. Some did it necessarily, and some for their own pleasure; but it brought to the most, if not to all, coughs and colds, (the weather proving suddenly cold and stormy,) which afterwards turned to the scurvy, whereof many died.

THE STORY OF THE FIRST ENCOUNTER.

WEDNESDAY, the 6th of December, we set out, being very cold and hard weather. We were a long while, after we launched from the ship, before we could get clear of a sandy point, which lay within less than a furlong of the same. In which time two were very sick, and Edward Tilley had like to have sounded with cold. The gunner also was sick unto death, (but hope of trucking made him to go,) and so remained all that day and the next night. At length we got clear of the sandy point, and got up our sails, and within an hour or two we got under the weather shore, and then had smoother water and better sailing. But it was very cold; for the water froze on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of iron.

We sailed six or seven leagues by the shore, but saw neither river nor creek. At length we met with a tongue of land, being flat off from the shore, with a sandy point. We bore up to gain the point, and found there a fair income or road of a bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and some two or three in length; but we made right over to the land before us, and left the discovery of this income till the next day. As we drew near to the shore, we espied some ten or twelve Indians very busy about a black thing,—what it was we could not tell,—till afterwards they saw us, and ran to and fro, as if they had been carrying something away. We landed a league or two from them, and had much ado to put ashore any where, it lay so full of flat sands. When we came to shore, we made us a barricado, and got firewood, and set out sentinels, and betook us to our lodging, such as it was. We saw the smoke of the fire which the savages made that night, about four or five miles from us.

In the morning we divided our company, some eight in the shallop, and the rest on the shore went to discover this place. But we found it only to be a bay, without either river or creek coming into it. Yet we deemed it to be as good a harbour as Cape Cod;

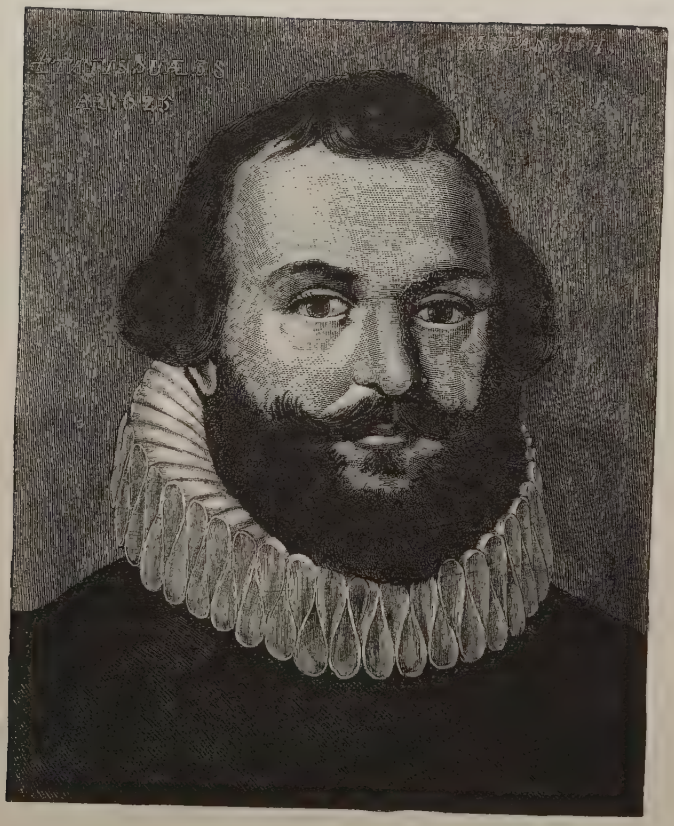
for they that sounded it found a ship might ride in five fathom water. We on the land found it to be a level soil, though none of the fruitfullest. We saw two becks of fresh water, which were the first running streams that we saw in the country; but one might stride over them. We found also a great fish, called a grampus, dead on the sands. They in the shallop found two of them also in the bottom of the bay, dead in like sort. They were cast up at high water, and could not get off for the frost and ice. They were some five or six paces long, and about two inches thick of fat, and fleshed like a swine. They would have yielded a great deal of oil, if there had been time and means to have taken it. So we finding nothing for our turn, both we and our shallop returned.

We then directed our course along the sea sands to the place where we first saw the Indians. When we were there, we saw it was also a grampus which they were cutting up. They cut it into long rands or pieces, about an ell long and two handfull broad. We found here and there a piece scattered by the way, as it seemed for haste. This place the most were minded we should call the Grampus Bay, because we found so many of them there. We followed the track of the Indians' bare feet a good way on the sands. At length we saw where they struck into the woods by the side of a pond. As we went to view the place, one said he thought he saw an Indian house among the trees; so went up to see. And here we and the shallop lost sight one of another till night, it being now about nine or ten o'clock. So we light on a path, but saw no house, and followed a great way into the woods. At length we found where corn had been set, but not that year. Anon, we found a great burying-place, one part whereof was encompassed with a large palisado, like a church-yard, with young spires, four or five yards long, set as close one by another as they could, two or three foot in the ground. Within it was full of graves, some bigger and some less. Some were also paled about; and others had like an Indian house made over them, but not matted. Those graves were more sumptuous than those at Cornhill; yet we digged none of them up, but only viewed them and went our way. Without the palisado were graves also, but not so costly. From this place we went and found more corn-ground, but not of this year. As we ranged, we light on four or five Indian houses, which had been lately dwelt in; but they were uncovered, and had no mats about them; else they were like those we found at Cornhill, but had not been so lately dwelt in. There was nothing left but two or three pieces of old mats, and a little sedge. Also, a little further, we found two baskets full of parched acorns hid in the ground, which we supposed had been corn when

we began to dig the same; we cast earth thereon again, and went our way. All this while we saw no people.

We went ranging up and down till the sun began to draw low, and then we hasted out of the woods, that we might come to our shallop; which, when we were out of the woods, we espied a great way off, and called them to come unto us; the which they did as soon as they could, for it was not yet high water. They were exceeding glad to see us, for they feared because they had not seen us in so long a time, thinking we would have kept by the shore side. So being both weary and faint,—for we had eaten nothing all that day,—we fell to make our rendezvous and get firewood, which always costs us a great deal of labor. By that time we had done, and our shallop come to us, it was within night; and we fed upon such victuals as we had, and betook us to our rest, after we had set out our watch. About midnight we heard a great and hideous cry; and our sentinels called, "Arm! Arm!" So we bestirred ourselves, and shot off a couple of muskets, and the noise ceased. We concluded that it was a company of wolves or foxes; for one told us he had heard such a noise in Newfoundland.

About five o'clock in the morning we began to be stirring; and two or three, which doubted whether their pieces would go off or no, made trial of them and shot them off, but thought nothing at all. After prayer we prepared ourselves for breakfast, and for a a journey; and it being now the twilight in the morning, it was thought meet to carry the things down to the shallop. Some said, it was not best to carry the armor down. Others said, they would be readier. Two or three said, they would not carry theirs till they went themselves, but mistrusting nothing at all. As it fell out, the water not being high enough, they laid the things down upon the shore, and came up to breakfast. Anon, all upon a sudden, we heard a great and strange cry, which we knew to be the same voices, though they varied their notes. One of our company, being abroad, came running in, and cried, "They are men! Indians! Indians!" and withal their arrows came flying amongst us. Our men ran out with all speed to recover their arms; as by the good providence of God they did. In the mean time, Captain Miles Standish, having a snaphance ready, made a shot; and after him another. After they two had shot, other two of us were ready; but he wished us not to shoot till we could take aim, for we knew not what need we should have; and there were four only of us which had their arms there ready, and stood before the open side of our barricado, which was first assaulted. They thought it best to defend it, lest the enemy should take it and our stuff; and so have the more vantage against



MILES STANDISH.

us. Our care was no less for the shallop; but we hoped all the rest would defend it. We called unto them to know how it was with them; and they answered "Well! Well!" every one, and "Be of good courage!" We heard three of their pieces go off, and the rest called for a firebrand to light their matches. One took a log out of the fire on his shoulder and went and carried it unto them; which was thought did not a little discourage our enemies. The cry of our enemies was dreadful, especially when our men ran out to recover their arms. Their note was after this manner, "*Woach, woach, ha ha hach woach.*" Our men were no sooner come to their arms, but the enemy was ready to assault them.

There was a lusty man, and no whit less valiant, who was thought to be their captain, stood behind a tree within half a musket shot of us, and there let his arrows fly at us. He was seen to shoot three arrows, which were all avoided; for he at whom the first arrow was aimed, saw it, and stooped down, and it flew over him. The rest were avoided also. He stood three shots of a musket. At length, one took, as he said, full aim at him; after which he gave an extraordinary cry, and away they went all. We followed them about a quarter of a mile; but we left six to keep our shallop, for we were very careful of our business. Then we shouted all together two several times, and shot off a couple of muskets, and so returned. This we did that they might see we were not afraid of them, nor discouraged.

Thus it pleased God to vanquish our enemies and give us deliverance. By their noise we could not guess that they were less than thirty or forty, though some thought that they were many more. Yet, in the dark of the morning, we could not so well discern them among the trees, as they could see us by our fire-side. We took up eighteen of their arrows, which we have sent to England by Master Jones; some whereof was headed with brass, others with harts' horn, and others with eagles' claws. Many more no doubt were shot, for these we found were almost covered with leaves; yet, by the especial providence of God, none of them either hit or hurt us, though many came close by us and on every side of us, and some coats which hung up in our barricado were shot through and through.

So after we had given God thanks for our deliverance, we took our shallop and went on our journey, and called this place The First Encounter.

THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS AND THEIR SETTLEMENT AT PLYMOUTH.

HAVING the wind good, we sailed all that day along the coast about fifteen leagues; but saw neither river nor creek to put into. After we had sailed an hour or two, it began to snow and rain, and to be bad weather. About the midst of the afternoon the wind increased, and the seas began to be very rough; and the hinges of the rudder broke, so that we could steer no longer with it, but two men, with much ado, were fain to serve with a couple of oars. The seas were grown so great that we were much troubled and in great danger; and night grew on. Anon, Master Coppin bade us be of good cheer; he saw the harbour. As we drew near, the gale being stiff, and we bearing great sail to get in, split our mast in three pieces, and were like to have cast away our shallop. Yet, by God's mercy, recovering ourselves, we had the flood with us, and struck into the harbour.

Now he that thought that had been the place, was deceived, it being a place where not any of us had been before; and coming into the harbour, he that was our pilot, did bear up northward, which if we had continued, we had been cast away. Yet still the Lord kept us, and we bare up for an island before us; and recovering of that island, being compassed about with many rocks, and dark night growing upon us, it pleased the Divine Providence that we fell upon a place of sandy ground, where our shallop did ride safe and secure all that night; and coming upon a strange island, kept our watch all night in the rain upon that island. And in the morning we marched about it, and found no inhabitants at all; and here we made our rendezvous all that day, being Saturday, 10th of December. On the Sabbath day we rested; and on Monday we sounded the harbour, and found it a very good harbour for our shipping. We marched also into the land, and found divers cornfields, and little running brooks, a place very good for situation. So we returned to our ship again with good news to the rest of our people, which did much comfort their hearts. . . . .

Some of us, having a good mind, for safety, to plant in the greater isle, we crossed the bay, which is there five or six miles over, and found the isle about a mile and a half or two miles about, all wooded, and no fresh water but two or three pits, that we doubted of fresh water in summer, and so full of wood as we could hardly clear so much as to serve us for corn. Besides, we judged it cold for our corn, and some part very rocky; yet divers thought of it as a place

defensible, and of great security. That night we returned again a shipboard, with resolution the next morning to settle on some of those places.

So in the morning, after we had called on God for direction, we came to this resolution, to go presently ashore again, and to take a better view of two places which we thought most fitting for us; for we could not now take time for further search or consideration, our victuals being much spent, especially our beer, and it being now the 19th of December. After our landing and viewing of the places, so well as we could, we came to a conclusion, by most voices, to set on the main land, on the first place, on a high ground, where there is a great deal of land cleared, and hath been planted with corn three or four years ago; and there is a very sweet brook runs under the hill side, and many delicate springs of as good water as can be drunk, and where we may harbour our shallops and boats exceeding well; and in this brook much good fish in their seasons; on the further side of the river also much corn-ground cleared. In one field is a great hill, on which we point to make a platform, and plant our ordnance, which will command all round about. From thence we may see into the bay, and far into the sea; and we may see thence Cape Cod. Our greatest labor will be fetching of our wood, which is half a quarter of an English mile; but there is enough so far off. What people inhabit here we yet know not, for as yet we have seen none. So there we made our rendezvous, and a place for some of our people, about twenty, resolving in the morning to come all ashore and to build houses.

But the next morning, being Thursday, the 21st of December, it was stormy and wet, that we could not go ashore; and those that remained there all night could do nothing, but were wet, not having daylight enough to make them a sufficient court of guard, to keep them dry. All that night it blew and rained extremely. It was so tempestuous that the shallop could not go on land so soon as was meet, for they had no victuals on land. About eleven o'clock the shallop went off with much ado with provision, but could not return, it blew so strong; and was such foul weather that we were forced to let fall our anchor, and ride with three anchors ahead.

Friday, the 22d, the storm still continued, that we could not get a land, nor they come to us aboard. . . . .

Saturday, the 23d, so many of us as could went on shore, felled and carried timber, to provide themselves stuff for building.

Sunday, the 24th, our people on shore heard a cry of some savages, as they thought, which caused an alarm and to stand on their guard, expecting an assault; but all was quiet.

Monday, the 25th day, we went on shore, some to fell timber, some to saw, some to rive, and some to carry; so no man rested all that day. But, towards night, some, as they were at work, heard a noise of some Indians, which caused us all to go to our muskets; but we heard no further. So we came aboard again and left some twenty to keep the court of guard. That night we had a sore storm of wind and rain.

Monday, the 25th, being Christmas day, we began to drink water aboard. But at night the master caused us to have some beer; and so on board we had divers times now and then some beer, but on shore none at all. . . . .

Thursday, the 28th of December, so many as could went to work on the hill, where we purposed to build our platform for our ordnance, and which doth command all the plain and the bay, and from whence we may see far into the sea, and might be easier impaled, having two rows of houses and a fair street. So in the afternoon we went to measure out the grounds, and first we took notice how many families there were, willing all single men that had no wives to join with some family, as they thought fit, that so we might build fewer houses; which was done, and we reduced them to nineteen families. To greater families we allotted larger plots; to every person half a pole in breadth, and three in length; and so lots were cast where every man should lie; which was done and staked out. We thought this proportion was large enough at the first, for houses and gardens to impale them round, considering the weakness of our people, many of them growing ill with colds; for our former discoveries in frost and storms, and the wading at Cape Cod had brought much weakness amongst us, which increased so every day more and more, and after was the cause of many of their deaths.

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Monday, the 8th of January, was a very fair day, and we went betimes to work. Master Jones sent the shallop, as he had formerly done, to see where fish could be got. They had a great storm at sea, and were in some danger. At night they returned with three great seals, and an excellent good cod, which did assure us that we should have plenty of fish shortly.

This day Francis Billington, having the week before seen from the top of a tree on a high hill a great sea, as he thought, went with one of the master's mates to see it. They went three miles and then came to a great water, divided into two great lakes; the bigger of them five or six miles in circuit, and in it an isle of a cable length square; the other three miles in compass, in their estimation. They are fine fresh water, full of fish and fowl. A brook

issues from it; it will be an excellent place for us in time. They found seven or eight Indian houses, but not lately inhabited. When they saw the houses, they were in some fear; for they were but two persons, and one piece.

Tuesday, the 9th of January, was a reasonable fair day; and we went to labor that day in the building of our town, in two rows of houses, for more safety. We divided by lot the plot of ground whereon to build our town, after the proportion formerly allotted. We agreed that every man should build his own house, thinking by that course men would make more haste than working in common. The common house, in which for the first we made our rendezvous, being near finished, wanted only covering, it being about twenty foot square. Some should make mortar, and some gather thatch; so that in four days half of it was thatched. Frost and foul weather hindered us much. This time of the year seldom could we work half the week. . . . .

Saturday, the 17th day, in the morning, we called a meeting for the establishing of military orders among ourselves; and we chose Miles Standish our captain, and gave him authority of command in affairs. And as we were in consultation hereabouts, two savages presented themselves upon the top of a hill, over against our plantation, about a quarter of a mile and less, and made signs unto us to come unto them; we likewise made signs unto them to come to us. Whereupon we armed ourselves and stood ready, and sent two over the brook towards them, to wit, Captain Standish and Steven Hopkins, who went towards them. Only one of them had a musket, which they laid down on the ground in their sight, in sign of peace, and to parley with them. But the savages would not tarry their coming. A noise of a great many more was heard behind the hill; but no more came in sight. This caused us to plant our great ordnances in places most convenient. . . . .

Saturday, the 3d of March, the wind was south, the morning misty, but towards noon warm and fair weather. The birds sang in the woods most pleasantly. At one of the clock it thundered, which was the first we heard in that country. It was strong and great claps, but short; but after an hour it rained very sadly till midnight.

Wednesday, the 7th of March, the wind was full east, cold, but fair. That day Master Carver, with five others, went to the great ponds, which seem to be excellent fishing places. All the way they went they found it exceedingly beaten, and haunted with deer; but they saw none. Amongst other fowl they saw one, a milk-white fowl, with a very black head. This day some garden seeds were sown.

Friday, the 16th, a fair warm day towards. This morning we determined to conclude of the military orders, which we had begun to consider of before, but were interrupted by the savages, as we mentioned formerly. And whilst we were busied hereabout, we were interrupted again; for there presented himself a savage, which caused an alarm. He very boldly came all alone, and along the houses, straight to the rendezvous; where we intercepted him, not suffering him to go in, as undoubtedly he would out of his boldness. He saluted us in English, and bade us "Welcome!" for he had learned some broken English among the Englishmen that came to fish at Monhiggon, and knew by name the most of the captains, commanders and masters, that usually come. He was a man free in speech, so far as he could express his mind, and of a seemly carriage. We questioned him of many things; he was the first savage we could meet withal. He said he was not of these parts, but of Morattiggon, and one of the sagamores or lords thereof; and had been eight months in these parts, it lying hence a day's sail with a great wind, and five days by land. He discoursed of the whole country, and of every province, and of their sagamores, and their number of men and strength. The wind beginning to rise a little, we cast a horseman's coat about him; for he was stark naked, only a leather about his waist, with a fringe about a span long or little more. He had a bow and two arrows, the one headed, and the other unheaded. He was a tall, straight man, the hair of his head black, long behind, only short before, none on his face at all. He asked some beer, but we gave him strong water, and biscuit, and butter, and cheese, and pudding, and a piece of mallard; all which he liked well, and had been acquainted with such amongst the English. He told us the place where we now live is called Patuxet, and that about four years ago all the inhabitants died of an extraordinary plague, and there is neither man, woman, nor child remaining, as indeed we have found none; so as there is none to hinder our possession, or to lay claim unto it. All the afternoon we spent in communication with him. We would gladly have been rid of him at night, but he was not willing to go this night. Then we thought to carry him on shipboard, wherewith he was well content, and went into the shallop; but the wind was high and the water scant, that it could not return back. We lodged him that night at Steven Hopkin's house, and watched him.

The next day he went away back to the Masasoits, from whence he said he came, who are our next bordering neighbours. They are sixty strong, as he saith. The Nausites are as near, southeast of them, and are a hundred strong; and those were they of whom our people were encountered, as we before related. They are much incensed and pro-

voked against the English; and about eight months ago slew three Englishmen, and two more hardly escaped by flight to Monhiggon. They were Sir Ferdinando Gorge's men, as this savage told us; as he did likewise of the *huggery*, that is, fight, that our discoverers had with the Nausites, and of our tools that were taken out of the woods, which we willed him, should be brought again; otherwise we would right ourselves. These people are ill affected towards the English by reason of one Hunt, a master of a ship, who deceived the people and got them, under color of trucking with them, twenty out of this very place where we inhabit, and seven men from the Nausites, and carried them away, and sold them for slaves, like a wretched man (for twenty pound a man,) that cares not what mischief he doth for his profit.

Saturday, in the morning, we dismissed the salvage, and gave him a knife, a bracelet, and a ring. He promised within a night or two to come again and to bring with him some of the Massasoyts, our neighbours, with such beavers' skins as they had to truck with us.

Saturday and Sunday reasonable fair days. On this day came again the savage, and brought with him five other tall, proper men. They had every man a deer's skin on him, and the principal of them had a wild cat's skin, or such like, on the one arm. They had most of them long hosen up to their groins, close made, and above their groins to their waist another leather; they were altogether like the Irish trousers. They are of complexion like our English gipseys; no hair or very little on their faces; on their heads long hair to their shoulders, only cut before; some trussed up before with a feather, broad-wise, like a fan; another a fox tail, hanging out. These left (according to our charge given him before) their bows and arrows a quarter of a mile from our town. We gave them entertainment as we thought was fitting them. They did eat liberally of our English victuals. They made semblance unto us of friendship and amity. They sang and danced after their manner, like antics. They brought with them in a thing like a bow-case (which the principal of them had about his waist,) a little of their corn pounded to powder, which, put to a little water, they eat. He had a little tobacco in a bag; but none of them drank but when he liked. Some of them had their faces painted black, from the forehead to the chin, four or five fingers broad; others after other fashions, as they liked. They brought three or four skins; but we would not truck with them at all that day, but wished them to bring more, and we would truck for all; which they promised within a night or two, and would leave these behind them, though we were not willing they should; and they brought us all our tools again, which were taken in the woods, in our men's absence. So, because of the day, we dismissed them so soon as we

could. But Samoset, our first acquaintance, either was sick or feigned himself so, and would not go with them, and stayed with us till Wednesday morning. Then we sent him to them to know the reason they came not according to their words; and we gave him a hat, a pair of stockings and shoes, a shirt, and a piece of cloth to tie about his waist.

The Sabbath day, when we sent them from us, we gave every one of them some trifles, especially the principal of them. We carried them, along with our arms, to the place where they left their bows and arrows; whereat they were amazed, and two of them began to slink away, but that the other called them. When they took their arrows we bade them farewell, and they were glad; and so, with many thanks given us, they departed, with promise they would come again.

Edward Winslow.

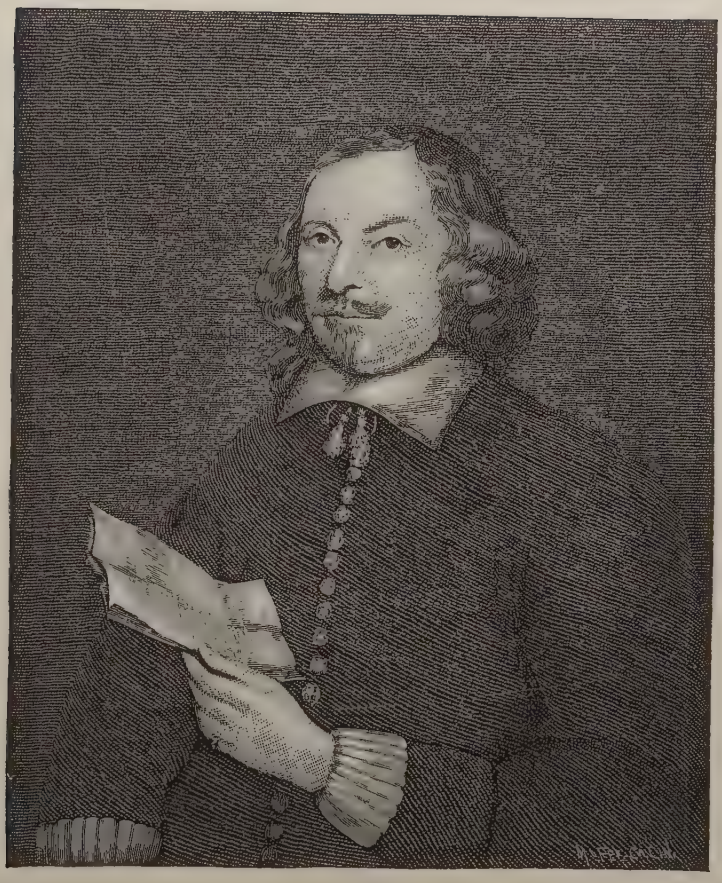
Born in Worcestershire, England, 1595. Died at Sea, 1655.

HOW THE PILGRIMS SAILED FROM DELFT HAVEN.

[*A Briefe Narration.* 1646.]

NEVER people upon earth lived more lovingly together and parted more sweetly than we, the church at Leyden, did; not rashly, in a distracted humor, but upon joint and serious deliberation, often seeking the mind of God by fasting and prayer; whose gracious presence we not only found with us, but his blessing upon us, from that time to this instant, to the indignation of our adversaries, the admiration of strangers, and the exceeding consolation of ourselves, to see such effects of our prayers and tears before our pilgrimage here be ended. And therefore briefly take notice of the true cause of it.

'T is true that that poor persecuted flock of Christ, by the malice and power of the late hierarchy, were driven to Leyden in Holland, there to bear witness in their practice to the kingly office of Christ Jesus in his church; and there lived together ten years under the United States, with much peace and liberty. But our reverend pastor, Mr. John Robinson, of late memory, and our grave elder, Mr. William Brewster, (now at rest with the Lord,) considering, amongst many other inconveniences, how hard the country was where we lived, how many spent their estate in it and were forced to return for England,



Edw: Sandys Lord.

Archbishop of York 17 June 1639

how grievous to live from under the protection of the State of England, how like we were to lose our language and our name of English, how little good we did or were like to do to the Dutch in reforming the sabbath, how unable there to give such education to our children as we ourselves had received, &c., they, I say, out of their Christian care of the flock of Christ committed to them, conceived, if God would be pleased to discover some place unto us, (though in America,) and give us so much favor with the King and State of England as to have their protection there, where we might enjoy the like liberty, and where, the Lord favoring our endeavours by his blessing, we might exemplarily show our tender countrymen by our example, no less burdened than ourselves, where they might live and comfortably subsist, and enjoy the like liberties with us, being freed from anti-christian bondage, keep their names and nation, and not only be a means to enlarge the dominions of our State, but the Church of Christ also, if the Lord have a people amongst the natives whither he should bring us, &c.—hereby, in their great wisdoms, they thought we might more glorify God, do more good to our country, better provide for our posterity, and live to be more refreshed by our labors, than ever we could do in Holland, where we were.

Now these their private thoughts, upon mature deliberation, they imparted to the brethren of the congregation, which after much private discussion came to public agitation, till at the length the Lord was solemnly sought in the congregation by fasting and prayer to direct us; who moving our hearts more and more to the work, we sent some of good abilities over into England to see what favor or acceptance such a thing might find with the King. These also found God going along with them, and got Sir Edwin Sands, a religious gentleman then living, to stir in it, who procured Sir Robert Naunton, then principal Secretary of State to King James, of famous memory, to move his Majesty by a private motion to give way to such a people (who could not so comfortably live under the government of another State) to enjoy their liberty of conscience under his gracious protection in America, where they would endeavour the advancement of his Majesty's dominions and the enlargement of the Gospel by all due means. This his Majesty said was a good and honest motion, and asking what profits might arise in the part we intended, (for our eye was upon the most northern parts of Virginia,) 'twas answered, Fishing. To which he replied with his ordinary asseveration, "So God have my soul, 'tis an honest trade; 'twas the Apostles' own calling," &c. But afterwards he told Sir Robert Naunton (who took all occasions to further it) that we should confer with the bishops of Canterbury and London, &c. Whereupon we were advised to persist upon his first approbation, and

not to entangle ourselves with them; which caused our agents to repair to the Virginia Company, who in their court demanded our ends of going; which being related, they said the thing was of God, and granted a large patent, and one of them lent us £300 gratis for three years, which was repaid.

Our agents returning, we further sought the Lord by a public and solemn Fast, for his gracious guidance. And hereupon we came to this resolution, that it was best for one part of the church to go at first, and the other to stay, viz. the youngest and strongest part to go. Secondly, they that went should freely offer themselves. Thirdly, if the major part went, the pastor to go with them; if not, the elder only. Fourthly, if the Lord should frown upon our proceedings, then those that went to return, and the brethren that remained still there, to assist and be helpful to them; but if God should be pleased to favor them that went, then they also should endeavour to help over such as were poor and ancient and willing to come.

These things being agreed, the major part stayed, and the pastor with them, for the present; but all intended (except a very few, who had rather we would have stayed) to follow after. The minor part, with Mr. Brewster, their elder, resolved to enter upon this great work, (but take notice the difference of number was not great.) And when the ship was ready to carry us away, the brethren that stayed having again solemnly sought the Lord with us and for us, and we further engaging ourselves mutually as before, they, I say, that stayed at Leyden feasted us that were to go, at our pastor's house, being large; where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts, as well as with the voice, there being many of the congregation very expert in music; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard. After this they accompanied us to Delph's Haven, where we were to embark, and there feasted us again; and after prayer performed by our pastor, where a flood of tears was poured out, they accompanied us to the ship, but were not able to speak one to another for the abundance of sorrow to part. But we only going aboard, (the ship lying to the quay and ready to set sail, the wind being fair,) we gave them a volley of small shot and three pieces of ordnance, and so lifting up our hands to each other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed, and found his presence with us in the midst of our manifold straits he carried us through. And if any doubt this relation, the Dutch, as I hear, at Delph's Haven preserve the memory of it to this day, and will inform them.

MASSASOIT'S ILLNESS, AND HOW WINSLOW CURED HIM.

[*Good Newes from New-England.* 1624.]

DURING the time that the Captain was at Manomet, news came to Plymouth that Massassowat was like to die, and that at the same time there was a Dutch ship driven so high on the shore by stress of weather, right before his dwelling, that till the tides increased she could not be got off. Now it being a commendable manner of the Indians, when any, especially of note, are dangerously sick, for all that profess friendship to them to visit them in their extremity, either in their persons, or else to send some acceptable persons to them; therefore it was thought meet, being a good and warrantable action, that as we had ever professed friendship, so we should now maintain the same, by observing this their laudable custom; and the rather, because we desired to have some conference with the Dutch, not knowing when we should have so fit an opportunity. To that end, myself having formerly been there, and understanding in some measure the Dutch tongue, the Governor again laid this service upon myself, and fitted me with some cordials to administer to him; having one Master John Hamden, a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country, for my consort, and Hobbamock for our guide. So we set forward, and lodged the first night at Namasket, where we had friendly entertainment.

The next day, about one of the clock, we came to a ferry in Conbatant's country, where, upon discharge of my piece, divers Indians came to us from a house not far off. There they told us that Massassowat was dead, and that day buried; and that the Dutch would be gone before we could get thither, having hove off their ship already. This news struck us blank, but especially Hobbamock, who desired we might return with all speed. I told him I would first think of it. Considering now, that he being dead, Conbatant was the most like to succeed him, and that we were not above three miles from Mattapuyst, his dwelling-place, although he were but a hollow-hearted friend towards us, I thought no time so fit as this to enter into more friendly terms with him, and the rest of the sachems thereabout; hoping, through the blessing of God, it would be a means, in that unsettled state, to settle their affections towards us; and though it were somewat dangerous, in respect of our personal safety, because myself and Hobbamock had been employed upon a service against him, which he might now fitly revenge; yet esteeming it the best means, leaving the event to God in his mercy, I resolved to put it in practice, if Master Hamden and Hobbamock durst attempt it with me; whom I found willing to that

or any other course might tend to the general good. So we went towards Mattapuyst.

In the way, Hobbamock, manifesting a troubled spirit, brake forth into these speeches: "*Neen womasu sagimus, neen womasu sagimus,*" etc. "My loving sachem, my loving sachem! Many have I known, but never any like thee." And turning him to me, said, whilst I lived, I should never see his like amongst the Indians; saying, he was no liar, he was not bloody and cruel, like other Indians; in anger and passion he was soon reclaimed; easy to be reconciled towards such as had offended him; ruled by reason in such measure as he would not scorn the advice of mean men; and that he governed his men better with few strokes, than others did with many; truly loving where he loved; yea, he feared we had not a faithful friend left among the Indians; showing, how he ofttimes restrained their malice, etc., continuing a long speech, with such signs of lamentation and unfeigned sorrow, as it would have made the hardest heart relent.

At length we came to Mattapuyst.

Here we inquired again concerning Massassowat; they thought him dead, but knew no certainty. Whereupon I hired one to go with all expedition to Puckanokick, that we might know the certainty thereof, and withal to acquaint Conbatant with our there being. About half an hour before sunsetting the messenger returned, and told us that he was not yet dead, though there was no hope we should find him living. Upon this we were much revived, and set forward with all speed, though it was late within night ere we got thither. About two of the clock that afternoon, the Dutchmen departed; so that in that respect our journey was frustrate.

When we came thither we found the house so full of men, as we could scarce get in, though they used their best diligence to make way for us. There were they in the midst of their charms for him, making such a hellish noise, as it distempered us that were well, and therefore unlike to ease him that was sick. About him were six or eight women, who chafed his arms, legs, and thighs, to keep heat in him. When they had made an end of their charming, one told him that his friends, the English, were come to see him. Having understanding left, but his sight was wholly gone, he asked who was come? They told him Winsnow, for they can not pronounce the letter *l*, but ordinarily *n* in the place thereof. He desired to speak with me. When I came to him, and they told him of it, he put forth his hand to me, which I took. Then he said twice, though very inwardly, "*Keen Winsnow?*" which is to say, "Art thou Winslow?"

I answered, "*Ahhe,*" that is, "Yes."

Then he doubled these words: "*Matta neen wonckanet namen,*

Winsnow!" that is to say, "O Winslow, I shall never see thee again."

Then I called Hobbamock, and desired him to tell Massassowat, that the Governor, hearing of his sickness, was sorry for the same; and though, by reason of many businesses, he could not come himself, yet he sent me with such things for him as he thought most likely to do him good in this his extremity; and whereof if he pleased to take, I would presently give him; which he desired; and having a confection of many comfortable conserves, etc., on the point of my knife I gave him some, which I could scarce get through his teeth. When it was dissolved in his mouth, he swallowed the juice of it; whereat those that were about him much rejoiced, saying he had not swallowed any thing in two days before. Then I desired to see his mouth, which was exceedingly furred, and his tongue swelled in such a manner, as it was not possible for him to eat such meat as they had, his passage being stopped up. Then I washed his mouth and scraped his tongue, and got abundance of corruption out of the same. After which I gave him more of the confection, which he swallowed with more readiness. Then he desiring to drink, I dissolved some of it in water, and gave him thereof. Within half an hour this wrought a great alteration in him, in the eyes of all that beheld him. Presently after, his sight began to come to him, which gave him and us good encouragement. . . . . Then I gave him more, and told him of a mishap we had by the way, in breaking a bottle of drink, which the Governor also sent him, saying if he would send any of his men to Patuxet, I would send for more of the same; also for chickens to make him broth, and for other things, which I knew were good for him; and would stay the return of his messenger, if he desired. This he took marvellous kindly, and appointed some, who were ready to go by two of the clock in the morning; against which time I made ready a letter, declaring therein our good success, the state of his body, etc., desiring to send me such things as I sent for, and such physic as the surgeon durst administer to him.

He requested me, that the day following, I would take my piece, and kill him some fowl, and make him some English pottage, such as he had eaten at Plymouth; which I promised. After, his stomach coming to him, I must needs make him some without fowl, before I went abroad, which somewhat troubled me, being unaccustomed and unacquainted in such businesses, especially having nothing to make it comfortable, my consort being as ignorant as myself; but being we must do somewhat, I caused a woman to bruise some corn, and take the flour from it, and set over the grit, or broken corn, in a pipkin,

for they have earthen pots of all sizes. When the day broke, we went out, it being now March, to seek herbs, but could not find any but strawberry leaves, of which I gathered a handful, and put into the same; and because I had nothing to relish it, I went forth again, and pulled up a sassafras root, and sliced a piece thereof, and boiled it, till it had a good relish, and then took it out again. The broth being boiled, I strained it through my handkerchief, and gave him at least a pint, which he drank, and liked it very well. After this his sight mended more and more; . . . . . insomuch as we with admiration blessed God for giving his blessing to such raw and ignorant means, making no doubt of his recovery, himself and all of them acknowledging us the instruments of his preservation.

That morning he caused me to spend in going from one to another amongst those that were sick in the town, requesting me to wash their mouths also, and give to each of them some of the same I gave him, saying they were good folk. This pains I took with willingness, though it were much offensive to me, not being accustomed with such poisonous savors. After dinner he desired me to get him a goose or duck, and make him some pottage therewith, with as much speed as I could. So I took a man with me, and made a shot at a couple of ducks, some sixscore paces off, and killed one, at which he wondered. So we returned forthwith and dressed it, making more broth therewith, which he much desired. Never did I see a man so low brought, recover in that measure in so short a time. The fowl being extraordinary fat, I told Hobbamock I must take off the top thereof, saying it would make him very sick again if he did eat it. This he acquainted Massassowat therewith, who would not be persuaded to it, though I pressed it very much, showing the strength thereof, and the weakness of his stomach, which could not possibly bear it. Notwithstanding, he made a gross meal of it, and ate as much as would well have satisfied a man in health. About an hour after he began to be very sick, and straining very much, cast up the broth again; and in overstraining himself, began to bleed at the nose, and so continued the space of four hours. Then they all wished he had been ruled, concluding now he would die, which we much feared also. They asked me what I thought of him. I answered, his case was desperate, yet it might be it would save his life; for if it ceased in time, he would forthwith sleep and take rest, which was the principal thing he wanted. Not long after, his blood stayed, and he slept at least six or eight hours. When he awaked, I washed his face, and bathed and suppled his beard and nose with a linen cloth. But on a sudden he chopped his nose in the water, and drew up some therein, and sent it forth

again with such violence, as he began to bleed afresh. Then they thought there was no hope; but we perceived it was but the tenderness of his nostril, and therefore told them I thought it would stay presently, as indeed it did.

The messengers were now returned; but finding his stomach come to him, he would not have the chickens killed, but kept them for breed. Neither durst we give him any physic, which was then sent, because his body was so much altered since our instructions; neither saw we any need, not doubting now of his recovery, if he were careful. Many, whilst we were there, came to see him; some, by their report, from a place not less than an hundred miles. To all that came one of his chief men related the manner of his sickness, how near he was spent, how amongst others his friends the English came to see him, and how suddenly they recovered him to this strength they saw, he being now able to sit upright of himself.

The day before our coming, another sachem being there, told him that now he might see how hollow-hearted the English were, saying if we had been such friends in deed, as we were in show, we would have visited him in this his sickness, using many arguments to withdraw his affections, and to persuade him to give way to some things against us, which were motioned to him not long before. But upon this his recovery, he brake forth into these speeches: "Now I see the English are my friends and love me; and whilst I live, I will never forget this kindness they have showed me." Whilst we were there, our entertainment exceeded all other strangers'. Divers other things were worthy the noting; but I fear I have been too tedious.

At our coming away, he called Hobbamock to him, and privately (none hearing, save two or three other of his pnieses, who are of his council) revealed the plot of the Massacheuseucks, before spoken of, against Master Weston's colony, and so against us; saying that the people of Nauset, Paomet, Succonet, Mattachiest, Manomet, Agowaywam, and the isle of Capawack, were joined with them; himself also in his sickness was earnestly solicited, but he would neither join therein, nor give way to any of his. Therefore, as we respected the lives of our countrymen, and our own after-safety, he advised us to kill the men of Massachuset, who were the authors of this intended mischief. And whereas we were wont to say, we would not strike a stroke till they first began; "If," said he, "upon this intelligence, they make that answer, tell them, when their countrymen at Wichaguscusset are killed, they being not able to defend themselves, that then it will be too late to recover their lives; nay, through the multitude of adversaries, they shall with great difficulty preserve their own; and therefore he counselled without delay to take away the principals,

and then the plot would cease. With this he charged him thoroughly to acquaint me by the way, that I might inform the Governor thereof, at my first coming home. Being fitted for our return, we took our leave of him; who returned many thanks to our Governor, and also to ourselves for our labor and love; the like did all that were about him. So we departed.

William Morrell.

Resident in Plymouth. 1623–24.

A RECOMMENDATION OF NEW-ENGLAND.

[*Nova-Anglia.* 1625.]

FEARE not poore muse, 'cause first to sing her fame,
That's yet scarce known, unless by map or name;
A grand-childe to earth's paradize is borne,
Well lim'd, well nerv'd, faire, rich, sweete, yet forlorne.
Thou blest director, so direct my verse,
That it may winne her people, friends, commerce;
Whilst her sweet ayre, rich soile, blest seas, my penne
Shall blaze and tell the natures of her men.
New-England, happie in her new true stile,
Wearie of her cause she's to sad exile
Expos'd by her's unworthy of her land,
Intreates with teares Great Brittaine to command
Her empire, and to make her know the time,
Whose act and knowledge onely makes divine.
A royall worke well worthy England's king,
These natives to true truth and grace to bring.
A noble worke for all these noble peares
Which guide this state in their superiour spheres.
You holy Aarons let your sensors nere
Cease burning, till these men Jehovah feare.
Westward a thousand leagues a spatious land
Is made unknown to them that it command.
Of fruitfull mould, and no lesse fruitlesse maine
Inrich with springs and prey high-land and plaine.
The light well tempred, humid ayre, whose breath
Fils full all concaves betwixt heaven and earth,
So that the region of the ayre is blest
With what earth's mortals wish to be possest.
Great Titan darts on her his heavenly rays
Whereby extreames hè quells, and overswayes.
Blest is this ayre with what the ayre can blesse,
Yet frequent ghusts doe much this place distresse;

Here unseene ghusts doe instant on-set give,
As heaven and earth they would together drive.
An instant power doth surprize their rage,
In their vast prison, and their force asswage.
Thus in exchange a day or two is spent,
In smiles and frownes: in great yet no content.
The earth grand parent to all things on earth,
Cold, dry, and heavie, and the next beneath
The ayre, by nature's arme with low discents,
Is as it were intrencht; againe ascents
Mount up to heaven by Jove's omnipotence,
Whose looming greenesse joyes the sea-mans sence.
Invites him to a land if he can see,
Worthy the thrones of stately soveraigntie.
The fruitfull and well watered earth doth glad
All hearts, when Flora's with her spangles clad,
And yeelds an hundred fold for one,
To feede the bee and to invite the drone.
O happie planter, if you knew the height
Of planter's honours where ther's such delight;
There nature's bounties, though not planted are,
Great store and sorts of berries great and faire:
The filberd, cherry, and the fruitful vine,
Which cheares the heart and makes it more divine.
Earth's spangled beauties pleasing smell and sight
Objects for gallant choyce and chiefe delight.
A ground-nut there runnes on a grassie threed,
Along the shallow earth as in a bed,
Yealow without, thin filmd, sweete, lilly white,
Of strength to feede and cheare the appetite.
From these our natures may have great content,
And good subsistance when our meanes is spent.

. . . . . .

The fowles that in those bays and harbours feede,
Though in their seasons they doe else-where breede,
Are swans and geese, herne, phesants, duck and crane,
Culvers and divers all along the maine:
The turtle, eagle, partridge, and the quaile,
Knot, plover, pigeons, which doe never faile,
Till sommer's heate commands them to retire,
And winter's cold begets their old desire.
With these sweete dainties man is sweetly fed,
With these rich feathers ladies plume their head;
Here's flesh and feathers both for use and ease
To feede, adorne, and rest thee, if thou please.

. . . . . .

The costly codd doth march with his rich traine:
With which the sea-man fraughts his merry ship:
With which the merchant doth much riches get:
With which plantations richly may subsist,
And pay their merchants debt and interest.

Thus ayre and earth, both land and sea yeelds store
Of nature's dainties both to rich and poore;
To whom if heavens a holy vice-roy give,
The state and people may most richly live:
And there erect a pyramy of estate,
Which onely sinne and heaven can ruinate.
Let deepe discretion this great work attend,
What's well begun for th' most part well doth end.

Francis Higginson.

BORN in Claybrooke, Leicestershire, England, 1587. DIED at Salem, Mass., 1630.

ON A VOYAGE TO THE MASSACHUSETTS.

[*Written from New-England, July* 24, 1629.]

NOW in our passage divers things are remarkable.

First, through God's blessing, our passage was short and speedy; for whereas we had a thousand leagues, that is, three thousand miles English, to sail from Old to New England, we performed the same in six weeks and three days.

Secondly, our passage was comfortable and easy for the most part, having ordinarily fair and moderate wind, and being freed for the most part from stormy and rough seas, saving one night only, which we that were not used thought to be more terrible than indeed it was; and this was Wednesday at night, May 27th.

Thirdly, our passage was also healthful to our passengers, being freed from the great contagion of the scurvy and other maledictions, which in other passages to other places had taken away the lives of many. And yet we were, in all reason, in wonderful danger all the way, our ship being greatly crowded with passengers; but, through God's great goodness, we had none that died of the pox but that wicked fellow that scorned at fasting and prayer. There were indeed two little children, one of my own, and another beside; but I do not impute it merely to the passage, for they were both very sickly children, and not likely to have lived long, if they had not gone to sea. And take this for a rule, if children be healthful when they come to sea, the younger they are the better they will endure the sea, and are not troubled with sea-sickness as older people are, as we had experience in many children that went this voyage. My wife, indeed, in tossing weather, was something ill by vomiting; but in calm weather she recovered again, and is now much better for

the sea-sickness. And for my own part, whereas I have for divers years past been very sickly, and ready to cast up whatsoever I have eaten, and was very sick at London and Gravesend, yet from the time I came on shipboard to this day I have been strangely healthful. And now I can digest our ship diet very well, which I could not when I was at land. And indeed in this regard I have great cause to give God praise, that he hath made my coming to be a method to cure me of a wonderful weak stomach and continual pain of melancholy wind from the spleen. Also divers children were sick of the small pox, but are safely recovered again; and two or three passengers, towards the latter end of the voyage, fell sick of the scurvy, but coming to land recovered in a short time.

Fourthly, our passage was both pleasurable and profitable. For we received instruction and delight in beholding the wonders of the Lord in the deep waters, and sometimes seeing the sea round us appearing with a terrible countenance, and, as it were, full of high hills and deep valleys; and sometimes it appeared as a most plain and even meadow. And ever and anon we saw divers kinds of fishes sporting in the great waters, great grampuses and huge whales, going by companies, and puffing up water streams. Those that love their own chimney-corner, and dare not go far beyond their own town's end, shall never have the honor to see these wonderful works of Almighty God.

Fifthly, we had a pious and Christian-like passage; for I suppose passengers shall seldom find a company of more religious, honest and kind seamen than we had. We constantly served God morning and evening by reading and expounding a chapter, singing, and prayer. And the Sabbath was solemnly kept, by adding to the former, preaching twice and catechising. And in our great need we kept two solemn fasts, and found a gracious effect. Let all that love and use fasting and praying, take notice that it is as prevailable by sea as by land, wheresoever it is faithfully performed. Besides, the shipmaster and his company used every night to set their eight and twelve o'clock watches with singing a psalm, and prayer that was not read out of a book. This I write not for boasting and flattery, but for the benefit of those that have a mind to come to New-England hereafter, that if they look for and desire to have as prosperous a voyage as we had, they may use the same means to attain the same.

THE COMMODITIES OF NEW-ENGLAND.

[*New-England's Plantation.* 1630.]

THOUGH, as the idle proverb is, "Travelers may lie by authority," and so may take too much sinful liberty that way, yet I may say of myself, as once Nehemiah did in another case, "Shall such a man as I lie?" No, verily. It becometh not a preacher of truth to be a writer of falsehood in any degree; and therefore I have been careful to report nothing of New-England but what I have partly seen with mine own eyes, and partly heard and inquired from the mouths of very honest and religious persons, who by living in the country a good space of time have had experience and knowledge of the state thereof, and whose testimonies I do believe as myself.

. . . . . .

It is a land of divers and sundry sorts all about Masathulets Bay, and at Charles river is as fat black earth as can be seen anywhere; and in other places you have a clay soil, in other gravel, in other sandy, as it is all about our Plantation at Salem, for so our town is now named.

The form of the earth here, in the superficies of it, is neither too flat in the plainness, nor too high in hills, but partakes of both in a mediocrity, and fit for pasture or for plough or meadow ground, as men please to employ it. Though all the country be, as it were, a thick wood for the general, yet in divers places there is much ground cleared by the Indians, and especially about the Plantation; and I am told that about three miles from us a man may stand on a little hilly place and see divers thousands of acres of ground as good as need to be, and not a tree in the same. . . . .

The fertility of the soil is to be admired at, as appeareth in the abundance of grass that groweth every where, both very thick, very long, and very high in divers places. But it groweth very wildly, with a great stalk, and a broad and ranker blade, because it never had been eaten with cattle, nor mowed with a scythe, and seldom trampled on by foot. It is scarce to be believed how our kine and goats, horses and hogs do thrive and prosper here, and like well of this country.

In our Plantation we have already a quart of milk for a penny. But the abundant increase of corn proves this country to be a wonderment. Thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, are ordinary here. Yea, Joseph's increase in Egypt is outstripped here with us. Our planters hope to have more than a hundred-fold this year. And all this while I

am within compass; what will you say of two hundred-fold, and upwards? It is almost incredible what great gain some of our English planters have had by our Indian corn. Credible persons have assured me, and the party himself avouched the truth of it to me, that of the setting of thirteen gallons of corn he hath had increase of it fifty-two hogsheads, every hogshead holding seven bushels of London measure, and every bushel was by him sold and trusted to the Indians for so much beaver as was worth eighteen shillings; and so of this thirteen gallons of corn, which was worth six shillings eight pence, he made about £327 of it the year following, as by reckoning will appear; where you may see how God blesseth husbandry in this land. There is not such great and plentiful ears of corn I suppose anywhere else to be found but in this country, being also of variety of colors, as red, blue, and yellow, &c.; and of one corn there springeth four or five hundred. I have sent you many ears of divers colors, that you might see the truth of it.

Little children here, by setting of corn, may earn much more than their own maintenance. . . . .

Our Governor hath store of green pease growing in his garden as good as ever I eat in England.

This country aboundeth naturally with store of roots of great variety and good to eat. Our turnips, parsnips and carrots are here both bigger and sweeter than is ordinarily to be found in England. Here are also store of pumpions, cowcumbers, and other things of that nature which I know not. Also, divers excellent pot-herbs grow abundantly among the grass, as strawberry leaves in all places of the country, and plenty of strawberries in their time, and penny-royal, winter-savory, sorrel, brooklime, liverwort, carvel, and watercresses; also leeks and onions are ordinary, and divers physical herbs. Here are also abundance of other sweet herbs, delightful to the smell, whose names we know not, and plenty of single damask roses, very sweet; and two kinds of herbs that bear two kinds of flowers very sweet, which they say are as good to make cordage or cloth as any hemp or flax we have.

Excellent vines are here up and down in the woods. Our Governor hath already planted a vineyard, with great hope of increase.

Also, mulberries, plums, raspberries, currants, chestnuts, filberts, walnuts, small-nuts, hurtleberries, and haws of white-thorn, near as good as our cherries in England, they grow in plenty here.

For wood, there is no better in the world, I think. . . .

Also here be divers roots and berries, wherewith the Indians dye excellent holding colors, that no rain nor washing can alter. Also we have materials to make soap ashes and saltpetre in abundance.

For beasts there are some bears, and they say some lions also; for they have been seen at Cape Anne. Also here are several sorts of deer, some whereof bring three or four young ones at once, which is not ordinary in England; also wolves, foxes, beavers, otters, martens, great wild cats, and a great beast called a molke, as big as an ox. I have seen the skins of all these beasts since I came to this Plantation, excepting lions. Also here are great store of squirrels, some greater, and some smaller and lesser; there are some of the lesser sort, they tell me, that by a certain skin will fly from tree to tree, though they stand far distant.

New-England hath water enough, both salt and fresh. The greatest sea in the world, the Atlantic Sea, runs all along the coast thereof. There are abundance of islands along the shore, some full of wood and mast to feed swine, and others clear of wood, and fruitful to bear corn. Also we have store of excellent harbours for ships. . .

The abundance of sea-fish are almost beyond believing; and sure I should scarce have believed it except I had seen it with mine own eyes. I saw great store of whales, and grampuses, and such abundance of mackerels that it would astonish one to behold; likewise codfish, abundance on the coast, and in their season are plentifully taken. There is a fish called a bass, a most sweet and wholesome fish as ever I did eat; it is altogether as good as our fresh salmon; and the season of their coming was begun when we came first to New-England in June, and so continued about three months' space. Of this fish our fishers take many hundreds together, which I have seen lying on the shore, to my admiration. Yea, their nets ordinarily take more than they are able to haul to land, and for want of boats and men they are constrained to let a many go after they have taken them; and yet sometimes they fill two boats at a time with them. And besides bass, we take plenty of scate and thornback, and abundance of lobsters, and the least boy in the Plantation may both catch and eat what he will of them. For my own part, I was soon cloyed with them, they were so great, and fat, and luscious. I have seen some myself that have weighed sixteen pound; but others have had divers times so great lobsters as have weighed twenty-five pound, as they assured me. . . . .

The temper of the air of New-England is one special thing that commends this place. Experience doth manifest that there is hardly a more healthful place to be found in the world that agreeth better with our English bodies. Many that have been weak and sickly in Old England, by coming hither have been thoroughly healed, and grown healthful and strong. For here is an extraordinary clear and dry air, that is of a most healing nature to all such as are of a cold,

melancholy, phlegmatic, rheumatic temper of body. None can more truly speak hereof by their own experience than myself. My friends that knew me can well tell how very sickly I have been, and continually in physic, being much troubled with a tormenting pain through an extraordinary weakness of my stomach, and abundance of melancholic humors. But since I came hither on this voyage, I thank God I have had perfect health, and freed from pain and vomiting, having a stomach to digest the hardest and coarsest fare, who before could not eat finest meat; and whereas my stomach could only digest and did require such drink as was both strong and stale, now I can and do oftentimes drink New-England water very well. And I that have not gone without a cap for many years together, neither durst leave off the same, have now cast away my cap, and do wear none at all in the day time; and whereas beforetime I clothed myself with double clothes and thick waistcoats to keep me warm, even in the summer time, I do now go as thin clad as any, only wearing a light stuff cassock upon my shirt, and stuff breeches of one thickness without linings. Besides, I have one of my children, that was formerly most lamentably handled with sore breaking out of both his hands and feet of the king's evil; but since he came hither he is very well ever he was, and there is hope of perfect recovery shortly, even by the very wholesomeness of the air, altering, digesting, and drying up the cold and crude humors of the body; and therefore I think it is a wise course for all cold complexions to come to take physic in New-England; for a sup of New-England's air is better than a whole draught of Old England's ale.

In the summer time, in the midst of July and August, it is a good deal hotter than in Old England, and in winter January and February are much colder, as they say; but the spring and autumn are of a middle temper.

Fowls of the air are plentiful here, and of all sorts as we have in England, as far as I can learn, and a great many of strange fowls which we know not. . . . .

Though it be here somewhat cold in the winter, yet here we have plenty of fire to warm us, and that a great deal cheaper than they sell billets and fagots in London; nay, all Europe is not able to afford to make so great fires as New-England. A poor servant here, that is to possess but fifty acres of land, may afford to give more wood for timber and fire as good as the world yields, than many noblemen in England can afford to do. Here is good living for those that love good fires. And although New-England have no tallow to make candles of, yet by the abundance of the fish thereof it can afford oil for lamps. Yea, our pine trees, that are the most plentiful of all wood, doth allow us plenty

of candles, which are very useful in a house; and they are such candles as the Indians commonly use, having no other; and they are nothing else but the wood of the pine tree cloven in two little slices something thin, which are so full of the moisture of turpentine and pitch that they burn as clear as a torch.

A SETTING-FORTH OF DISCOMMODITIES.

[*From the Same.*]

NOW I will tell you of some discommodities, that are here to be found.

First, in the summer season, for these three months, June, July, and August, we are troubled much with little flies called mosquitoes, being the same they are troubled with in Lincolnshire and the fens; and they are nothing but gnats, which, except they be smoked out of their houses, are troublesome in the night season.

Secondly, in the winter season, for two months' space, the earth is commonly covered with snow, which is accompanied with sharp biting frosts, something more sharp than is in Old England, and therefore are forced to make great fires.

Thirdly, this country being very full of woods and wildernesses, doth also much abound with snakes and serpents, of strange colors and huge greatness. Yea, there are some serpents, called rattlesnakes, that have rattles in their tails, that will not fly from a man as others will, but will fly upon him and sting him so mortally that he will die within a quarter of an hour after, except the party stinged have about him some of the root of an herb called snake-weed to bite on, and then he shall receive no harm. But yet seldom falls it out that any hurt is done by these. About three years since an Indian was stung to death by one of them; but we heard of none since that time.

Fourthly and lastly, here wants as yet the good company of honest Christians, to bring with them horses, kine and sheep, to make use of this fruitful land. Great pity it is to see so much good ground for corn and for grass as any is under the heavens, to lie altogether unoccupied, when so many honest men and their families in Old England, through the populousness thereof, do make very hard shift to live one by the other.

Thomas Morton.

Born in England, 1590. Died at Agamenticus, Maine, 1646.

ON THE PUNCTILIO OF THE SAVAGE.

[*New English Canaan.* 1632.]

REPUTATION is such a thing, that it keeps many men in awe, even amongst civilized nations, and is very much stood upon. It is (as one hath very well noted) the awe of great men and of kings, and since I have observed it to be maintained amongst savage people, I can not choose but give an instance thereof in this treatise, to confirm the common received opinion thereof.

The sachem or sagamore of Sagus made choice, when he came to man's estate, of a lady of noble descent, daughter to Papasiquineo, the sachem or sagamore of the territories near Merrimac River—a man of the best note and estimation in all those parts (and as my countryman Mr. Wood declares in his prospect) a great Nigromancer. This lady the young sachem, with the consent and good liking of her father, marries and takes for his wife. Great entertainment he and his received in those parts at her father's hands, where they were feasted in the best manner that might be expected, according to the custom of their nation, with revelling, and such other solemnities as is usual amongst them. The solemnity being ended, Papasiquineo causes a selected number of his men to wait upon his daughter home into those parts that did properly belong to her lord and husband, where the attendants had entertainment by the sachem of Sagus and his countrymen; the solemnity being ended, the attendants were gratified.

Not long after, the new married lady had a great desire to see her father, and her native country, from whence she came. Her lord, willing to pleasure her and not deny her request, amongst them thought to be reasonable, commanded a selected number of his own men to conduct his lady to her father; where with great respect they brought her: and having feasted there awhile, returned to their own country again, leaving the lady to continue there at her own pleasure, amongst her friends, and old acquaintance, where she passed away the time for awhile; and in the end desired to return to her lord again. Her father, the old Papasiquineo, having notice of her intent, sent some of his men on ambassage to the young sachem, his son-in-law, to let him understand that his daughter was not willing to absent herself from his company any longer; and therefore (as the messengers had in charge) desired the young lord to send a convoy for her. But he

standing upon terms of honor, and the maintaining of his reputation, returned to his father-in-law this answer, that when she departed from him, he caused his men to wait upon her to her father's territories, as it did become him: but now she had an intent to return, it did become her father to send her back with a convoy of his own people: and that it stood not with his reputation to make himself or his men so servile, to fetch her again. The old sachem Papasiquineo having this message returned, was enraged to think that his young son-in-law did not esteem him at a higher rate than to capitulate with him about the matter, and return him this sharp reply, that his daughter's blood and birth deserved no more respect than to be so slighted, and therefore, if he would have her company, he were best to send or come for her.

The young sachem not willing to undervalue himself, and being a man of a stout spirit, did not stick to say, that he should either send her, by his own convoy, or keep her; for he was not determined to stoop so low.

So much these two sachems stood upon terms of reputation with each other, the one would not send her, and the other would not send for her, lest it should be any diminishing of honor on his part, that should seem to comply, that the lady (when I came out of the country) remained still with her father; which is a thing worth the noting, that savage people should seek to maintain their reputation so much as they do.

OF A VISION AND A BATTLE.

[*From the Same.*]

THE planters of Plymouth, at their last being in those parts, having defaced the monument of the dead at Pasonayessit (by taking away the hearse cloth, which was two great bears' skins sewed together at full length, and propped up over the grave of Chuatawback's mother), the sachem of those territories, being enraged at the same, stirred up his men in his behalf to take revenge; and having gathered his men together he begins to make an oration in this manner: "When last the glorious light of all the sky was underneath this globe and birds grew silent, I began to settle (as my custom is) to take repose; before mine eyes were fast closed methought I saw a vision, at which my spirit was much troubled, and trembling at that doleful sight, a spirit cried aloud, 'Behold, my son whom I have cherished, see the

paps that gave thee suck, the hands that lapped thee warm and fed thee oft; canst thou forget to take revenge of those wild people, that hath my monument defaced in despiteful manner, disdaining our ancient antiquities and honorable customs? See now the sachem's grave lies like unto the common people, of ignoble race, defaced; thy mother doth complain, implores thy aid against this thievish people new come hither; if this be suffered, I shall not rest in quiet within my everlasting habitation.' This said, the spirit vanished, and I all in a sweat, not able scarce to speak, began to get some strength and recollect my spirits that were fled, all which I thought to let you understand, to have your counsel, and your aid likewise." This being spoken, straightway arose the grand captain, and cried aloud, "Come, let us to arms; it doth concern us all; let us bid them battle." So to arms they went, and laid wait for the Plymouth boat, and forcing them to forsake their landing place, they seek another best for their convenience. Thither the savages repair in hope to have the like success, but all in vain, for the English captain warily foresaw, and, perceiving their plot, knew the better how to order his men fit for battle in that place. He, boldly leading his men on, ranged about the field to and fro, and, taking his best advantage, lets fly and makes the savages give ground. The English followed them fiercely on and made them take trees for their shelter (as their custom is), from whence their captain let fly amain, yet no man was hurt. At last lifting up his right arm to draw a fatal shaft (as he then thought) to end this difference, received a shot upon his elbow, and straightway fled, by whose example all the army followed the same way and yielded up the honor of the day, to the English party; who were such a terror to them after, that the savages durst never make to a head against them any more.

THE REVELS AT MERRY MOUNT.

[*From the Same.*]

THE inhabitants of Pasonagessit (having translated the name of their inhabitation from that ancient savage name to Ma-re Mount; and being resolved to have the new name confirmed for a memorial to after ages) did devise amongst themselves to have it performed in a solemn manner with revels and merriment after the old English custom, prepared to set up a May-pole upon the festival day of Philip and Jacob; and therefore brewed a barrel of excellent beer, and pro-

vided a case of bottles to be spent, with other good cheer, for all comers of that day. And because they would have it in a complete form, they had prepared a song fitting to the time and present occasion. And upon May-day they brought the May-pole to the place appointed, with drums, guns, pistols, and other fitting intruments, for that purpose; and there erected it with the help of savages, that came thither of purpose to see the manner of our revels. A goodly pine tree of eighty feet long, was reared up, with a pair of buck's horns nailed on, somewhat near unto the top of it: where it stood as a fair sea-mark for directions how to find out the way to mine host of Ma-re Mount.

The setting up of his May-pole was a lamentable spectacle to the precise Separatists that lived at New Plymouth. They termed it an idol; yea, they called it the Calf of Horeb: and stood at defiance with the place, naming it Mount Dagon; threatening to make it a woful mount, and not a merry mount.

There was likewise a merry song made, which (to make their revels more fashionable) was sung with a corus, every man bearing his part; which they performed in a dance, hand in hand about the May-pole, whilst one of the company sung, and filled out the good liquor like Gammedes and Jupiter.

THE SONG.

Drink and be merry, merry, merry, boys;
Let all your delight be in Hymen's joys.
Io to Hymen now the day is come,
About the merry May-pole take a room.
Make green garlons, bring bottles out;
And fill sweet Nectar, freely about;
Uncover thy head, and fear no harm,
For here's good liquor to keep it warm.
Then drink and be merry, etc.
Io to Hymen, etc.

Nectar is a thing assign'd,
By the Deity's own mind,
To cure the heart opprest with grief,
And of good liquors is the chief.
Then drink, etc.
Io to Hymen, etc.

Give to the melancholy man
A cup or two of 't now and then;
This physic will soon revive his blood,
And make him be of a merrier mood.
Then drink, etc.
Io to Hymen, etc.

Give to the nymph that's free from scorn,
No Irish stuff nor Scotch overworn.
Lasses in beaver coats, come away;
Ye shall be welcome to us night and day
To drink and be merry, etc.
Io to Hymen, etc.

This harmless mirth made by young men (that lived in hope to have wives brought over to them, that would save them a labor to make a voyage to fetch any over) was much distasted of the precise Separatists that keep much ado, about the tithe of mint and cumin, troubling their brains more than reason would require about things that are indifferent: and from that time sought occasion against my honest host of Ma-re Mount to overthrow his undertakings, and to destroy his plantation quite and clean.

THE VALIANT EXPEDITION OF CAPTAIN SHRIMP, OTHERWISE MILES STANDISH.

[*From the Same.*]

THE Separatists envying the prosperity and hope of the plantation at Ma-re Mount (which they perceived began to come forward, and to be in a good way for gain in the beaver trade), conspired together against mine host especially, (who was the owner of that plantation) and made up a party against him; and mustered up what aid they could; accounting of him as of a great monster.

Many threatening speeches were given out both against his person, and his habitation, which they divulged should be consumed with fire. And taking advantage of the time when his company (which seemed little to regard their threats) were gone up into the inlands, to trade with the savages for beaver, they set upon my honest host at a place, called Wessaguscus, where (by accident) they found him. The inhabitants there were in good hope of the subversion of the plantation at Ma-re Mount, which they principally aimed at, and the rather, because mine host was a man that endeavored to advance the dignity of the Church of England; which they, on the contrary part, would labor to vilify with uncivil terms, inveighing against the sacred book of common prayer, and mine host that used it in a laudable manner amongst his family, as a practice of piety.

There he would be a means to bring sacks to their mill, such is the thirst after beaver, and helped the conspirators to surprise mine host

(who was there all alone) and they charged him (because they would seem to have some reasonable cause against him to set a gloss upon their malice) with criminal things, which indeed had been done by such a person, but was of their conspiracy. Mine host demanded of the conspirators who it was, that was author of that information, that seemed to be their ground for what they now intended. And because they answered, they would not tell him, he as peremptorily replied, that he would not say, whether he had or he had not done as they had been informed.

The answer made no matter (as it seemed) whether it had been negatively, or affirmatively made, for they had resolved what he should suffer, because (as they boasted,) they were now become the greater number: they had shaken off their shackles of servitude, and were become masters, and masterless people.

It appears, they were like bears' whelps in former time, when mine host's plantation was of as much strength as theirs, but now (theirs being stronger,) they (like overgrown bears) seemed monstrous. In brief, mine host must endure to be their prisoner until they could contrive it so, that they might send him for England, (as they said,) there to suffer according to the merit of the fact, which they intended to father upon him; supposing belike it would prove a heinous crime.

Much rejoicing was made that they had gotten their capital enemy (as they concluded him) whom they purposed to hamper in such sort, that he should not be able to uphold his plantation at Ma-re Mount.

The conspirators sported themselves at my honest host, that meant them no hurt; and were so jocund that they feasted their bodies, and fell to tippling, as if they had obtained a great prize; like the Trojans when they had the custody of Hippeus' pine-tree horse.

Mine host feigned grief, and could not be persuaded either to eat or drink, because he knew emptiness would be a means to make him as watchful as the geese kept in the Roman capital: where, on the contrary part, the conspirators would be so drowsy, that he might have an opportunity to give them a slip, instead of a tester. Six persons of the conspiracy were set to watch him at Wessaguscus. But he kept waking; and in the dead of night (one lying on the bed, for further surety,) up gets mine host and got to the second door that he was to pass, which (notwithstanding the lock) he got open: and shut it after him with such violence, that it affrighted some of the conspirators.

The word, which was given with an alarm, was, "Oh, he 's gone, he 's gone! What shall we do? He 's gone!" The rest (half asleep) start up in a maze, and like rams, ran their heads one at another full butt in the dark.

Their grand leader Captain Shrimp took on most furiously, and tore his clothes for anger, to see the empty nest, and their bird gone.

The rest were eager to have torn their hair from their heads, but it was so short that it would give them no hold. Now Captain Shrimp thought in the loss of this prize (which he accounted his masterpiece,) all his honor would be lost forever.

In the meantime mine host was got home to Ma-re Mount through the woods, eight miles, round about the head of the river Monatoquit, that parted the two plantations, finding his way by the help of the lightning (for it thundered as he went terribly). And there he prepared powder three pounds dried, for his present employment, and four good guns for him, and the two assistants left at his house, with bullets of several sizes, three hundred or thereabouts, to be used if the conspirators should pursue him thither; and these two persons promised their aids in the quarrel, and confirmed that promise with a health in good rosa solis.

Now Captain Shrimp, the first captain in the land, (as he supposed,) must do some new act to repair this loss, and to vindicate his reputation, who had sustained blemish, by this oversight. Begins now to study how to repair or survive his honor in this manner; calling of counsel: they conclude.

He takes eight persons more to him, and (like the nine worthies of New Canaan) they embark with preparation against Ma-re Mount, where this monster of a man (as their phrase was) had his den; the whole number, had the rest not been from home, being but seven, would have given Captain Shrimp, a quondam dummer, such a welcome, as would have made him wish for a drum as big as Diogenes' tub, that he might have crept into it out of sight.

Now the nine worthies are approached; and mine host prepared, having intelligence by a savage, that hastened in love from Wessaguscus, to give him notice of their intent.

One of mine host's men proved a craven; the other had proved his wits to purchase a little valor, before mine host had observed his posture.

The nine worthies coming before the den of this supposed monster, (this seven-headed hydra, as they termed him) and began, like Don Quixote against the windmill, to beat a parley, and to offer quarter if mine host would yield, for they resolved to send him for England, and bade him lay by his arms.

But he (who was the son of a soldier), having taken up arms in his just defence, replied that he would not lay by those arms, because they were so needful at sea, if he should be sent over. Yet to save the effusion of so much worthy blood, as would have issued out of the veins of these nine worthies of New Canaan, if mine host should have played upon them out of his port-holes (for they came within danger like a flock of wild geese, as if they had been tailed one to another, as colts

to be sold at a fair) mine host was content to yield upon a quarter; and did capitulate with them: in what manner it should be for more certainty, because he knew what Captain Shrimp was.

He expressed that no violence should be offered to his person, none to his goods, nor any of his household: but that he should have his arms, and what else was requisite for the voyage, (which their herald returns,) it was agreed upon, and should be performed.

But mine host no sooner had set open the door and issued out but instantly Captain Shrimp and the rest of the worthies stepped to him, laid hold of his arms and had him down; and so eagerly was every man bent against him (not regarding any agreement made with such a carnal man,) that they fell upon him as if they would have eaten him. Some of them were so violent, that they would have a slice with scabbard and all for haste, until an old soldier (of the Queen's, as the proverb is) that was there by accident, clapped his gun under the weapons, and sharply rebuked these worthies for their unworthy practices. So the matter was taken into more deliberate consideration.

Captain Shrimp and the rest of the nine worthies made themselves by this outrageous riot masters of mine host of Ma-re Mount, and disposed of what he had at his plantation.

This they knew (in the eye of the savages) would add to their glory; and diminish the reputation of mine honest host, whom they practised to be rid of, upon any terms, as willingly as if he had been the very hydra of the time.

HOW THE SEPARATISTS PAID DEBTS TO THEM THAT WERE WITHOUT.

[*From the Same.*]

THERE was an honest man, one Mr. Innocence Fairecloath, by Mr. Mathias Charterparty sent over into New Canaan, to raise a very good merchantable commodity for his benefit; the whiles the man was bound by covenant to stay for a time and to employ such servants as did there belong to Mr. Charterparty. He disdained the tenets of the Separatists, and they also (finding him to be none) disdained to be employed by a carnal man (as they termed him), and sought occasion against him to do him a mischief. Intelligence was conveyed to Mr. Charterparty, that this man was a member of the Church of England, and therefore (in their account) an enemy to their church and state. And (to the end they might have some color against him) some of

them practised to get into his debt; which he not mistrusting suffered and gave credit for such commodity as he had sold at a price. When the day of payment came, instead of moneys (he being at that time sick and weak, and stood in need of the beaver he had contracted for) he had an epistle full of zealous exhortations, to provide for the soul and not to mind these transitory things that perished with the body; and to bethink himself whether his conscience would be so prompt to demand so great a sum of beaver as had been contracted for. He was further exhorted therein to consider he was but a steward for a time, and by all likelihood was going to give up an account of his stewardship, and therefore persuaded the creditor not to load his conscience with such a burden, which he was bound by the Gospel to ease him of (if it were possible), and for that cause he had framed this epistle in such a friendly manner to put him in mind of it. The perusal of this (lapped in the paper) was as bad as a potion to the creditor to see his debtor Master Subtilety, a zealous professor as he thought, to deride him in this extremity, that he could not choose (in admiration of the deceit) but cast out these words:

"Are these your members? If they be all like these, I believe the devil was the setter of their church."

This was called in question, when Mr. Fairecloath least thought of it. Captain Littleworth must be the man must press it against him, for blasphemy against the Church of Salem, and to great Josua Temperwell he goes with a bitter accusation, to have Master Innocence made an example for all carnal men, to presume to speak the least word that might tend to the dishonor of the Church of Salem, yea, the mother Church of all that holy land.

And he convented was before their synagogue, where no defence would serve his turn, yet was there none to be seen to accuse him save the court alone.

The time of his sickness nor the urgent cause were not allowed to be urged for him; but whatsoever could be thought upon against him was urged, seeing he was a carnal man of them that are without. So that it seems by those proceedings there the matter was adjudged before he came, he only brought to hear his sentence in public, which was to have his tongue bored through; his nose slit; his face branded; his ears cut; his body to be whipped in every several plantation of their jurisdiction; and a fine of forty pounds imposed, with perpetual banishment; and (to execute this vengeance) Shackles (the deacon of Charles Town) was as ready as Mephistopheles when Doctor Faustus was bent upon mischief.

He is the purser-general of New Canaan, who (with his whip, with knots most terrible) takes this man unto the counting house, there

capitulates with him, why he should be so hasty for payment, when God's dear children must pay as they are able; and he weeps, and sobs, and his handkerchief walks as a sign of his sorrow for Master Fairecloath's sin, that he should bear no better affection to the Church and the saints of New Canaan; and strips Innocence the while and comforts him.

Though he be made to stay for payment, he should not think it long; the payment would be sure when it did come, and he should have his due to a doit; he should not wish for a token more, and then told it him down in such manner, that he made Fairecloath's innocent back, like the picture of Rawhead and bloody bones, and his shirt like pudding wife's apron. In this employment Shackles takes a great felicity and glories in the practice of it. This cruel sentence was stopped in part by Sir Christopher Gardiner (then present at the execution) by expostulating with Master Temperwell, who was content (with that whipping, and the cutting of part of his ears) to send Innocence going, with the loss of all his goods to pay the fine imposed and perpetual banishment out of their lands of New Canaan *in terrorem populi.*

Lo, this is the payment you shall get, if you be one of them they term "without."

William Wood.

EMIGRATED to Massachusetts, 1629. DIED in Sandwich, Massachusetts, 1639.

ABORIGINAL COOKERY.

[*New-England's Prospect.* 1635.]

HAVING done with the most needful clothings and ornamental deckings, may it please you to feast your eyes with their best belly-timbers; which I suppose would be but *stibium* to weak stomachs, as they cook it, though never so good of itself. In winter-time they have all manner of fowls of the water and of the land, and beasts of the land and water, pond fish, with catharres and other roots, Indian beans and clams. In the summer they have all manner of sea fish, with all sorts of berries. For the ordering of their victuals, they boil or roast them, having large kettles which they traded for with the French long since, and do still buy of the English as their need requires, before they had substantial earthen pots of their own making. Their spits are no other than cloven sticks

sharpened at one end to thrust into the ground: into these cloven sticks they thrust the flesh or fish they would have roasted, behemming a round fire with a dozen of spits at a time, turning them as they see occasion. Some of their scullery having dressed these homely cates, present it to their guests, dishing it up in a rude manner, placing it on the verdant carpet of the earth which Nature spreads them, without either trenchers, napkins, or knives; upon which their hunger-sauced stomachs, impatient of delays, fall aboard, without scrupling at unwashed hands, without bread, salt, or beer; lolling in the Turkish fashion, not ceasing till their full bellies leave nothing but empty platters. They seldom or never make bread of their Indian corn, but seethe it whole like beans, eating three or four corns with a mouthful of fish or flesh, sometimes eating meat first, and corns after, filling up the chinks with their broth.

In summer, when their corn is spent, isquoterquashes is their best bread, a fruit much like a pumpkin. To say, and to speak paradoxically, they be great eaters, and little meat men. When they visit our English, being invited to eat, they are very moderate, whether it be to show their manners or for shamefac'dness, I know not, but at home they eat till their bellies stand south, ready to split with fulness; it being their fashion to eat all at sometimes, and sometimes nothing at all in two or three days, wise providence being a stranger to their wilder ways. They be right infidels; neither caring for the morrow, nor providing for their own families; but as all are fellows at foot-ball, so they all meet friends at the kettle, saving their wives, that dance a spaniel-like attendance at their backs for their bony fragments. If their imperious occasions cause them to travel, the best of their victuals for their journey is Nocake (as they call it), which is nothing but Indian corn parched in the hot ashes; the ashes being sifted from it, it is afterwards beat to powder, and put into a long leathern bag, trussed at their backs like a knapsack, out of which they take thrice three spoonfuls a day, dividing it into three meals. If it be in winter, and snow be on the ground, they can eat when they please, stopping snow after their dusty victuals, which otherwise would feed them little better than a Tyburn halter. In summer they must stay till they meet with a spring or a brook, where they may have water to prevent the imminent danger of choking. With this strange viaticum they will travel four or five days together, with loads fitter for elephants than for men. But though they can fare so hardly abroad, their chaps must walk night and day, as long as they have it. They keep no set meals; their store being spent, they champ on the bit, till they meet with fresh supplies, either from their own endeavors, or their wives' industry, who trudge

to the clam-banks when all other means fail. Though they be sometimes scanted, yet are they as free as emperors, both to their countrymen and English, be he stranger or near acquaintance; counting it a great discourtesy not to eat of their high-conceited delicacies, and sup of their un-oatmeal'd broth, made thick with fishes, fowls, and beasts, boiled altogether; some remaining raw, the rest converted, by overmuch seething, to a loathed mash, not half so good as Irish bonny-clapper.

WOODLAND ADVENTURES.

[*From the Same.*]

TO relate how some English bodies have borne out cold, will (it may be) startle the belief of some, it being so strange, yet not so strange as true. A certain man being something distracted, broke away from his keeper, and running into the wood could not be found with much seeking after; but four days being expired, he returned, to appearance as well in body as at his egress, and in mind much better. For a madman to hit home through the unbeaten woods, was strange; but to live without meat or drink in the deep of winter, stranger; and yet return home bettered, was most strange. But if truth may gain belief, you may behold a more superlative strangeness. A certain maid in the extremity of cold weather (as it fell out) took an uncertain journey, in her intent short, not above four miles, yet long in event; for losing her way, she wandered six or seven days in most bitter weather, not having one bit of bread to strengthen her; sometimes a fresh spring quenched her thirst, which was all the refreshment she had. The snow being upon the ground at first, she might have tracked her own footsteps back again, but wanting that understanding, she wandered till God by His special providence brought her to the place she went from, where she lives to this day. . . . .

Two men going a-fowling, appointed at evening to meet at a certain pond side, to share equally, and to return home; one of these gunners having killed a seal, or sea-calf, brought it to the pond where he was to meet his comrade, afterwards returning to the sea-side for more game, and having loaded himself with more geese and ducks, he repaired to the pond, where he saw a great bear feeding on his seal, which caused him to throw down his load, and give the bear a salute; which though it was but with goose shot, yet tumbled him

over and over; whereupon the man, supposing him to be in a manner dead, ran and beat him with the handle of his gun. The bear perceiving him to be such a coward as to strike him when he was down, scrambled up, standing at defiance with him, scratching his legs, tearing his clothes and face, who stood it out till his six-foot gun was broken in the middle; then being deprived of his weapon, he ran up to the shoulders into the pond, where he remained till the bear was gone, and his mate come in, who accompanied him home.

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These Indians are a people of a tall stature, of long grim visages, slender waisted, and exceeding great arms and thighs, wherein they say their strength lieth; and this I rather believe, because an honest gentleman told me, upon his own knowledge, that he saw one of them with a fillip of his finger kill a dog, who afterwards flayed him and sod him, and ate him to his dinner. They are so hardy that they can eat such things as would make other Indians sick to look upon. Being destitute of fish and flesh, they suffice hunger, and maintain nature with the use of vegetatives; but that which they most hunt after is the flesh of man; their custom is, if they get a stranger near their habitations, not to butcher him immediately, but keep him in as good plight as they can, feeding him with the best victuals they have; as a near neighboring Indian assured me, who found what he had spoke true by a lamentable experience, still wearing the cognizance of their cruelty on his naked arm; who, being taken by them, ate of their food, lodged in their beds; nay, he was brought forth every day to be new painted, piped unto, and hemmed in with a ring of bare-skinned morris-dancers, who presented their *antiques* before him. In a word, when they had sported enough about this walking May-pole, a rough-hewn satyr cutteth a gobblit of flesh from his brawny arm, eating it in his view, searing it with a fire-brand, lest the blood should be wasted before the morn, at the dawning whereof they told him they would make an end as they had begun.

He answered that he cared as little for their threats as they did for his life, not fearing death; whereupon they led him bound into a wigwam, where he sat as a condemned prisoner, grating his teeth for anger, being for the present so hampered, and the next day to be entombed in so many living sepulchres; he extends his strength to the utmost, breaketh the bands from his hands, and loosening the cords from his feet, thought at once to be revenged for the flesh of his arm, and finding a hatchet, lays on with an arm of revenge to the unliving of ten men at the first onset; afterwards taking opportunity of the darkness of the dead of the night, fled through the woods, and came to his native home, where he still lives to rehearse his happy escape.

ANECDOTES OF THE NATIVES.

[*From the Same.*]

SUCH is the wisdom and policy of these poor men, that they will be sure to keep correspondence with our English magistrates; expressing their love in the execution of any service they command them, so far as lies in their power, as may appear in one particular. A certain man having laid himself open to the king's laws, fearing attachment, conviction, and consequently execution, sequestered himself from the honest society of his neighbors, betaking himself to the obscure thickets of the wilderness, where he lived for a time undiscovered, till the Indians, who leave no place unsearched for deer, found out his haunt, and having taken notice by divers discourses concerning him, how that it was the Governor's desire to know where he was; they thought it a part of their service to certify him where he kept his rendezvous; who thereupon desired if they could to direct men to him for his attachment, but he had shifted his dwelling, and could not be found for the present; yet he was after seen by other Indians, but being double pistoled, and well sworded, they feared to approach so near him as to grapple with him; wherefore they let him alone till his own necessary business cast him upon them; for having occasion to cross over a river, he came to the side thereof, where was an Indian canoe, in which the Indians were to cross the river themselves; he vauntingly commanded passage, which they willingly granted, but withal plotting how they might take him prisoner; which they thus effected: having placed him in the midship of their ticklish wherry, they launched forth into the deep, causing the capering canoe to cast out her cumbersome ballast into the liquid water, which swam like a stone; and now the water having dank'd his pistols, and lost his Spanish *progge* at the bottom, the Indian swam him out by the chin to the shore, where having dropped a little dry, he began to bluster out a storm of rebellious resistance, till they becalmed his pelting chafe with their pelting pebbles at him, afterwards leading him as they list to the Governor.

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Such is the mild temper of their spirits that they can not endure objurgations, or scoldings. An Indian sagamore once hearing an English woman scold with her husband, her quick utterance exceeding his apprehension, her active lungs thundering in his ears, expelled him the house, from whence he went to the next neighbor, where he related the unseemliness of her behavior; her language being strange to him, he expressed it as strangely, telling them how she cried

"*Nannana Nannana Nannana Nan*," saying he was a great fool to give her the audience, and no correction for usurping his charter, and abusing him by her tongue. I have been amongst divers of them, yet did I never see any falling out amongst them, not so much as cross words, or reviling speeches, which might provoke to blows.

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Their Powows betaking themselves to their exorcisms, and necromantic charms, by which they bring to pass strange things, if we may believe the Indians, who report of one Pissacannawa, that he can make the water burn, the rocks move, the trees dance, metamorphize himself into a flaming man. But it may be objected this is but *deceptio visus*. He will therefore do more, for in winter, when there is no green leaves to be got, he will burn an old one to ashes, and putting these into the water, produce a new green leaf, which you shall not only see, but substantially handle and carry away; and make a dead snake's skin a living snake, both to be seen, felt, and heard.

This I write but upon the report of the Indians, who confidently assert stranger things. But to make manifest that by God's permission, thro' the devil's help, their charms are of force to produce effects of wonderment.

An honest gentleman related a story to me, being an eye-witness of the same: A Powow having a patient, with the stump of a small tree run through his foot, being past the cure of his ordinary surgery, betook himself to his charms, and being willing to show his miracle before the English stranger, he wrapped a piece of cloth about the foot of the lame man; upon that wrapping a beaver skin, thro' which he laying his mouth to the beaver skin, by his sucking charms, brought out the stump, which he spat in a tray of water, returning the foot as whole as its fellow in a short time. The manner of their action in their conjuration is thus: The parties that are sick or lame are brought before them, the Powow sitting down, the rest of the Indians give attentive audience to his imprecations and invocations, and after the violent expression of many a hideous bellowing and groaning, he makes a stop, and then all the auditors with one voice utter a short canto; which done, the Powow still proceeds in his invocations, sometimes roaring like a bear, other times groaning like a dying horse, foaming at the mouth like a chased boar, smiting on his naked breast and thighs, with such violence as if he were mad. Thus will he continue sometimes half a day, spending his lungs, sweating out his fat, and tormenting his body in this diabolical worship. Sometimes the devil, for requital of their worship, recovers the party, to nuzzle them up in their devilish religion.

THE MEEK WIVES OF THE NEW WORLD.

[*From the Same.*]

TO satisfy the curious eye of women readers, who otherwise might think their sex forgotten, or not worthy a record, let them peruse these few lines, wherein they may see their own happiness, if weighed in the woman's balance of these ruder Indians, who scorn the tutorings of their wives, or to admit them as their equals; tho' their qualities and industrious deservings may justly claim the preëminence, and command better usage, and more conjugal esteem, their persons and features being every way correspondent, their qualifications more excellent, being more loving, pitiful, and modest, mild, provident, and laborious, than their lazy husbands. Their employments are many: First, their building of houses, whose frames are formed like our garden-arbors, something more round, very strong and handsome, covered with close wrought mats of their own weaving, which deny entrance to any drop of rain, tho' it come both fierce and long, neither can the piercing north wind find a cranny, through which he can convey his cooling breath; they be warmer than our English houses; at the top is a square hole for the smoke's evacuation, which in rainy weather is covered with a pluver. These are such smoky dwellings, that when there are good fires, they are not able to stand upright, but lie all along under the smoke, never using any stools or chairs, it being as rare to see an Indian sit on a stool at home, as it is strange to see an Englishman sit on his heels abroad. Their houses are smaller in summer, when their families be dispersed by reason of heat and occasions. In winter they have some fifty or threescore feet long; forty or fifty men being inmates under one roof; and as is their husbands' occasions, these poor tectonists are often troubled, like snails, to carry their houses on their backs, sometimes to fishing-places, other times to hunting-places; after that to a planting-place, where it abides the longest.

Another work is their planting of corn, wherein they excel our English husbandmen, keeping it so clear with their clam shell hoes, as if it were a garden, rather than a cornfield; not suffering a choking weed to advance his audacious head above their infant corn, or an undermining worm to spoil his spurns. Their corn being ripe, they gather it, and dry it hard in the sun, convey it to their barns, which be great holes digged in the ground, in form of a brass pot, ceiled with rinds of trees, wherein they put their corn, covering it from the inquisitive search of their gormandizing husbands, who would

eat up both their allowed portion and reserved seed, if they knew where to find it. But our hogs have found a way to unhinge their barn doors, and rob their garners. They are glad to implore their husbands' help to roll the bodies of trees over their holes, to prevent those pioneers, whose thievery they as much hate as their flesh. Another of their employments is their summer processions to get lobsters for their husbands, wherewith they bait their hooks when they go a-fishing for bass or codfish. This is an every day's walk, be the weather cold or hot, the water rough or calm, they must dive sometimes over head and ears for a lobster, which often shakes them by their hands with a churlish nip, and bids them adieu. The tide being spent, they trudge home two or three miles, with an hundredweight of lobsters at their backs; and if none, an hundred scolds meet them at home, and an hungry belly for two days after. Their husbands having caught any fish, they bring it in their boats as far as they can by water. and there leave it; as it was their care to catch it, so it must be their wives' pains to fetch it home, or fast; which done, they must dress it and cook it, dish it, and present it, see it eaten over their shoulders, and their loggerships having filled their paunches, their sweet lullabies scramble for their scraps. In the summer, these Indian women, when lobsters are in plenty and prime, they dry them to keep for winter, erecting scaffolds in the hot sunshine, making fires likewise underneath them, by whose smoke the flies are expelled till the substance remains hard and dry. In this manner they dry bass and other fish, without salt, cutting them very thin to dry suddenly, before the flies spoil them, or the rain moist them, having a special care to hang them in their smoky houses, in the night and dankish weather.

In summer they gather flags, of which they make mats for houses; and hemp and rushes, with dyeing stuff, of which they make curious baskets, with intermixed colors and portraitures of antique imagery. These baskets be of all sizes, from a quart to a quarter, in which they carry their luggage. In winter they are their husbands' caterers, trudging to the clam banks for their belly timber, and their porters to lug home their venison, which their laziness exposes to the wolves till they impose it upon their wives' shoulders. They likewise sew their husbands' shoes and weave coats of turkey feathers, besides all their ordinary household drudgery which daily lies upon them. . . .

For their carriage, it is very civil, smiles being the greatest grace of their mirth; their music is lullabies to quiet their children, who generally are as quiet as if they had neither spleen nor lungs. To hear one of these Indians unseen, a good ear might easily mistake their untaught voice for the warbling of a well-tuned instrument; such

command have they of their voices. These women's modesty drives them to wear more clothes than their men, having always a coat of cloth or skins wrapped like a blanket about their loins, reaching down to their hams, which they never put off in company. If a husband have a mind to sell his wife's beaver petticoat, which sometimes he doth, she will not put it off till she have another to put on. Commendable is their mild carriage and obedience to their husbands, notwithstanding all this their churlishness and savage inhumanity; not seeming to delight in frowns or offering to word it with their lords, nor presuming to proclaim their female superiority to the usurping of the least tittle of their husband's charter, but rest themselves content under their helpless condition, counting it the woman's portion. Since the English arrival comparison hath made them miserable; for seeing the kind usage of the English to their wives, they do as much condemn their husbands for unkindness, and commend the English for their love, as their husbands commending themselves for their wit in keeping their wives industrious, do condemn the English for their folly in spoiling good working creatures. These women resort often to the English houses, where *pares cum paribus congregatæ*,—in sex, I mean,—they do somewhat ease their misery by complaining, and seldom part without a relief. If her husband come to seek for his squaw, and begin to bluster, the English woman betakes her to her arms, which are the warlike ladle, and the scalding liquors, threatening blistering to the naked runaway, who is soon expelled by such liquid comminations.

In a word, to conclude this woman's history, their love to the English hath deserved no small esteem; ever presenting them something that is either rare or desired, as strawberries, hurtleberries, raspberries, gooseberries, cherries, plums, fish, and other such gifts as their poor treasury yields them. But now it may be that this relation of the churlish and inhuman behavior of these ruder Indians towards their patient wives, may confirm some in the belief of an aspersion, which I have often heard men cast upon the English there, as if they should learn of the Indians to use their wives in the like manner, and to bring them to the same subjection, as to sit on the lower hand, and to carry water, and the like drudgery. But if my own experience may out-balance an ill-grounded scandalous rumor, I do assure you, upon my credit and reputation, that there is no such matter; but the women find there as much love, respect, and ease, as here in Old England. I will not deny, but that some poor people may carry their own water. And do not the poorer sort in England do the same? Witness your London tankard-bearers, and your country cottagers. But this may well be known to be nothing but the rancorous venom of some that bear no good will to the plantation. For what need they carry

water, seeing every one hath a spring at his door, or the sea by his house.

Thus much for the satisfaction of women, touching this entrenchment upon their prerogative, as also concerning the relation of these Indian squaws.

Anthony Thacher.

Died at Yarmouth, Mass., 1668. Aged about 80.

THE WOFUL SHIPWRECK OF MASTER ANTHONY THACHER.

[*His own Narrative.*]

I MUST turn my drowned pen and shaking hand to indite the story of such sad news as never before this happened in New-England.

There was a league of perpetual friendship between my cousin Avery and myself, never to forsake each other to the death, but to be partakers of each other's misery or welfare, as also of habitation, in the same place. Now upon our arrival in New-England, there was an offer made unto us. My cousin Avery was invited to Marblehead, to be their pastor in due time; there being no church planted there as yet, but a town appointed to set up the trade of fishing. Because many there (the most being fishermen,) were something loose and remiss in their behavior, my cousin Avery was unwilling to go thither; and so refusing, we went to Newberry, intending there to sit down. But being solicited so often both by the men of the place, and by the magistrates, and by Mr. Cotton, and most of the ministers, who alleged what a benefit we might be to the people there, and also to the country and commonwealth, at length we embraced it, and thither consented to go. They of Marblehead forthwith sent a pinnace for us and our goods.

We embarked at Ipswich, August 11, 1635, with our families and substance, bound for Marblehead, we being in all twenty-three souls, viz., eleven in my cousin's family, seven in mine, and one Mr. William Eliot, some time of New Sarum, and four mariners. The next morning, having commended ourselves to God, with cheerful hearts, we hoisted sail. But the Lord suddenly turned our cheerfulness into mourning and lamentations; for on the 14th of this August, 1635, about ten at night, having a fresh gale of wind, our sails being old

and done, were split. The mariners, because it was night, would not put to new sails, but resolved to cast anchor till the morning. But before daylight, it pleased the Lord to send so mighty a storm, as the like was never known in New-England since the English came, nor in the memory of any of the Indians. It was so furious, that our anchor came home; whereupon the mariners let out more cable, which at last slipped away. Then our sailors knew not what to do; but we were driven before the wind and waves.

My cousin and I perceived our danger, [and] solemnly recommended ourselves to God, the Lord both of earth and seas, expecting with every wave to be swallowed up and drenched in the deeps. And as my cousin, his wife, and my tender babes, sat comforting and cheering one the other in the Lord against ghastly death, which every moment stared us in the face and sat triumphing upon each one's forehead, we were by the violence of the waves and fury of the winds, (by the Lord's permission,) lifted up upon a rock between two high rocks, yet all was one rock. But it raged with the stroke, which came into the pinnace, so as we were presently up to our middles in water, as we sat. The waves came furiously and violently over us, and against us, but, by reason of the rock's proportion, could not lift us off, but beat her all to pieces. Now look with me upon our distress, and consider of my misery, who beheld the ship broken, the water in her, and violently overwhelming us, my goods and provisions swimming in the seas, my friends almost drowned, and mine own poor children so untimely (if I may so term it without offence) before mine eyes drowned, and ready to be swallowed up and dashed to pieces against the rocks by the merciless waves, and myself ready to accompany them. But I must go on to an end of this woful relation.

In the same room whereas he sat, the master of the pinnace, not knowing what to do, our foremast was cut down, our mainmast broken in three pieces, the fore part of the pinnace beat away, our goods swimming about the seas, my children bewailing me, as not pitying themselves, and myself bemoaning them, poor souls, whom I had occasioned to such an end in their tender years, whenas they could scarce be sensible of death. And so likewise my cousin, his wife, and his children; and both of us bewailing each other in our Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, in whom only we had comfort and cheerfulness; insomuch that, from the greatest to the least of us, there was not one screech or outcry made; but all, as silent sheep, were contentedly resolved to die together lovingly, as since our acquaintance we had lived together friendly.

Now as I was sitting in the cabin room door, with my body in the room, when lo! one of the sailors, by a wave being washed out of

the pinnace, was gotten in again, and coming into the cabin room over my back, cried out: "We are all cast away. The Lord have mercy upon us! I have been washed overboard into the sea, and am gotten in again." His speeches made me look forth. And looking towards the sea, and seeing how we were, I turned myself to my cousin, and the rest, and spake these words: "O cousin, it hath pleased God to cast us here between two rocks, the shore not far from us, for I saw the tops of trees when I looked forth." Whereupon the master of the pinnace, looking up at the scuttle-hole of the quarter-deck, went out at it; but I never saw him afterwards. Then he that had been in the sea, went out again by me, and leaped overboard towards the rocks, whom afterwards also I could not see.

Now none were left in the bark, that I knew or saw, but my cousin, his wife and children, myself and mine, and his maid-servant. But my cousin thought I would have fled from him, and said unto me, "O cousin, leave us not, let us die together;" and reached forth his hand unto me. Then I, letting go my son Peter's hand, took him by the hand, and said, "Cousin, I purpose it not. Whither shall I go? I am willing and ready here to die with you and my poor children. God be merciful to us, and receive us to himself;" adding these words: "The Lord is able to help and deliver us." He replied, saying, "Truth, cousin; but what his pleasure is, we know not. I fear we have been too unthankful for former deliverances. But he hath promised to deliver us from sin and condemnation, and to bring us safe to heaven through the all-sufficient satisfaction of Jesus Christ. This therefore we may challenge of Him." To which I replying, said, "That is all the deliverance I now desire and expect."

Which words I had no sooner spoken, but by a mighty wave I was, with the piece of the bark, washed out upon part of the rock, where the wave left me almost drowned. But recovering my feet, I saw above me, on the rock, my daughter Mary. To whom I had no sooner gotten, but my cousin Avery and his eldest son came to us; being all four of us washed out by one and the same wave. We went all into a small hole on the top of the rock, whence we called to those in the pinnace to come unto us, supposing we had been in more safety than they were in. My wife, seeing us there, was crept up into the scuttle of the quarter-deck, to come unto us. But presently came another wave, and dashing the pinnace all to pieces, carried my wife away in the scuttle, as she was, with the greater part of the quarter-deck, unto the shore; where she was cast safely, but her legs were something bruised. And much timber of the vessel being there also cast, she was some time before she could get away, being washed by the waves. All the rest that were in the bark were drowned in the merciless seas.

We four by that wave were clean swept away from off the rock also into the sea; the Lord, in one instant of time, disposing of fifteen souls of us according to his good pleasure and will.

His pleasure and wonderful great mercy to me was thus: Standing on the rock, as before you heard, with my eldest daughter, my cousin, and his eldest son, looking upon and talking to them in the bark, whenas we were by that merciless wave washed off the rock, as before you heard, God, in his mercy, caused me to fall, by the stroke of the wave, flat on my face; for my face was toward the sea. Insomuch, that as I was sliding off the rock into the sea, the Lord directed my toes into a joint in the rock's side, as also the tops of some of my fingers, with my right hand, by means whereof, the wave leaving me, I remained so, hanging on the rock, only my head above the water; when on the left hand I espied a board or plank of the pinnace. And as I was reaching out my left hand to lay hold on it, by another coming over the top of the rock I was washed away from the rock, and by the violence of the waves was driven hither and thither in the seas a great while, and had many dashes against the rocks. At length, past hopes of life, and wearied in body and spirits, I even gave over to nature; and being ready to receive in the waters of death, I lifted up both my heart and hands to the God of heaven. For note, I had my senses remaining perfect with me all the time that I was under and in water, who at that instant lifted my head above the top of the water, that so I might breathe without any hindrance by the waters. I stood bolt upright, as if I had stood upon my feet; but I felt no bottom, nor had any footing for to stand upon but the waters.

While I was thus above the water, I saw by me a piece of the mast, as I suppose, about three foot long, which I labored to catch into my arms. But suddenly I was overwhelmed with water, and driven to and fro again, and at last I felt the ground with my right foot. When immediately, whilst I was thus grovelling on my face, I presently recovering my feet, was in the water up to my breast, and through God's great mercy had my face unto the shore, and not to the sea. I made haste to get out; but was thrown down on my hands with the waves, and so with safety crept to the dry shore. Where, blessing God, I turned about to look for my children and friends, but saw neither, nor any part of the pinnace, where I left them, as I supposed. But I saw my wife about a butt length from me, getting herself forth from amongst the timber of the broken bark; but before I could get unto her, she was gotten to the shore. I was in the water, after I was washed from the rock, before I came to the shore, a quarter of an hour at least.

When we were come each to other, we went and sat under the

bank. But fear of the seas roaring, and our coldness, would not suffer us there to remain. But we went up into the land, and sat us down under a cedar tree, which the wind had thrown down, where we sat about an hour, almost dead with cold. But now the storm was broken up, and the wind was calm; but the sea remained rough and fearful to us. My legs were much bruised, and so was my head. Other hurt had I none, neither had I taken in much quantity of water. But my heart would not let me sit still any longer; but I would go to see if any more were gotten to the land in safety, especially hoping to have met with some of my own poor children; but I could find none, neither dead, nor yet living.

You condole with me my miseries, who now began to consider of my losses. Now came to my remembrance the time and manner how and when I last saw and left my children and friends. One was severed from me sitting on the rock at my feet, the other three in the pinnace; my little babe (ah, poor Peter!) sitting in his sister Edith's arms, who to the uttermost of her power sheltered him from the waters; my poor William standing close unto them, all three of them looking ruefully on me on the rock, their very countenances calling unto me to help them; whom I could not go unto, neither could they come at me, neither would the merciless waves afford me space or time to use any means at all, either to help them or myself. Oh, I yet see their cheeks, poor silent lambs, pleading pity and help at my hands. Then, on the other side, to consider the loss of my dear friends, with the spoiling and loss of all our goods and provisions, myself cast upon an unknown land, in a wilderness, I knew not where, nor how to get thence. Then it came to my mind how I had occasioned the death of my children, who caused them to leave their native land, who might have left them there, yea, and might have sent some of them back again, and cost me nothing. These and such like thoughts do press down my heavy heart very much.

But I must let this pass, and will proceed on in the relation of God's goodness unto me in that desolate island, on which I was cast. I and my wife were almost naked, both of us, and wet and cold even unto death. I found a snapsack cast on the shore, in which I had a steel, and flint, and powder-horn. Going further, I found a drowned goat; then I found a hat, and my son William's coat, both which I put on. My wife found one of her petticoats, which she put on. I found also two cheeses and some butter, driven ashore. Thus the Lord sent us some clothes to put on, and food to sustain our new lives, which we had lately given unto us, and means also to make fire; for in a horn I had some gunpowder, which, to mine own, and since to other men's admiration, was dry. So taking a piece of my wife's

neckcloth, which I dried in the sun, I struck fire, and so dried and warmed our wet bodies; and then skinned the goat, and having found a small brass pot, we boiled some of her. Our drink was brackish water. Bread we had none.

There we remained until the Monday following; when, about three of the clock in the afternoon, in a boat that came that way, we went off that desolate island, which I named after my name, *Thacher's Woe*, and the rock, *Avery his Fall*, to the end that their fall and loss, and mine own, might be had in perpetual remembrance. In the isle lieth buried the body of my cousin's eldest daughter, whom I found dead on the shore. On the Tuesday following, in the afternoon, we arrived at Marblehead.

Richard Mather.

BORN in Lancashire, England, 1596. DIED at Dorchester, Mass., 1669.

A GOOD MAN'S PROMISES TO GOD.

[*Promissiones Deo factæ, per me, Richardum Matherum.* 21 *D.* 6 *M.* 1633. *Given in Cotton Mather's Magnalia.*]

I. TOUCHING THE MINISTRY.

TO be more painful and diligent in private preparations for preaching, by reading, meditation and prayer; and not slightly and superficially.

In and after preaching to strive seriously against inward pride and vainglory.

Before and after preaching, to beg by prayer the Lord's blessing on his word, for the good of souls, more carefully than in time past.

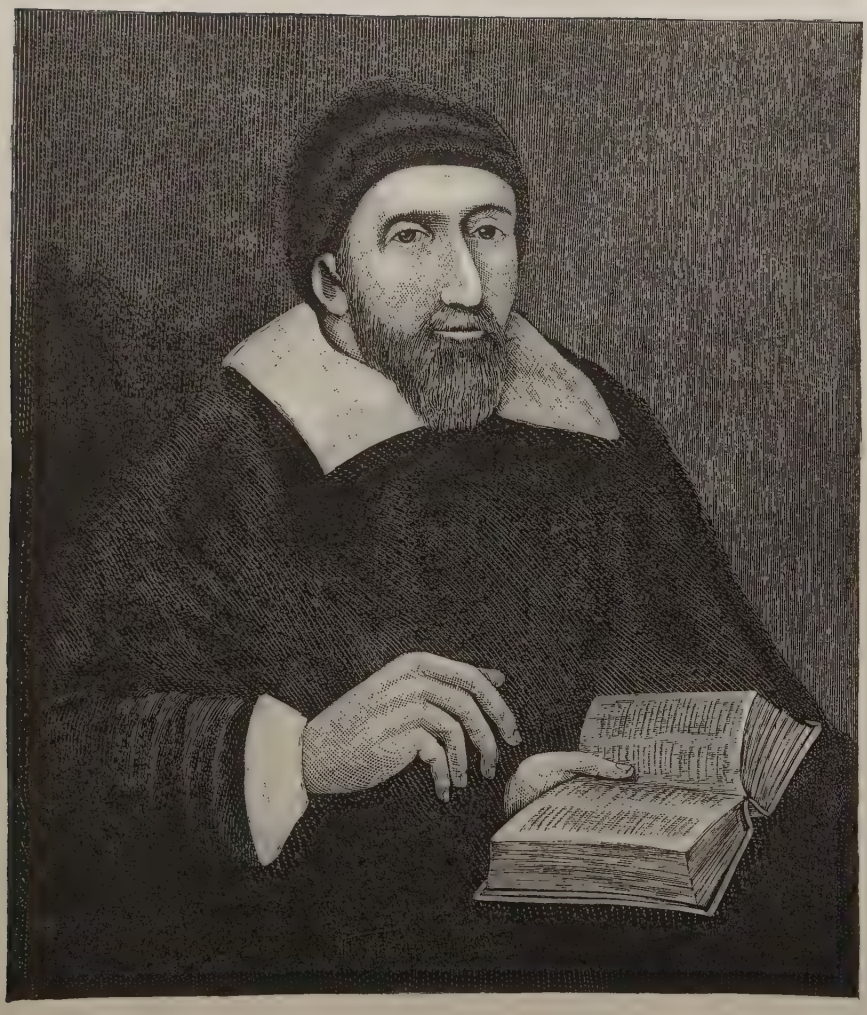
II. TOUCHING THE FAMILY.

To be more frequent in religious discourse and talk.

To be more careful in catechising children. And therefore to bestow some pains this way, every week once; and if by urgent occasions it be sometimes omitted, do it twice as much another week.

III. TOUCHING MYSELF.

To strive more against worldly cares and fears, and against the inordinate love of earthly things.



Yor loving brethren in ye Lord
Richard Mather

To be more frequent and constant in private prayer.

To practise more carefully, and seriously, and frequently the duty of self-examination; especially before the receiving of the Lord's Supper.

To strive against carnal security, and excessive sleeping.

To strive against vain jangling, and misspending precious time.

IV. TOUCHING OTHERS.

To be more careful and zealous, to do good unto their souls, by private exhortations, reproofs, instructions, conferences of God's word.

To be ready to do offices of love and kindness, not only or principally for the praise of men, to purchase commendation for a good neighbor, but rather out of conscience to the commandment of God.

Renewed with a profession of disabilities in myself, for performance, and of desire to fetch power from Christ, thereunto to live upon him, and act from him, in all spiritual duties.—15 D. 6 M. 1636.

RICHARD MATHER.

A CHRONICLE OF WIND AND WAVE.

[*Richard Mather's Journal. Written* 1635.]

THE first Sabbath from Milford Haven, and the sixth on shipboard, a fair cool day; wind northerly, good for our purpose. I was exercised in the forenoon, and Mr. Maude in the afternoon. This evening we saw porpoises about the ship, and some would fain have been striking, but others dissuaded because of the Sabbath, and so it was let alone.

Monday morning, wind still northerly; a fair cool day. This morning about seven of the clock our seamen struck a great porpoise, and hauled it with ropes into the ship; for bigness not much less than an hog of twenty or twenty-five shillings a piece, and not much unlike for shape; with flesh, fat and lean, like in color to the fat and lean of an hog. . . . .

The seeing of him hauled into the ship, like a swine from the sty to the trestle, and opened upon the deck in view of all our company, was wonderful to us all, and marvellous merry sport and delightful to our women and children; so good was our God unto us, in affording us the day before spiritual refreshing to our souls, and this day morning also delightful recreation to our bodies, at the taking and opening of this huge and strange fish. In the afternoon the "Angel

Gabriel" sent their boat to our ship to see how we did, and our master, Captain Taylor, went aboard the "Angel" and took Matthew Michel and me with him. When we came thither we found their passengers that had been sea-sick now well recovered the most of them; and two children that had had the small-pox now well recovered again. We were entreated to stay sup there with their master, etc., and had good cheer, mutton boiled and roasted turkey, good sack, etc. After which loving and courteous entertainment, we took leave and came aboard the "James" again at night.

Tuesday, a fair, hot summer day, but small wind. This day we saw with wonder and delight abundance of porpoises, and likewise some grampuses as big as an ox, puffing and spewing up water as they went by the ship. . . . .

Friday, wind still northerly, but very faint. It was a great foggy mist, and exceeding cold as it had been December. One would have wondered to have seen the innumerable numbers of fowl which we saw swimming on every side of the ship, and mighty fishes rolling and tumbling in the waters, twice as long and big as an ox. In the afternoon we saw mighty whales spewing up water in the air, like the smoke of a chimney, and making the sea about them white and hoary (as it is said, Job xli. 32),—of such incredible bigness that I will never wonder that the body of Jonas could be in the belly of a whale. . . . . On Friday, in the evening, we had an hour or two of marvellous delightful recreation, which also was a feast unto us for many days after, while we fed upon the flesh of three huge porpoises, like to as many fat hogs, struck by our seamen and hauled with ropes into the ship; the flesh of them was good meat with salt, pepper and vinegar; the fat like fat bacon, the lean like bull-beef; and on Saturday evening they took another also. . . .

The Lord had not done with us, nor yet had let us see all his power and goodness which he would have us to take knowledge of. And therefore on Saturday morning about break of day, the Lord sent forth a most terrible storm of rain and easterly wind, whereby we were in as much danger as I think ever people were; for we lost in that morning three great anchors and cables, of which cables, one (having cost fifty pounds) never had been in any water before, two were broken by the violence of the waves, and the third cut by the seamen, in extremity and distress, to save the ship and their and our lives. . . . . The Lord let us see that our sails could not save us neither, no more than our cables and anchors; for by the force of the wind and rain the sails were rent in sunder and split in pieces, as if they had been but rotten rags, so that of the foresail and spritsail there was scarce left as much as an hand-breadth, that was

not rent in pieces, and blown away into the sea. So that at this time all hope that we should be saved in regard to any outward appearance was utterly taken away, and the rather because we seemed to drive with full force of wind and rain directly upon a mighty rock standing out in sight above the water, so that we did but continually wait, when we should hear and feel the doleful rushing and crushing of the ship upon the rock. In this extremity and appearance of death, as distress and distraction would suffer us, we cried unto the Lord, and He was pleased to have compassion and pity upon us; for by his overruling providence and his own immediate good hand, He guided the ship past the rock, assuaged the violence of the sea, and the wind and rain, and gave us a little respite to fit the ship with other sails. . . . . In all this grievous storm, my fear was the less, when I considered the clearness of my calling from God this way, and in some measure (the Lord's holy name be blessed for it) He gave us hearts contented and willing that He should do with us and ours what He pleased, and what might be most for the glory of his name, and in that we rested ourselves. But when news was brought unto us into the gunroom that the danger was past, oh, how our hearts did then relent and melt within us! And how we burst out into tears of joy amongst ourselves, in love unto our gracious God, and admiration of his kindness in granting to his poor servants such an extraordinary and miraculous deliverance! His holy name be blessed forever!

This day we went on towards Cape Anne, as the wind would suffer, and our poor sails further, and came within sight thereof the other morning; which Sabbath, being the thirteenth we kept on shipboard, was a marvellous pleasant day, for a fresh gale of wind and clear sunshine weather. This day we went directly before the wind, and had delight all along the coast as we went, in viewing Cape Anne, the bay of Saugust, the bay of Salem, Marvil head, Pullin point, and other places; and came to anchor at low tide in the evening at Nantascot, in a most pleasant harbor, like to which I had never seen, amongst a great many of islands on every side. I was exercised on shipboard both ends of the day. After the evening's exercise, when it was flowing tide again, we set sail, and came that night to anchor again before Boston, and so rested that night with glad and thankful hearts that God had put an end to a long journey, being a thousand leagues, that is, three thousand miles English, over one of the greatest seas in the world.

Now this our journey, by the goodness of God, was very prosperous unto us every manner of way. First of all, it was very safe and healthful to us. . . . . And a special means of the

healthfulness of the passengers by the blessing of God we all conceived to be much walking in the open air, and the comfortable variety of our food; for seeing we were not tied to the ship's diet, but did victual ourselves, we had no want of good and wholesome beer and bread; and as our land-stomachs grew weary of ship diet, of salt fish and salt beef and the like, we had liberty to change for other food which might sort better with our healths and stomachs; and therefore sometimes we used bacon and buttered pease, sometimes buttered bag-pudding made with currants and raisins, and sometimes drink pottage of beer and oatmeal, and sometimes water pottage well buttered.

And though we had two storms by the way, the one upon Monday the third of August, the other on Saturday the fifteenth of the same, yet our gracious God (blessed and forever blessed be his name) did save us all alive in them both, and speedily assuaged them again. Indeed, the latter of them was very terrible and grievous, insomuch that when we came to land we found many mighty trees rent in pieces in the midst of the bole, and others turned up by the roots by the fierceness thereof; and a bark going from the bay to Marvil head, with planters and seamen therein to the number of about twenty-three, was cast away in the storm, and all the people therein perished except one man and his wife, that were spared to report the news. And the "Angel Gabriel," being then at anchor at Pemmaquid, was burst in pieces and cast away in the storm, and most of the cattle and other goods, with one seaman and three or four passengers, did also perish therein, besides two of the passengers that died by the way, the rest having their lives given them for a prey. But the "James" and we that were therein, with our cattle and goods, were all preserved alive. The Lord's name be blessed forever!

It was very delightful, while we took pleasure and instruction in beholding the works and wonders of the Almighty in the deep; the sea sometimes being rough with mighty mountains and deep valleys, sometimes again plain and smooth like a level meadow, and sometimes painted with variety of yellow weeds. Besides, it was a pleasant thing to behold the variety of fowls and mighty fishes swimming and living in the waters. It was comfortable to us by means of the fellowship of divers godly Christians in the ship, and by means of our constant serving God, morning and evening every day, the daily duties being performed one day by Mr. Maude, another by myself, and the Sabbath exercises divided for the most part equally betwixt us two.

Captain John Underhill.

SERVED in the Pequot War, 1637. DIED about 1672.

OF THE ADVICE OF MISTRESS UNDERHILL.

[*Newes from America or a Late and Experimental Discovery of New-England.* 1638.]

COMING to an anchor before the island, we espied an Indian walking by the shore in a desolate manner, as though he had received intelligence of our coming. Which Indian gave just ground to some to conclude that the body of the people had deserted the island.

But some knowing them for the generality to be a warlike nation, a people that spend most of their time in the study of warlike policy, were not persuaded that they would upon so slender terms forsake the island, but rather suspected they might lie behind a bank, much like the form of a barricado. Myself with others rode with a shallop, made towards the shore, having in the boat a dozen armed soldiers. Drawing near to the place of landing, the number that rose from behind the barricado were between fifty or sixty able fighting men—men as straight as arrows, very tall, and of active bodies—having their arrows notched. They drew near to the water-side, and let fly at the soldiers, as though they had meant to have made an end of us all in a moment. They shot a young gentleman in the neck through a collar, for stiffness as if it had been an oaken board, and entered his flesh a good depth. Myself received an arrow through my coat-sleeve, a second against my helmet on the forehead; so as if God in his providence had not moved the heart of my wife to persuade me to carry it along with me, (which I was unwilling to do,) I had been slain. Give me leave to observe two things from hence: first, when the hour of death is not yet come, you see God useth weak means to keep his purpose unviolated; secondly, let no man despise advice and counsel of his wife, though she be a woman. It were strange to nature to think a man should be bound to fulfil the humor of a woman, what arms he should carry; but you see God will have it so, that a woman should overcome a man. What with Delilah's flattery, and with her mournful tears, they must and will have their desire, when the hand of God goes along in the matter; and this is to accomplish his own will. Therefore let the clamor be quenched I daily hear in my ears, that New-England men usurp over their wives, and keep them in servile subjection. The country is wronged in this matter, as in many things else. Let this precedent satisfy the doubtful, for that comes from the example of a rude soldier. If they be so courteous to their wives, as to take their

advice in warlike matters, how much more kind is the tender, affectionate husband to honor his wife as the weaker vessel! Yet mistake not. I say not that they are bound to call their wives in council, though they are bound to take their private advice (so far as they see it make for their advantage and their good). Instance Abraham. But to the matter: The arrows flying thick about us, we made haste to the shore; but the surf of the sea being great, hindered us, so as we could scarce discharge a musket, but were forced to make haste to land. Drawing near the shore through the strength of wind, and the hollowness of the sea, we durst not adventure to run ashore, but were forced to wade up to the middle; but once having got up off our legs, we gave fire upon them. They finding our bullets to outreach their arrows, they fled before us. In the meanwhile Colonel Hindecot made to the shore, and some of this number also repulsed him at his landing, but hurt none. We thought they would stand it out with us, but they perceiving we were in earnest, fled, and left their wigwams, or houses, and provision to the use of our soldiers. Having set forth our sentinels, and laid out our pardues, we betook ourselves to the guard, expecting hourly they would fall upon us; but they observed the old rule, "'T is good sleeping in a whole skin," and left us free from an alarm.

THE END OF A MAJESTICAL EMBASSY.

[*From the Same.*]

THE Pequeats having slain one Captain Norton, and Captain Stone, with seven more of their company, order was given us to visit them, sailing along the Nahanticot shore with five vessels. The Indians, spying of us, came running in multitudes along the water-side, crying, "What cheer, Englishmen, what cheer? What do you come for?" They, not thinking we intended war, went on cheerfully until they came to Pequeat river. We, thinking it the best way, did forbear to answer them; first, that we might the better be able to run through the work; secondly, that by delaying of them, we might drive them in security, to the end we might have the more advantage of them. But they, seeing we would make no answer, kept on their course, and cried, "What, Englishmen, what cheer, what cheer, are you hoggery, will you cram us?" That is, "Are you angry, will you kill us, and do you come to fight?" That night the Nahanticot Indians and the Pequeats made fires on both sides of the river, fearing we would land in

the night. They made most doleful and woful cries all the night, (so that we could scarce rest,) hallooing one to another, and giving the word from place to place, to gather their forces together, fearing the English were come to war against them.

The next morning they sent early aboard an ambassador, a grave senior, a man of good understanding, portly carriage, grave and majestical in his expressions. He demanded of us what the end of our coming was. To which we answered, that the governors of the Bay sent us to demand the heads of those persons that had slain Captain Norton and Captain Stone, and the rest of their company, and that it was not the custom of the English to suffer murderers to live; and therefore, if they desired their own peace and welfare, they will peaceably answer our expectation, and give us the heads of the murderers.

They being a witty and ingenious nation, their ambassador labored to excuse the matter, and answered: "We know not that any of ours have slain any English. True it is," saith he, "we have slain such a number of men; but consider the ground of it. Not long before the coming of these English into the river, there was a certain vessel that came to us in way of trade. We used them well, and traded with them, and took them to be such as would not wrong us in the least matter. But our sachem or prince coming aboard, they laid a plot how they might destroy him; which plot discovereth itself by the event, as followeth: They keeping their boat aboard, and not desirous of our company, gave us leave to stand hallooing ashore, that they might work their mischievous plot. But as we stood they called to us, and demanded of us a bushel of wampam-peke, which is their money. This they demanded for his ransom. This peal did ring terribly in our ears, to demand so much for the life of our prince, whom we thought was in the hands of honest men, and we had never wronged them. But we saw there was no remedy; their expectation must be granted, or else they would not send him ashore, which they promised they would do if we would answer their desires. We sent them so much aboard, according to demand, and they, according to their promise, sent him ashore, but first slew him. This much exasperated our spirits, and made us vow a revenge. Suddenly after came these captains with a vessel into the river, and pretended to trade with us, as the former did. We did not discountenance them for the present, but took our opportunity and came aboard." The sachem's son succeeding his father, was the man that came into the cabin of Captain Stone, and Captain Stone having drunk more than did him good, fell backwards on the bed asleep. The sagamore took his opportunity, and having a little hatchet under his garment, therewith knocked him in the head. Some being upon the deck and others under, suspected some such thing; for

the rest of the Indians that were aboard had orders to proceed against the rest at one time; but the English, spying treachery, run immediately into the cook-room, and, with a fire-brand, had thought to have blown up the Indians by setting fire to the powder. These devil's instruments spying this plot of the English, leaped overboard as the powder was a-firing, and saved themselves; but all the English were blown up. This was the manner of their bloody action. Saith the ambassador to us, "Could ye blame us for revenging so cruel a murder? for we distinguished not between the Dutch and English, but took them to be one nation, and therefore we do not conceive that we wronged you, for they slew our king; and thinking these captains to be of the same nation and people as those that slew him, made us set upon this course of revenge."

Our answer was: "They were able to distinguish between Dutch and English, having had sufficient experience of both nations; and therefore, seeing you have slain the king of England's subjects, we come to demand an account of their blood, for we ourselves are liable to account for them."

The answer of the ambassador was: "We know no difference between the Dutch and the English; they are both strangers to us; we took them to be all one; therefore we crave pardon; we have not wilfully wronged the English."

"This excuse will not serve our turns, for we have sufficient testimony that you know the English from the Dutch. We must have the heads of those persons that have slain ours, or else we will fight with you."

He answered: "Understanding the ground of your coming, I will entreat you to give me liberty to go ashore, and I shall inform the body of the people what your intent and resolution is; and if you will stay aboard, I will bring you a sudden answer."

We did grant him liberty to get ashore, and ourselves followed suddenly after before the war was proclaimed. He seeing us land our forces, came with a message to entreat us to come no nearer, but stand in a valley, which had between us and them an ascent, that took our sight from them; but they might see us to hurt us, to our prejudice. Thus, from the first begining to the end of the action, they carried themselves very subtilely; but we, not willing to be at their direction, marched up to the ascent, having set our men in battalia. He came and told us he had inquired for the sachem, that we might come to a parley; but neither of both of the princes were at home; they were gone to Long Island.

Our reply was: "We must not be put off thus; we know the sachem is in the plantation, and therefore bring him to us, that we may

speak with him, or else we will beat up the drum, and march through the country and spoil your corn."

His answer: "If you will but stay a little while, I will step to the plantation and seek for them."

We gave them leave to take their own course, and used as much patience as ever men might, considering the gross abuse they offered us, holding us above an hour in vain hopes. They sent an Indian to tell us that Mommenoteck was found, and would appear before us suddenly. This brought us to a new stand the space of an hour more. There came a third Indian persuading us to have a little further patience, and he would not tarry, for he had assembled the body of the Pequeats together, to know who the parties were that had slain these Englishmen. But seeing that they did in this interim convey away their wives and children, and bury their chiefest goods, we perceived at length they would fly from us; but we were patient and bore with them, in expectation to have the greater blow upon them. The last messenger brought us this intelligence from the sachem, that if we would but lay down our arms, and approach about thirty paces from them, and meet the heathen prince, he would cause his men to do the like, and then we shall come to a parley.

But we seeing their drift was to get our arms, we rather chose to beat up the drum and bid them battle. Marching into a champaign field, we displayed our colors; but none would come near us, but, standing remotely off, did laugh at us for our patience. We suddenly set upon our march, and gave fire to as many as we could come near, firing their wigwams, spoiling their corn, and many other necessaries that they had buried in the ground we raked up, which the soldiers had for booty. Thus we spent the day burning and spoiling the country. Towards night embarked ourselves. The next morning, landing on the Nahanticot shore, where we were served in like nature, no Indians would come near us, but run from us, as the deer from the dogs. But having burnt and spoiled what we could light on, we embarked our men and set sail for the Bay. Having ended this exploit, came off, having one man wounded in the leg; but certain numbers of theirs slain, and many wounded.

This was the substance of the first year's service.

Major John Mason.

BORN in England, 1600. DIED at Norwich, Conn., 1672.

THE TAKING OF THE FORT AT MYSTIC.

[*A Brief History of the Pequot War. Written about* 1670.]

OUR council, all of them except the captain, were at a stand, and could not judge it meet to sail to Narragansett: and indeed there was a very strong ground for it, our commission limiting us to land our men in Pequot River; we had also the same order by a letter of instruction sent us to Saybrook.

But Captain Mason apprehending an exceeding great hazard in so doing, for the reasons forementioned, as also some other which I shall forbear to trouble you with, did therefore earnestly desire Mr. Stone that he would commend our condition to the Lord, that night, to direct how and in what manner we should demean ourselves in that respect, he being our chaplain and lying aboard our pink, the captain on shore. In the morning very early Mr. Stone came ashore to the captain's chamber, and told him, he had done as he had desired, and was fully satisfied to sail for Narragansett. Our council was then called, and the several reasons alleged. In fine, we all agreed with one accord to sail for Narragansett, which the next morning we put in execution.

I declare not this to encourage any soldiers to act beyond their commission, or contrary to it; for in so doing they run a double hazard. There was a great commander in Belgia who did the states great service in taking a city; but by going beyond his commission lost his life. His name was Grubbendunk. But if a war be managed duly by judgment and discretion as is requisite, the shows are many times contrary to what they seem to pursue. Whereof the more an enterprise is dissembled and kept secret, the more facile to put in execution; as the proverb, "The farthest way about is sometimes the nearest way home." I shall make bold to present this as my present thoughts in this case: In matters of war, those who are both able and faithful should be improved; and then bind them not up into too narrow a compass. For it is not possible for the wisest and ablest senator to foresee all accidents and occurrences that fall out in the management and pursuit of a war; nay, although possibly he might be trained up in military affairs; and truly much less can he have any great knowledge who hath had but little experience therein. What shall I say? God led his people through many difficulties and turnings; yet by more than an ordinary hand of providence he brought them to Canaan at last.

On Friday morning we set sail for Narragansett Bay, and on Saturday toward evening we arrived at our desired port, there we kept the Sabbath.

On the Monday the wind blew so hard at north-west that we could not go on shore; as also on the Tuesday until sunset; at which time Captain Mason landed and marched up to the place of the chief sachem's residence; who told the sachem, "That we had not an opportunity to acquaint him with our coming armed in his country sooner; yet not doubting but it would be well accepted by him, there being love betwixt himself and us; well knowing also that the Pequots and themselves were enemies, and that he could not be unacquainted with those intolerable wrongs and injuries these Pequots had lately done unto the English; and that we were now come, God assisting, to avenge ourselves upon them; and that we did only desire free passage through his country." Who returned us this answer, "That he did accept of our coming, and did also approve of our design; only he thought our numbers were too weak to deal with the enemy, who were (as he said) very great captains and men skilful in war." Thus he spake somewhat slighting of us.

On the Wednesday morning, we marched from thence to a place called Nayanticke, it being about eighteen or twenty miles distant, where another of those Narragansett sachems lived in a fort; it being a frontier to the Pequots. They carried very proudly towards us; not permitting any of us to come into their fort.

We beholding their carriage and the falsehood of Indians, and fearing lest they might discover us to the enemy, especially they having many times some of their near relations among their greatest foes; we therefore caused a strong guard to be set about their fort, giving charge that no Indian should be suffered to pass in or out. We also informed the Indians, that none of them should stir out of the fort upon peril of their lives: so as they would not suffer any of us to come into their fort, so we would not suffer any of them to go out of the fort.

There we quartered that night, the Indians not offering to stir out all the while.

In the morning there came to us several of Miantomo's his men, who told us, they were come to assist us in our expedition, which encouraged divers Indians of that place to engage also; who suddenly gathering into a ring, one by one, making solemn protestations how gallantly they would demean themselves, and how many men they would kill.

On the Thursday about eight of the clock in the morning, we marched thence towards Pequot, with about five hundred Indians; but through the heat of the weather and want of provisions some of our

men fainted. And having marched about twelve miles, we came to Pawcatuck River, at a ford where our Indians told us the Pequots did usually fish; there making a halt, we stayed some small time, the Narragansett Indians manifesting great fear, insomuch that many of them returned, although they had frequently despised us, saying that we durst not look upon a Pequot, but themselves would perform great things; though we had often told them that we came on purpose and were resolved, God assisting, to see the Pequots, and to fight with them, before we returned, though we perished. I then enquired of Onkos, what he thought the Indians would do? Who said, The Narragansetts would all leave us, but as for himself he would never leave us: and so it proved. For which expressions and some other speeches of his, I shall never forget him. Indeed he was a great friend, and did great service.

And after we had refreshed ourselves with our mean commons, we marched about three miles, and came to a field which had lately been planted with Indian corn. There we made another halt, and called our council, supposing we drew near to the enemy: and being informed by the Indians that the enemy had two forts almost impregnable; but we were not at all discouraged, but rather animated, insomuch that we were resolved to assault both their forts at once. But understanding that one of them was so remote that we could not come up with it before midnight, though we marched hard; whereat we were much grieved, chiefly because the greatest and bloodiest sachem there resided, whose name was Sassacous; we were then constrained, being exceedingly spent in our march with extreme heat and want of necessaries, to accept of the nearest.

We then marching on in a silent manner, the Indians that remained fell all into the rear, who formerly kept the van (being possessed with great fear); we continued our march till about one hour in the night: and coming to a little swamp between two hills, there we pitched our little camp; much wearied with hard travel, keeping great silence, supposing we were very near the fort; as our Indians informed us; which proved otherwise. The rocks were our pillows; yet rest was pleasant. The night proved comfortable, being clear and moonlight. We appointed our guards and placed our sentinels at some distance; who heard the enemy singing at the fort, who continued that strain until midnight, with great insulting and rejoicing, as we were afterwards informed. They seeing our pinnaces sail by them some days before, concluded we were afraid of them and durst not come near them; the burden of their song tending to that purpose.

In the morning, we awaking and seeing it very light, supposing it had been day, and so we might have lost our opportunity, having pur-

posed to make our assault before day, roused the men with all expedition, and briefly commended ourselves and design to God, thinking immediately to go to the assault; the Indians showing us a path, told us that it led directly to the fort. We held on our march about two miles, wondering that we came not to the fort, and fearing we might be deluded. But seeing corn newly planted at the foot of a great hill, supposing the fort was not far off, a champaign country being round about us, then making a stand, gave the word for some of the Indians to come up. At length Onkos and one Wequash appeared. We demanded of them, Where was the fort? They answered, On the top of that hill. Then we demanded, Where were the rest of the Indians? They answered, Behind, exceedingly afraid. We wished them to tell the rest of their fellows, That they should by no means fly, but stand at what distance they pleased, and see whether Englishmen would now fight or not. Then Captain Underhill came up, who marched in the rear; and commending ourselves to God, divided our men, there being two entrances into the fort, intending to enter both at once; Captain Mason leading up to that on the north-east side, who approaching within one rod, heard a dog bark and an Indian crying "Owanux! Owanux!" which is "Englishmen! Englishmen!" We called up our forces with all expedition, gave fire upon them through the palisado; the Indians being in a dead, indeed their last sleep. Then we wheeling off fell upon the main entrance, which was blocked up with bushes about breast high, over which the captain passed, intending to make good the entrance, encouraging the rest to follow. Lieutenant Seeley endeavored to enter; but being somewhat cumbered, stepped back and pulled out the bushes and so entered, and with him about sixteen men. We had formerly concluded to destroy them by the sword and save the plunder.

Whereupon Captain Mason seeing no Indians, entered a wigwam; where he was beset with many Indians, waiting all opportunities to lay hands on him, but could not prevail. At length William Heydon espying the breach in the wigwam, supposing some English might be there, entered; but in his entrance fell over a dead Indian; but speedily recovering himself, the Indians some fled, others crept under their beds. The captain going out of the wigwam saw many Indians in the lane or street; he making towards them, they fled, were pursued to the end of the lane, where they were met by Edward Pattison, Thomas Barber, with some others; where seven of them were slain, as they said. The captain facing about, marched a slow pace up the lane he came down, perceiving himself very much out of breath; and coming to the other end near the place where he first entered, saw two soldiers standing close to the palisado with their swords pointed

to the ground. The captain told them that we should never kill them after that manner. The captain also said, We must burn them; and immediately stepping into the wigwam where he had been before, brought out a fire-brand, and putting it into the mats with which they were covered, set the wigwams on fire. Lieutenant Thomas Bull and Nicholas Omsted beholding, came up; and when it was thoroughly kindled, the Indians ran as men most dreadfully amazed.

And indeed such a dreadful terror did the Almighty let fall upon their spirits, that they would fly from us and run into the very flames, where many of them perished. And when the fort was thoroughly fired, command was given, that all should fall off and surround the fort; which was readily attended by all; only one Arthur Smith being so wounded that he could not move out of the place, who was happily espied by Lieutenant Bull, and by him rescued.

The fire was kindled on the north-east side to windward; which did swiftly overrun the fort, to the extreme amazement of the enemy, and great rejoicing of ourselves. Some of them climbing to the top of the palisado; others of them running into the very flames; many of them gathering to windward, lay pelting at us with their arrows; and we repaid them with our small shot. Others of the stoutest issued forth, as we did guess, to the number of forty, who perished by the sword.

What I have formerly said, is according to my own knowledge, there being sufficient living testimony to every particular.

But in reference to Captain Underhill and his parties acting in this assault, I can only intimate as we were informed by some of themselves immediately after the fight. Thus they marching up to the entrance on the south-west side, there made some pause; a valiant, resolute gentleman, one Mr. Hedge, stepping towards the gate, saying, "If we may not enter, wherefore came we here?" and immediately endeavored to enter; but was opposed by a sturdy Indian which did impede his entrance; but the Indian being slain by himself and Sergeant Davis, Mr. Hedge entered the fort with some others; but the fort being on fire, the smoke and flames were so violent that they were constrained to desert the fort.

Thus were they now at their wits' end, who not many hours before exalted themselves in their great pride, threatening and resolving the utter ruin and destruction of all the English, exulting and rejoicing with songs and dances. But God was above them, who laughed his enemies and the enemies of his people to scorn, making them as a fiery oven. Thus were the stout-hearted spoiled, having slept their last sleep, and none of their men could find their hands. Thus did the Lord judge among the heathen, filling the place with dead bodies!

And here we may see the just judgment of God, in sending even the very night before this assault, one hundred and fifty men from their other fort, to join with them of that place, who were designed as some of themselves reported to go forth against the English, at that very instant when this heavy stroke came upon them, where they perished with their fellows. So that the mischief they intended to us, came upon their own pate. They were taken in their own snare, and we through mercy escaped. And thus in little more than one hour's space was their impregnable fort with themselves utterly destroyed, to the number of six or seven hundred, as some of themselves confessed. There were only seven taken captive, and about seven escaped.

Of the English, there were two slain outright, and about twenty wounded. Some fainted by reason of the sharpness of the weather, it being a cool morning, and the want of such comforts and necessaries as were needful in such a case; especially our chirurgeon was much wanting, whom we left with our barks in Narragansett Bay, who had order there to remain until the night before our intended assault.

And thereupon grew many difficulties: Our provision and munition near spent; we in the enemy's country, who did far exceed us in number, being much enraged; all our Indians, except Onkos, deserting us; our pinnaces at a great distance from us, and when they would come we were uncertain.

But as we were consulting what course to take, it pleased God to discover our vessels to us before a fair gale of wind, sailing into Pequot harbor, to our great rejoicing.

THE BLOODY HARVEST OF PAWCATUCK.

[*From the Same.*]

THE Pequots now became a prey to all Indians. Happy were they that could bring in their heads to the English; of which there came almost daily to Windsor, or Hartford. But the Pequots growing weary hereof, sent some of the chief that survived to mediate with the English; offering that if they might but enjoy their lives, they would become the English's vassals, to dispose of them as they pleased. Which was granted them. Whereupon Onkos and Myantonimo were sent for, who with the Pequots met at Hartford. The Pequots being demanded, how many of them were then living, answered, about one hundred and eighty, or two hundred. There were then

given to Onkos, Sachem of Moheag, eighty; to Myantonimo, Sachem of Narragansett, eighty; and to Nynigrett, twenty, when he should satisfy for a mare of Edward Pomroye's killed by his men. The Pequots were then bound by covenant: That none should inhabit their native country, nor should any of them be called Pequots any more, but Moheags and Narragansetts forever. Shortly after, about forty of them went to Moheag; others went to Long Island; the rest settled at Pawcatuck, a place in Pequot country, contrary to their late covenant and agreement with the English.

Which Connecticut taking into consideration, and well weighing the several inconveniences that might ensue; for the prevention whereof, they sent out forty men under the command of Captain John Mason, to supplant them, by burning their wigwams, and bringing away their corn, except they would desert the place; Onkos with about one hundred of his men in twenty canoes, going also to assist in the service. As we sailed into Pawcatuck Bay we met with three of those Indians, whom we sent to inform the rest with the end of our coming, and also that we desired to speak with some of them. They promised speedily to return us an answer, but never came to us more.

We run our vessel up into a small river, and by reason of flats were forced to land on the west side; their wigwams being on the east just opposite, where we could see the Indians running up and down jeering of us. But we meeting with a narrow place in the river between two rocks, drew up our Indians' canoes, and got suddenly over sooner than we were expected or desired; marching immediately up to their wigwams; the Indians being all fled, except some old people that could not.

We were so suddenly upon them that they had not time to convey away their goods. We viewed their corn, whereof there was plenty, it being their time of harvest; and coming down to the water-side to our pinnace with half of Onkos's his men, the rest being plundering the wigwams, we looking towards a hill not far remote, we espied about sixty Indians running towards us; we supposing they were our absent men, the Moheags that were with us not speaking one word, nor moving towards them until the other came within thirty or forty paces of them. Then they ran and met them and fell on pell-mell striking and cutting with bows, hatchets, knives, etc., after their feeble manner. Indeed it did hardly deserve the name of fighting. We then endeavored to get between them and the woods, that so we might prevent their flying; which they perceiving, endeavored speedily to get off under the beach: we made no shot at them, nor any hostile attempt upon them. Only seven of them who were Nynigrett's men, were taken. Some of them growing very outrageous, whom we intended

to have made shorter by the head, and being about to put it in execution, one Otash, a sachem of Narragansett, brother to Myantonimo, stepping forth, told the captain, They were his brother's men, and that he was a friend to the English, and if he would spare their lives we should have as many murderers' heads in lieu of them which should be delivered to the English. We considering that there was no blood shed as yet, and that it tended to peace and mercy, granted his desire; and so delivered them to Onkos to secure them until his engagement was performed, because our prison had been very much pestered with such creatures.

We then drew our bark into a creek, the better to defend her; for there were many hundreds, within five miles, waiting upon us. There we quartered that night. In the morning as soon as it was light there appeared in arms at least three hundred Indians on the other side the creek. Upon which we stood to our arms; which they perceiving, some of them fled, others crept behind the rocks and trees, not one of them to be seen. We then called to them, saying, We desired to speak with them, and that we would down our arms for that end. Whereupon they stood up. We then informed them, That the Pequots had violated their promise with the English, in that they were not there to inhabit, and that we were sent to supplant them. They answered, saying, The Pequots were good men, their friends, and they would fight for them and protect them. At which we were somewhat moved, and told them, It was not far to the head of the creek where we would meet them, and then they might try what they could do in that respect.

They then replied, That they would not fight with Englishmen, for they were Spirits, but would fight with Onkos. We replied, That we thought it was too early for them to fight, but they might take their opportunity; we should be burning wigwams, and carrying corn aboard all that day. And presently beating up our drum, we fired the wigwams in their view. And as we marched, there were two Indians standing upon a hill jeering and reviling of us. Mr. Thomas Stanton, our interpreter, marching at liberty, desired to make a shot at them; the captain demanding of the Indians, What they were? who said, They were murderers; then the said Stanton having leave, let fly, shot one of them through both his thighs; which was to our wonderment, it being at such a vast distance.

We then loaded our bark with corn; and our Indians their canoes, and thirty more which we had taken, with kettles, trays, mats, and other Indian luggage. That night we went all aboard, and set sail homeward. It pleased God in a short time to bring us all in safety to the place of our abode; although we struck and stuck upon a rock.

The way and manner how God dealt with us in our delivery was very remarkable; the story would be somewhat long to trouble you with at this time, and therefore I shall forbear.

Thus we may see how the face of God is set against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth. Our tongue shall talk of thy righteousness all the day long; for they are confounded, they are brought to shame that sought our hurt! Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who only doth wondrous things; and blessed be his holy name forever! Let the whole earth be filled with his glory! Thus the Lord was pleased to smite our enemies in the hinder parts, and to give us their land for an inheritance. Who remembered us in our low estate, and redeemed us out of our enemies' hands. Let us therefore praise the Lord for his goodness and his wonderful works to the children of men!

A REMEMBRANCE OF SPECIAL PROVIDENCES.

[*From the Same.*]

OUR commons were very short, there being a general scarcity throughout the colony of all sorts of provision, it being upon our first arrival at the place. We had but one pint of strong liquors among us in our whole march, but what the wilderness afforded (the bottle of liquor being in my hand); and when it was empty, the very smelling to the bottle would presently recover such as fainted away, which happened by the extremity of the heat. And thus we marched on in an uncouth and unknown path to the English, though much frequented by Indians. And was not the finger of God in all this, by his special providence to lead us along in the way we should go? Nay, though we knew not where their forts were, how far it was to them, nor the way that led to them, but by what we had from our Indian guides; whom we could not confide in, but looked at them as uncertain. And yet notwithstanding all our doubts, we should be brought on the very fittest season; nay, and which is yet more, that we should be carried in our march among a treacherous and perfidious people, yea, in our lodgement so near the enemy, all night in so populous a country, and not the least notice of us, seemeth somewhat strange, and more than ordinary. Nay, that we should come to their very doors. What shall I say? God was pleased to hide us in the hollow of his hand. I still remember a speech of Mr. Hooker at our

going aboard: That they should be bread for us. And thus when the Lord turned the captivity of his people, and turned the wheel upon their enemies, we were like men in a dream; then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongues with singing; thus we may say the Lord hath done great things for us among the heathen, whereof we are glad. Praise ye the Lord!

I shall mention two or three special providences that God was pleased to vouchsafe to particular men; viz., two men being one man's servants, namely, John Dier and Thomas Stiles, were both of them shot in the knots of their handkerchiefs, being about their necks, and received no hurt. Lieutenant Seeley was shot in the eyebrow with a flat-headed arrow, the point turning downwards: I pulled it out myself. Lieutenant Bull had an arrow shot into a hard piece of cheese, having no other defence. Which may verify the old saying, "A little armor would serve if a man knew where to place it." Many such providences happened; some respecting myself; but since there is none that witness to them, I shall forbear to mention them.

The year ensuing, the colony being in extreme want of provision, many giving twelve shillings for one bushel of Indian corn; the court of Connecticut employing Captain Mason, Mr. William Wadsworth and Deacon Stebbin, to try what providence would afford, for their relief in this great strait. Who notwithstanding some discouragement they met with from some English, went to a place called Pocomtuck, where they procured so much corn at reasonable rates, that the Indians brought down to Hartford and Windsor fifty canoes laden with corn at one time. Never was the like known to this day! So although the Lord was pleased to show his people hard things; yet did he execute judgment for the oppressed, and gave food to the hungry. Oh, let us meditate on the great works of God! ascribing all blessing and praise to his great name, for all his great goodness and salvation! Amen, Amen.

Thomas Hooker.

BORN in Leicestershire, England, 1586. DIED at Hartford, Conn., 1647.

THE WEAK MINISTER AND THE IMPENITENT HEARER.

[*The Soule's Implantation.* 1637.]

TOO many of God's ministers have weak hearts; little affection have they to the people of God, little labor is there in their hearts

to pluck men unto heaven. They do not strive with souls as they ought to do, they do not struggle with the hearts of men; if they have their profits and liberties they care not. And hence it is that little good is done by them, they do so marvellously fail in the former particulars. Where is that particular and courageous applying of the truth to men's souls and consciences? Alas, what coverings they have! Friends, they must not be displeased; and great men, they are afraid they should be offended. It is pity but their tongues should cleave to the roofs of their mouths, if they speak any thing the less for these base and by-respects than God reveals and requireth of them. Their flighting and passing by is the reason that men profit so little by their ministry. They are ashamed to tell, and afraid to speak to the hearts of men, and reprove them for those sins which they are not ashamed or afraid to do in the face of the world. They convince not so soundly as they ought to do, they do not gather in those arguments which may make those truths undeniable, and men's consciences at a stand. If they can but carelessly and idly talk out the hour, what becomes of the seed, what becomes of the word, what becomes of men's souls, they care not.

Again, they want that holy, spiritual affection which they should deliver God's word withal unto his people. This is the sum of all, Ministers they do not deliver the word with a heavenly, hearty, and violent affection; they do not speak out of the abundance of their affections. If they would speak against sin with a holy indignation it would make men stand in awe of sin. They talk of it hourly, and say, "It is not good to profane God's Name and his Sabbaths and to live an ungodly life:" but they do not speak from their hearts in this kind. A sturdy messenger, if he come to a man's house to speak with him, he will not be put off, he will take no denial, but he will speak with him if it be possible before he goes away;—but send a child of a message to a man, if a servant do but tell him his master is not at leisure, or that he may speak with him another time, he will easily be put off and go away before he hath delivered his message. So it is with a minister that performs his office with a hearty affection. For when a man speaks from his heart (in this case) he will have no answer, he will not be dallied withal, he will take no denial but will have that he came for. If a man should say he is not at leisure to speak with him or to hear him now, he will speak with him another time; he will not go away with this answer, but he will tell him "I came to speak with your hearts, and I will speak with your hearts." He will say to the people:

"Tell your hearts, you that love the world, and the profits and pleasures thereof (and my heart tells you), did you know the good

things that are in Christ Jesus, did you but know what a happy thing it is to have assurance of God's mercy, you would never love sin, or delight in wickedness as you have done heretofore. I came to speak with your hearts, and will speak with them before we part. Grieve no more for the things of this world, but for your sins. The day is coming when the heavens shall melt with fire, and ye shall hear the voice of the Archangel, saying: 'Arise ye dead, and appear before the judgment seat of God!' where you shall hear that woful and bitter sentence, 'Away from me all ye workers of iniquity, I know you not!' Oh! this may be one day your case. And we that are ministers of God do mourn for you, and tell your souls we must have sorrow from you. We came to speak to your hearts, we came for hearts, and we will have hearts before we go." And this is the first use of the point, to discover unto us what is the reason that the ministers of God do so little good in their places; it is because this power is wanting in them.

The second use discovereth unto us the fearful estate and miserable condition of those that have lived a long time under a powerful ministry, and yet have not found their souls fitted and prepared for the Lord by the same; it is a fearful suspicion that God will never confer any good to that soul. He that hath lived under a powerful ministry many years, and yet is not wrought upon and framed to the truth of God, it can not certainly be concluded, but it is greatly to be suspected that the means will never profit that man. Look as it is with the master-carpenter, when he hath turned every piece of timber, and taken what he will for his turn, he tells them that be under him, "Let this be hewed, and this be framed and made fit for the building;" afterwards he finds one piece broken, and another cracked, and another knotty. "Why what," saith he, "here is no squaring of it; these pieces are fit for nothing but for the burning, they are fit for no place in the building." Oh! take heed, when God's ministers have been cutting and hewing, now exhorting, now persuading, now cutting the heart with reproofs, and yet finds here a cracked heart, and there a stubborn soul that will not be squared to the Word, lest then the Lord should say, "These will never be fitted and prepared for me, they are fit for nothing but for the fire." Oh! take heed of it, he that will not be fitted for grace shall be made a fire-brand in hell forever; and therefore go home you that have lived under a powerful ministry, and are not yet prepared, go home, I say, and reason with your own souls and plead with your own hearts, and say:

"Lord, why am not I yet humbled and prepared? Shall I stand at this hacking and hewing, and never be framed? Such a man, and such a man, that was stubborn, was wrought upon, the Lord hath brought him upon his knees. There was another drunkard so wicked and so

profane, that all the world gave him for lost many days agone, and yet the Lord hath brought him home, and he is become a broken-hearted Christian. Nay, if the devil himself had had those means that I have had and any hope of mercy, he would have been bettered by it; those reproofs, those instructions, those admonitions, which I have had would have done the devil himself good. But what shall I think that am not fitted and prepared for Christ by this great means?" Alas! thou mayest justly suspect that God never intends good to thy soul; it is no absolute conclusion, but it is a great suspicion, that those which have lived under a powerful ministry half a dozen years or longer and have got no good, nor profited under the same, it is a shrewd suspicion, I say, that God will send them down to hell. Therefore suspect thy own soul, and say:

"Lord, will exhortations ever prevail? Will instructions do me any good? Will terrors and reproofs ever strike my heart? Why I have heard sermons that would have shaken the very stones I trod upon, that would have moved the very seat I sat upon; the very fire of hell hath flashed in my face, I have seen even the plagues of hell! and if terrors can do me good, why not then those exhortations, instructions, admonitions, and reproofs that I have often had? I have had as powerful means as may be, which yet never did me any good." The Lord be merciful to such a poor soul! The Lord turn the heart of such a poor sinner, that he may lay hold of mercy in due time!

THE SINNER AT THE KING'S COURT.

[*From the Same.*]

IT is with a poor humbled sinner as it is with a malefactor or traitor, who is pursued with a Pursuivant, that hath laid wait for him as far as the sea, and at last he is resolved to yield and come in. He hath offended his Sovereign, and he is driven to a stand, he cannot procure a pardon, nor he cannot escape; therefore he is content to come in, and yield his neck to the block, that as he hath offended, so he may receive his punishment accordingly. Now as he is going he hears an inkling that there is some hope of a pardon, and thereupon the poor man begins to rejoice, in hope that he may be pardoned; and then heareth other news, which saith, if he will but be humbled before his Majesty, and come to the Court, and importune him for pardon, it is likely that he may be pardoned, nay, it shall be so.

"Marry," saith he, "that I will with all my heart;" and so he sets forward and comes to the Court; his desire carries him thither. Thus it is, I say, with a poor sinner; he is brought home to the Court, and about the Court he attends, and asks of every man that comes forth, "Did you not hear the King speak of me?" and, "What do you think of my case?"

At last some of the bed-chamber say to him, "The King heareth that you are mightily humbled, and earnestly desire his favor, you shall hear more from him erelong." At last the King himself looks out at a window, and saith:

"Is this the Traitor?"

"Yes, this is he that hath been humbled, and lies at your mercy." Then the King calls out, and saith:

"His pardon is drawing, and it is coming by and by," and so the King smiles on him. Oh! then his heart leaps in his breast, and he saith:

"The Lord preserve your grace! I think there was never such a merciful Prince known in the world!"

This is the love and delight that is stirred up. Now when the pardon is sealed and granted, then you shall see the work of faith. A poor humbled sinner is this malefactor, that hath committed high treason against the God of heaven (for every sinner hath rebelled against the God of grace). The stubborn rebellious heart hath stood out against the Lord God, which is high treason, though you little think it, when you go on wilfully and say, "This man shall not rule over me." Well, be humbled now in time, while you have mercy offered: for if you be not humbled, the Lord shall send a Jailer to take and throw you down to Hell, and therefore you had better hear of it now than hereafter, when there is no remedy. Perhaps the Lord now pursueth a man with his heavy indignation, and lets fly at him, and sets conscience on work to follow him, and to dog him, saying, "This is thy sin, and Hell is thy portion; to Hell thou must." Now the soul being beset with God's wrath, in conclusion seeth he cannot escape the Lord's hands; and how to purchase mercy he knows not, nor is it possible otherwise for him to escape, and yet he hath nothing to purchase mercy withal; therefore he is content to lie down before God, saying,

"I confess I have sinned; Oh Lord, be thou glorified, though I be damned forever, my sins are so many and so vile, I cannot almost desire mercy, but if the Lord will, who can let him?"

Now when the heart is thus humbled, then there comes a noise a great way off in the ministry of the Gospel, and that saith, "Thy sins are all pardonable:" so he looks up, and hope saith:

"Lord, it may be a damned creature may be recovered, a dead dog

may be restored to life, and a traitor may be pardoned and received." Then the Lord sends another comfortable message, namely, "That if thou canst but see a need of mercy, and look out and wait for him, thou shalt be pardoned;" hereupon the penitent goes to the Court gate, that is, he comes mourning to the Word, and saith:

"Oh ye faithful Ministers of God, you are of the bed-chamber, and you know God's mind; I pray what doth God intend towards me?" Hereupon we that are the Ministers of God, we tell him, "Your case is right, and happily if you attend upon God you may hear more of him hereafter; for the Lord hears that you lie at the Court gate, and that you are exceedingly humbled;" and thus far desire goes. At last the Lord Jesus Christ shows and presents himself to the sinner, and speaks with him in the Ministry of the Word, and saith:

"That fainting, weary, loaden heart of thine shall be refreshed," and then giveth him a look of mercy, so that his heart danceth within him, (still you must understand that the Lord always speaketh by the Ministry of the Word, and therefore look for no strange dreams and visions,) while the Lord saith:

"Thou art he that longs for my salvation; go thy way, I have heard thy prayers; thy pardon is granted and drawn, it shall be delivered to thee afterward."

Now when a poor sinner finds some cheering of heart, he may say, "The Lord spake to me; it's done in heaven, mercy is coming towards me; the pardon is now granted and is in drawing, and shall be delivered to me in due time!" Now again his heart leapeth within him, and he saith:

"Bless the Lord, O my soul, who ever heard of such mercy? What! My sins be pardoned? And is the pardon granted and drawn? If I never hear more of it, and if I go down to Hell, it is enough, that God hath once smiled upon me in his love; it is enough though I have the pains of Hell upon me forever for it." . . . .

So the Lord saith to poor sinners, after they have waited long enough, and God hath seen their desires to be sound, the Lord, I say, saith:

"Tell that poor man from Heaven, and from the Lord Christ, and under the hand of the Spirit, that his sins are pardoned, and he shall be received to mercy." Esa. lxvi. 1, 2, 3, "The Lord looks to him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and trembles at his word." The poor creature comes and trembles at every truth, and when he hears of mercy, he saith:

"Oh, that is sweet mercy indeed, but it is not mine," and he shakes in the consideration of mercy, that he should hear of it and not receive it. "The Lord looks to him," that is, he casts a sweet look upon him,

and lets in some sweet intimation of mercy, and saith to the poor creature:

"I have an eye to thee, and my love is unto thee in the Lord Jesus Christ;"—and with that his heart leaps in his bosom.

ON GROUNDLESS HOPES OF HEAVEN.

[*The Soule's Vocation.* 1638.]

I BESEECH you observe it, it is true here as they said, "Saul hath slain his thousands, but David his ten thousands;" despair hath slain his thousands, but presumption his ten thousands; that men may swear, and lie, and cozen and break all commands, and yet hope to be saved, yet they hope grace will save them; they resist grace yet hope Jesus Christ will show mercy unto them, they oppose Christ, this is that which, I say, hath slain many thousand souls amongst us, and they are few that have not split at this rock. Therefore, I say, this serveth to reprove the baseness, the vileness of such hypocrites that boast themselves, and compare their hopes with the hopes of the saints.

"It is true," say they, "I cannot walk so freely, I cannot repeat a sermon, I want those parts that they have, I walk not so curiously, yet I hope to be saved as well as they." This is that which hath slain many thousands of souls that now are roaring in hell, and they may thank presumption for it. Now this hope is not the hope of the saints; the hope of the saints is a grounded hope, but these hopes merely hang upon some idle pleas of foolish pretences, and some carnal reasons. But I tell you they will fall, and their hopes will sink, and they into the bottomless pit before they be aware. It is the command and counsel of Peter, "That every man should be ready to give a reason of his faith and hope that is in him;" therefore let us see the reasons that carry you, the arguments that persuade you to these groundless and foolish hopes. You hope to be saved, and you hope to go to heaven, and you hope to see the face of God with comfort. Let us see the grounds for these hopes of yours, good hope hath good reasons, grounded hope grounded reasons. You say, you hope to be saved, and have no reasons for it; it is a foolish hope, an unreasonable hope; the grounds therefore of hypocrites are mainly five:

The ignorant poor silly man, he pleadeth he cannot think it, he cannot conceive it, that God hath created any man for to damn him; sure

the Lord is more merciful than so, and therefore though we be sinful, and base, and untoward, yet the Lord will not damn us. I answer therefore, it is true indeed God did never preserve men for this same end that he might damn them; though it is as true, he that made men he will damn most of men in hell for their sins committed against them. "Narrow is the gate, and strait is the way that leadeth unto life, few there be that find it:" is this the argument of thy hope? Mark the folly, and observe the weakness of it. If creation be a good argument, then all the damned should come out of hell and be delivered. Nay, by this reason the Devil himself should be saved; they are now in hell, they were created as well as you ignorant silly creatures. Think of these things, how your hope will shatter and break under you, and you with them will fall together into the bottomless pit.

See how the Lord bringeth this argument and confuteth it, it is a people that hath no understanding, therefore he that made them will not save them, he that created them will show them no mercy. The text saith, the Lord saith from heaven, though he made thee, he will not show thee mercy, if thou continue to be wicked and rebellious.

Another groweth in hope, that God will show mercy unto him in regard of God's favorable dealing with him in things of this life, and he saith and pretendeth great thankfulness for God's goodness, and he praiseth the Lord he never wanted any thing; his lot is fallen into a good ground and therefore he doubteth not but that God, who has been his God from his youth, will save him and show mercy unto his soul. This is the second ground, and it is a poor feeble ground to support the soul in such a case as this. I answer therefore, thou art deceived, thou takest that for an argument of God's love and mercy, which rather may be an argument of God's hatred and indignation. "The wicked flourish," saith the text; then a man may say they will all to heaven, they will all be saved if they so prosper here. No, saith the text, they flourish that they may be destroyed, and perish forever. The ox is fatted for the slaughter; so it is here, thou art fatted here, thou hast more than heart can desire, thy cups are full, and thy table well spread, thy breasts full of milk, and thy bones full of marrow; it is that thou mightest be destroyed. Prosperity destroyeth the fool; it is like poison, like ratsbane. Now would any man say thus, such a man is most like to live, because he eateth most poison? Nay, rather the contrary. So prosperity meeting with a sinful, with a naughty heart, it is poison to him. The text telleth you when Haman was invited it was that he might be accused. The truth is, these men of the greatest hope in this life, I mean for honor and pomp, and respect and preferment, many of them are men of the least hope for heaven.

Others because they have felt the heavy hand of God, many sor-

rows, many weaknesses, many troubles in their course, many losses in their estate, these stay up their comforts, and upon these grounds they build their hopes: "I have had my hell in this life, and I hope to have heaven in the world to come; I hope the worst is over; now I have been troubled in this world, I hope I shall be comforted in another world," and here is the ground of your hopes. I beseech you consider what I answer; I say this, all the grievances, trouble, sorrow, sicknesses, be they what they will be, unless thy heart be humbled by them, unless thou be brought unto the Lord Jesus Christ by them, they are so far from being an argument of grace and salvation unto thee that they are harbingers of those everlasting torments you shall endure in hell. Sodom and Gomorrah they burnt in brimstone and they shall burn in hell; a man would have said they had their hell here and therefore they should not have it hereafter. Why? The text saith they suffered vengeance of eternal fire. Why, brethren, I beseech you observe it, will any man reason thus: "Such a man hath had the earnest of the bargain, and therefore he shall not have the bargain?" Will any man say thus: "He that is attached, arraigned, condemned, shall not be hanged?" Nay rather he that hath the earnest shall have the bargain, he that now is accused, condemned, shall now be hanged; so here.

Others bear their hopes and sustain their hearts upon the privileges that God bestoweth upon them and the means they have and in regard of the duties they do discharge; and though they think they have fair hopes and great hopes of heaven, "Why," say they, "God will pour down his wrath upon those that know not God, and that call not upon his name, but what do you make of us? Are we heathen, are not we Christians, have not we been baptized, and the Lord hath enabled us to do something? We call upon his name, and seek him by fasting and prayer, and therefore he that hath done so much for us, and hath done so much to us, sure he will give us heaven." I answer, that this bottom is not sufficient to bear up this hope; all the privileges thou hast, all the means, ordinances thou enjoyest, unless thy heart be humbled and thy soul brought to Christ all these will fall under thee and thou wilt go to hell. He is not a Jew that is a Jew outwardly; the Jews they bragged of this, they were circumcised, and the heathen were not circumcised; they were the seed of Abraham, but the heathen were not. Paul vilified all this; he is not a Jew that is a Jew outwardly; thy baptism, thy praying, and thy hearing, there is no profit by them, no comfort in them, if thou maintain a wicked life, and a naughty heart. Therefore this will not serve the turn; you know it, and the Scripture speaketh it, Judas an Apostle, Judas called by Christ, he sat with our Saviour, and dipped his hand in the dish, he was a devil then, and

is with the devils now; the foolish virgins had a trim profession, as well as the others; thou professest and hearest, and prayest; thou wilt lie too, and cozen too, and swear too; thou art naught, and this bottom will never bear thee up.

When they see all this will come to nothing, then they make a shift to plead mercy, and they hope that will stand them in stead, and do them good, when nothing else will, and therefore you shall hear carnal wicked men confess themselves naught, their sins many, and they vile, but there is mercy enough in God to relieve them, and they hope that will save them. Brethren, I confess mercy is able to save thee, and if thy hope can lay hold upon it, it will save thee, if thou be so within the reach of mercy, mercy is able to save thee, and will save many other besides. But thou art not capable of this mercy, thou art not within the room and compass of mercy.

What availeth it to talk, and speak and hope for mercy, and to see a great deal of mercy in Christ, a great deal of merit in Christ, a great deal of virtue in Christ, able to save thee and a thousand more, and yet thou not in the compass of mercy, not capable of mercy, but sinkest in thy own sins, before thou gettest any mercy from God. "He that made them will have no mercy upon them," as who should say, "It is true, here is abundance of mercy, mercy enough, mercy that saved a poor company of poor Jews, that crucified the Lord Jesus Christ; mercy that saved Paul a persecutor, Manasses an idolater, but I will show no mercy unto thee." He that confesseth, and forsaketh his sins, shall find mercy. Mercy owneth those, mercy doth good unto those, but unto thee that lovest thy sins, that embracest thy sins, that hidest thy sins, the text saith it, thou shalt never find mercy; delude thyself thou mayst, but thou never shalt have mercy.

There was a marriage made, and a rich marriage feast, enough to have fed many thousands, but those that were bidden did not come, they shall not so much as taste of them, they shall have none of them. So there are sweet comforts, strong consolations, admirable refreshings, able to sustain a thousand souls, but you that would keep your sins and have the pride of your hearts, but you that stand it out with the Word and will not yield to the authority of the truth, hear what the Lord saith from heaven, he that is the God of comfort, thou shalt never be comforted; he that is the Author of salvation saith it, thou shalt never be saved, thou shalt never have a crumb of these dainties, nor a drop of these sweet wines of spiritual consolation. What a world now of men are shut out by these trials, that are found guilty of these particulars! You poor ignorant creatures, do not many of you lift up your heads full high, and many a poor presumptuous hypocrite bear up themselves upon rotten hopes? But I tell you, when

you come to the day of judgment, all this will fail you; but you will say in the former use: "You labored us from despair, and encouraged us to hope, and yet now you take away all our hopes. Why if neither creation may comfort us, nor the experience of God's kind dealing with us may encourage us, nor the afflictions that we have endured in this world, nor the privileges that we have enjoyed, nor the mercy, of themselves may give us any hope to receive mercy, why then it seemeth you would have us despair, and cast away all hope of any good?"

The truth is, as I must not make the way broader than it is, so I must not make it narrower than I ought, therefore know these two things:

As long as thou retainest and keepest a proud, stubborn, unconverted heart, there is no hope in heaven or earth, that God should ever show mercy unto thee, and save that hard, stony, impenitent, unbelieving heart of thine.

THE FEARFUL SOUL.

[*The Soule's Humiliation.* 1637.]

WHY doth the soul seek for succor from itself, and will not go out to Christ?

The first reason is, because the sinner, being conceived not yet to be in Christ, out of the guilt of sin dares not to be so proud as to think that he shall have any favor at God's hands, for the sinner being now overwhelmed with the body of death and the guilt of his abominations galling of him, and being starved by reason of his sins, and still his sins being before his eyes, and to this day having gotten no assurance of the pardon of them, and God being angry against him, his heart shrinks in consideration of the eternal wrath of the Almighty against him; and he saith, "Because I have despised justice and abused mercy, how dare I appear before God's justice; for fear justice consume me and execute vengeance upon me."

And therefore the soul dares not yet venture to come before God, and hence it is that the soul saith, "Can I not take some course of myself and do it without Christ; must I needs go and hear? Certainly the word will condemn; and must I needs go and confess my sins? What, shall I, a rebel, go before a Prince? To come before him, it is the next way to be executed and have some plague thrown upon me!" As a malefactor will devise some shift that he may not

come before the judge, so while the soul may have some succor from himself and the staff is in his own hand there is some hope, and he would willingly do any thing for himself; but for the soul to have salvation out of his own reach, and to put the staff out of his own hand, and to hang his salvation upon God's good pleasure, whose love and mercy, as yet, he was never persuaded of—oh, this is very hard, and the heart is marvellous shy and careful in this, and it is with the heart in this kind as Rabshecah said to the people of Israel: "If you say to me, is not that he whose altars you have broken down," etc. Thus he labored to pluck away the hearts of this people from trusting in the Lord. The soul in this kind sometimes shakes and shrinks in the apprehension of his own vileness, and saith as this wretch did, "Have you offended him, and do you look for any succor from him?" This argument was very peevish and keen and yet false, for they were the altars of idols, but the soul saith against itself and marvellous truly; when a minister would persuade a man to go to heaven for mercy, the soul begins to reason thus with itself, and saith, "Shall I repair to God? Oh! that's my trouble; is not he that great God whose justice and mercy and patience I have abused? And is not he the great God of heaven and earth, that hath been incensed against me? Oh, with what face can I appear before him, and with what heart can I look for any mercy from him? I have wronged his justice, and can his justice pardon me? I have abused his mercy, and can his mercy pity me? What! such a wretch as I am? If I had never enjoyed the means of mercy I might have some plea for myself, but oh! I have refused that mercy and have trampled the blood of Christ under my feet; and can I look for any mercy? No, no, I see the wrath of the Lord incensed against me, and that's all I look for!"

The soul rather desires the mountains to fall upon him, that he may never appear before God. Nay, I have observed this in experience: In the horror of heart, the soul dare scarce read the word of God, for fear he should read his own neck-verse, and he dare not pray, for fear his prayers be turned into sin, and so increase his judgment. Thus the soul out of the guilt of sin dare not seek out to the Lord, and therefore it will use any shift to help itself without going to God.

GOD'S DEALINGS WITH HIS SERVANTS.

[*The Activity of Faith, or Abraham's Imitators.* 1651.]

MY brethren, let me say so to you: You will find trouble and inconveniences, and hard measure at the hands of the wicked in this world, many Nabals and Cains will set themselves against you; but go on, and bear it patiently. Know it is a troublesome way, but a true way, it is grievous but yet good, and the end will be happy; it will never repent you, when the Lord hath performed all the good that he hath spoken concerning you.

Oh! to see a man drawing his breath low and short, after he hath spent many hours and days in prayer to the Lord, grappling with his corruptions, and striving to pull down his base lusts, after he hath waited upon the Lord in a constant course of obedience; take but such a man, and ask him, now his conscience is opened, whether the ways of holiness and sincerity be not irksome to him, whether he be not grieved with himself for undergoing so much needless trouble (as the world thinks it) and his soul will then clear this matter. It is true, he hath had a tedious course of it, but now his death will be blessed; he hath striven for a Crown, and now behold a Crown! Now he is beyond the waves; all the contempts and imprisonments and outrages of wicked men, are now too short to reach him; he is so far from repenting, that he rejoiceth and triumpheth in reflecting back upon all the pains and care and labor of love whereby he hath loved the Lord Jesus, in submitting his heart unto him.

Take me another man, that hath lived here in pomp and jollity, hath had many livings, great preferments, much honor, abundance of pleasure, yet hath been ever careless of God and of his Word, profane in his course, loose in his conversation, and ask him upon his deathbed, how it standeth with him; Oh! woe the time, that ever he spent it as he hath done! Now the soul begins to hate the man, and the very sight of him that hath been the instrument with it in the committing of sin; now nothing but gall and wormwood remaineth; now the sweetness of the adulterer's lust is gone, and nothing but the sting of conscience remaineth; now the covetous man must part with his goods, and the gall of Asps must stick behind; now the soul sinks within, and the heart is overwhelmed with sorrow! Take but these two men, I say, and judge by their ends, whether ever it will repent you that you have done well, that you have walked in the steps of the faith of Abraham. My brethren, howsoever you have had many miseries, yet the Lord hath many mercies for you. God dealeth with his servants, as a father doth with his son, after he hath sent him on

a great journey to do some business, and the weather falleth foul, and the way proveth dangerous, and many a storm, and great difficulties are to be gone through. Oh! how the heart of that father pitieth his son! How doth he resolve to requite him, if he ever live to come home again; what preparation doth he make to entertain and welcome him; and how doth he study to do good unto him! My brethren, so it is here; I beseech you, think of it, you that are the Saints and people of God! You must find in your way many troubles and griefs, (and we ought to find them,) but be not discouraged; the more misery, the greater mercy. God the Father seeth his servants, and if they suffer and endure for a good conscience, as his eye seeth them, so his soul pitieth them, his heart bleeds within him for them. That is, he hath a tender compassion of them, and he saith within himself, "Well, I will requite them if ever they come into my kingdom; all their patience, and care, and conscience in walking in my ways, I will requite, and they shall receive a double reward from me, even a Crown of eternal glory." Think of those things that are not seen; they are eternal: the things that are seen are temporal, and they will deceive us; let our hearts be carried after the other, and rest in them forever.

William Hooke.

BORN in Southampton, England, 1601. DIED near London, 1678.

ON HORRIBLE WAR.

[*New-England's Teares for Old England's Feares: A Sermon preached at Taunton, Mass.*, 1640.]

IT is commonly observed, that men and women who have turned Witches, and been in league with the devil, thereby to do mischief, are never given over so to do, till they begin to have an evil eye, which grieveth at the prosperity, and rejoiceth at the misery of others. Hence Witchcraft is described by an evil eye.

I know not what eye hath bewitched my young lambs. And when any are bewitched, it is a phrase of speech among many to say, they are overseen, *i. e.* looked upon with a malicious eye. Nay, it is the property of the devil to be thus affected. Man's prosperity is his pain, and man's adversity his rejoicing, as we see in Job; neither is there (scarce) any thing that doth more import the seed of the Serpent in a man, than this same ἐπιχαιρεκακία, rejoicing in the evil and misery

of another. It is then the property of Edomites, abjects, witches and devils, to rejoice in the misery that befalleth others. And though I am not able to charge any of you with this cursed affection, yet I do wish you to look into your own hearts; for this I am sure, here are strong temptations sometimes, leading towards it in this land, which when they meet with an heart void of grace, must needs stir up the disposition in it, and not only emulations and envyings, but witchcraft itself is a work of the flesh.

But the use that I do principally intend, is of exhortation to you all, as you desire to approve yourselves the true friend and brethren of your dear countrymen in old England, to condole with them this day in their afflictions. Job's friends, you see, did it for him seven days and seven nights, *i. e.* many days. O let us do it then this one day; at least, for these.

Indeed when we look upon ourselves at this time in this land, the Lord hath given us great cause of rejoicing, both in respect of civil and spiritual peace. God hath at once subdued the proud Pequots and the proud opinions that rose up in this land: and for plenty, never had the land the like. Yea, which is much better, the Word of God grows and multiplieth; the churches have rest throughout the whole land, and are edified, and walking in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, are multiplied. This is much, and more it would be, if the edge of these and other our comforts were not this day turned by the fear of civil strifes and combustions in the land of our nativity, which do not a little abate the sweetness of all other our happiness to us, and call for lamentation and sackcloth at our hands.

When Artaxerxes said unto Nehemiah, "Why is thy countenance sad, seeing thou art not sick?" Have you not read the answer? "Why should not my countenance be sad, when the city, the place of my fathers' sepulchres, lies waste, and the gates thereof are consumed with fire?" Why? Nehemiah was well enough at ease, he had honor, and power, and favor, and pleasure enough, and being the king's cup-bearer, he had wine enough of all sorts at his command, which maketh glad the heart of man. But what is all this not to cloud his countenance, and overcast it with grief and sorrow, when the city of his fathers was laid waste, and the gates thereof consumed with fire? Thus, beloved, if our comforts were treble to what they are this day, yet could it not but much abate the sweetness of them, to consider what distresses may lie at this time upon our native country, for aught we know, and to have too just cause to fear. When the Ark and Israel and Judah abode in tents, and Joab and his men were encamped in the open fields, Uriah took no comfort in his beautiful wife, nor in his house, nor in his meat and drink.

Let us therefore, I beseech you, lay aside the thoughts of all our comforts this day, and let us fasten our eyes upon the calamities of our brethren in old England, calamities, at least, imminent calamities dropping, swords that have hung a long time over their heads by a twine thread, judgments long since threatened as foreseen by many of God's messengers in the causes, though not foretold by a spirit prophetically guided; heavy judgments in all probability, when they fall, if they are not fallen already. And not to look upon the occasions given on the one side or the other, between the two sister nations (sister nations? ah, the word woundeth), let us look this day simply on the event, a sad event in all likelihood, the dividing of a king from his subjects, and him from them, their mutual taking up of arms in opposition and defence; the consequences, even the gloomy and dark consequences thereof, are killing and slaying, and sacking and burning, and robbing, and rifling, cursing and blaspheming, etc.

If you should but see war described to you in a map, especially in a country, well known to you, nay dearly beloved of you, where you drew your first breath, where once, yea, where lately you dwelt, where you have received ten thousand mercies, and have many a dear friend and countryman and kinsman abiding, how could you but lament and mourn?

War is the conflict of enemies enraged with bloody revenge, wherein the parties opposite carry their lives in their hands, every man turning prodigal of his very heart blood, and willing to be killed to kill. The instruments are clashing swords, rattling spears, skull-dividing halberds, murdering pieces, and thundering cannons, from whose mouths proceed the fire, and smell, and smoke, and terror, death, as it were, of the very bottomless pit. We wonder now and then at the sudden death of a man: alas, you might there see a thousand men not only healthy, but stout and strong, struck dead in the twinkling of an eye, their breath exhales without so much as, "Lord have mercy upon us." Death heweth its way through a wood of men in a minute of time from the mouth of a murderer, turning a forest into a champaign suddenly; and when it hath used these to slay their opposites, they are recompensed with the like death themselves. O, the shrill ear-piercing clangs of the trumpets, noise of drums, the animating voices of horse captains, and commanders, learned and learning to destroy! There is the undaunted horse whose neck is clothed with thunder, and the glory of whose nostrils is terrible; how doth he lie pawing and prancing in the valley, going forth to meet the armed men? he mocks at fear, swallowing the ground with fierceness and rage, and saying among the trumpets, Ha, Ha, he smells the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains and the shouting. Here ride some dead men swagging in their deep saddles; there fall others alive upon their dead horses;

death sends a message to those from the mouth of the muskets, these it talks with face to face, and stabs them in the fifth rib. In yonder file there is a man hath his arms struck off from his shoulder, another by him hath lost his leg; here stands a soldier with half a face, there fights another upon his stumps, and at once both kills and is killed; not far off lies a company wallowing in their sweat and gore; such a man whilst he chargeth his musket is discharged of his life, and falls upon his dead fellow. Every battle of the warrior is with confused noise and garments rolled in blood. Death reigns in the field, and is sure to have the day which side soever falls. In the meanwhile (O formidable!) the infernal fiends follow the camp to catch after the souls of rude nefarious soldiers (such as are commonly men of that calling) who fight themselves fearlessly into the mouth of hell for revenge, a booty, or a little revenue. How thick and threefold do they speed one another to destruction? A day of battle is a day of harvest for the devil.

All this while, the poor wife and tender children sit weeping together at home, having taken their late farewell of the harnessed husband and father (O it was a sad parting if you had seen it!) never looking to see his face again, as indeed many and the most of them never do; for anon comes Ely's messenger from the camp saying, "There is a great slaughter among the people, and your husband is dead, your father is dead, he was slain in an hot fight, he was shot dead in the place and never spake a word more." Then the poor widow who fed yet upon a crumb of hope, tears her hair from her head, rends her clothes, wrings her hands, lifts up her voice to heaven, and weeps like Rachel that would not be comforted, her children hang about her crying and saying, "O my father is slain, my father is dead, I shall never see my father more;" and so they cry and sob and sigh out their afflicted souls, and break their hearts together. Alas, alas! this is yet but war through a crevice. Beloved, do but consider. There is many times fire without war, and famine and pestilence without war, but war is never without them; and there are many times robberies without war, and murdering of passengers, ravishing of matrons, deflouring of virgins, cruelties and torments, and sometimes barbarous and inhuman practices without war, but war goes seldom or never without them.

War, it is *malum complexum*, a compound of judgments, a mixed misery, the cup in the hand of the Lord, the wine whereof is red, and it is full of mixture. The wine is indeed as red as blood, and the ingredients are fire, famine, pestilence, murders, robberies, rapes, deflourings, cruelties, torment, with many other miseries. The voice of melody ceaseth, relation that were lately the comfort and now become the grief of the life of men; the highways are unoccupied, the travellers walk

through by-ways, the inhabitants of the villages cease, and the noise of the archers is heard in the places of drawing water. War, it is the immediate hand of such whose tenderest me cies are cruelties, commonly therefore the last of God's strokes upon them that will take no warning. But yet there is difference in wars; a war in the borders of an enemy is held better than a war in one's native country; for commonly, the land that is as the Garden of Eden before an enemy, behind them is like a desolate wilderness; and it is very woful when people and land shall be wasted together. Or if it be war in our own land, yet a war against a foreign enemy invading, is far better than a civil war. It is grievous, but not admirable, to see an Egyptian and an Hebrew contending, but to see, as the prophet saith, Egyptians against Egyptians, and every one fighting against his brother, and against his neighbor, city against city, and kingdom against kingdom; or to see, as the same prophet saith, Manasseh against Ephraim and Ephraim against Manasseh, and both against Judah; O, this is both lamentable and wonderful! The mad soldier in the heat of his blood, and the depth of his atheism, may account it perhaps at first with Abner but a play to see Israelites catching of Israelites by the beard, and thrusting their swords into one another's sides: but of all wars none so bloody, neither hath any play such bitterness in the end.

It is a sad play, wherein not only men's goods, and bodies, and souls do commonly lie at stake, but wherein also even the very conqueror is conquered, as one that played but for his own money, and at such a desperate play, whose very gains are losings. No wars so cruel, so unnatural, so desolating, as civil wars. You have heard, beloved, of the dreadful German wars; why, if there be any in our own country this day, I may call them German wars, because they are the wars of Germans, even the bloody contentions of brethren; and when relations turn opposites, nothing more opposite. A kingdom at wars with a foreign enemy may stand, but a kingdom divided against itself, can never; there can never be prosperity with Jerusalem's palaces, if first there be not peace within her walls. Unity and peace are a bond, and where that is broken, there must needs follow dissolution.

CHRISTIAN LIBERTY.

[*New-England's Sence of Old-England's and Ireland's Sorrowes.* 1645.]

BRETHREN! Liberty is more precious than life, inasmuch as death is the common lot of all men, but servitude the portion only of

men destined to misery. And if a people be sold for bondmen, and bondwomen, what can countervail the King's damage? And seldom is it that cruelty rests satisfied with bondage, but makes his progressions to further degrees of blood. When people and cities can not say *municipia*, but *mancipia*, what remains but death; as when the Ephraimites could not pronounce Shibboleth, but only Sibboleth, presently they died for it. If goods and liberty be in the power of men's wills, why not also life? There is much comprised in people and cities, even all that is politic, economic, or private; but I instance only in the greatest mischief. Let us therefore use the words of Queen Hester unto Ahasuerus, and direct them unto God: "If we have found favor in thy sight, O Lord, and if it please the king, let our lives be given us at our petition, and our people at our request; for our people are sold to be destroyed, and slain, and perish."

If any say, "How are we concerned in the miseries of other men, so long as we are free?" I say, it toucheth us, as Lot's captivity touched Abraham, who mustered up his men, and took his confederates along with him, Mamre, Eshcol, and Aner, and delivered him out of bondage. And if we forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; if we say, "we knew it not, or what did it concern us?" "He that pondereth the heart considereth it, and he will render unto us according to our works." Wherefore let us play the men for our people and cities. What though it be well with us? Let us yet remember the afflictions of Joseph; yea, and the words of Joseph to Pharaoh's butler; "Think upon me when it shall be well with thee; and show kindness, I pray thee, unto me, and make mention of me unto Pharaoh, and bring me out of this house." For thus in effect speaks England and Ireland to us this day, and all the cities in them; now that it is well with you, think upon us, and show kindness unto us, and make mention of us unto the God of heaven, that we may fully once be delivered out of the house of bondage. "Oh," saith such and such a city, "there are so many thousand souls in me, who can not discern between the right hand and the left."

But if it be not well with them, how can it be well with us? If the Ark, and Israel, and Judah, abide in tents, and the people of God are encamped in the open fields, what comfort can we have in our houses, food, or wives? What though we are so far from them in place?

The needle in the compass is never quiet till it pointeth to the north, at a thousand times greater distance. Affections touched with grace, stand firm from one end of the world to the other. Nehemiah's heart stood right towards Jerusalem, when he was in Persia; and though he was not in an humbling wilderness, but an alluring palace.

even in Shushan, yet Jerusalem came into his mind. For when Hanani, and certain men of Judah came thither to him, he asked them concerning his brethren that were left of the captivity, and concerning Jerusalem. And when they told him of the great affliction and reproach, he sat down and wept, and mourned many days, and fasted and prayed before the God of heaven. Wherefore let that word of the Lord sound often in our ears: "Ye that have escaped the sword, go away, stand not still; remember the Lord afar off, and let Jerusalem come into your minds." And though we have but a day or two, wherein to join all our forces in the land together, and to give the adversaries a broadside; yet let us now and then make excursions by ourselves in private, now that the Lord calls for help against the mighty. Are we not all the voluntaries of Jesus, whose people shall be willing in the day of his power? Neither is their any restraint unto the Lord, to save by many, or by few; by whole churches, or by single persons. Let us therefore be often adventuring by ourselves, like Jonathan and his armor-bearer against the Philistines. If ever we afflicted our souls, let it be in these days; for we may partly understand by books the number of the years which God will accomplish in the desolations of Jerusalem. So that we set our faces unto the Lord God, to seek by prayer and supplications, with fasting, sackcloth, and ashes. There is at this time a great battle between Michael and the dragon, and the Angels. The beast and the kings of the earth, and their armies have gathered themselves together to make war with the Lamb. All the principalities, and powers, and rulers of the darkness of the world, and spiritual wickednesses in high places, are up in arms this day, and there is scarce a devil left behind in hell. If ever therefore, now let us quit ourselves like men; the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God. Let us pray against them, as Moses against Amalek; and preach against them, as the priests under the law, when the host went out against the enemy; and sing against them, as Jehoshaphat and the men of Judah did against Moab, Ammon, and Edom; and live against them, as it is written, "When the host goeth forth against the enemy, then keep thee from every wicked thing." Deut. xxiii. 9. Every ordinance of God is a deadly murderer. O let us walk and sleep in our armor and never be unfurnished of promises touching the confusion of Babel, and her builders. Let the cause of God affect us deeply, and the people and cities of our God be always in our eyes. And let the desolations of Christendom awaken us to frequent prayers, and constant sympathy; and the blood of God's people (particularly) in Ireland, be to us as the blood of grapes and mulberries are to elephants, to provoke them to fight. Oh those incarnate Irish devils! let them

be often in our sight. Their blasphemies, their burnings, their robberies, their rapes, their rostings, their strippings, rippings, hangings, drownings, dismemberings, butcheries, the very shambles of the devil erected in Ireland, would be always in our eyes and ears. And yet when we have done all, let us refer the issue to the Almighty, saying: "Let the Lord do what seemeth him good."

THE DEATH OF THE PROTECTOR.

For the very much honoured Mr. John Winthrope, at Pequot in New-England. These:

MUCH HONOURED SIR!—The remembrance of your many kindnesses shown to me and mine in N. E., calls for a thankful acknowledgment from me in a few lines from Old, for my ill habit as to bodily health will not permit me to write much. I have been settled at the Savoy for the space of twelve months, yet holding my relation still to Whitehall, the same as in the late Protector's time; for you have heard of his death long since, I suppose, who died, 7br 3d last, upon the day that the great victory was obtained at Dunbar, and likewise at Worcester; and which day hath since been kept in a way of Anniversary Thanksgiving for those two eminent victories. This was the day of his death and glorious triumph, though a day of lamentation to many whom he hath left behind him. His daughter, the Lady Cleypoll, dearly beloved of him, died at Hampton Court, (where then his family was) about a month before him, which made a deep impression upon his heart. There was a most terrible thunder the night before that night wherein she died, which brake a stand in the park near the house into (I suppose) hundreds of shivers; and there was as terrible a wind on that week wherein he died, which did rend many great trees, and tore up some by the roots. Many prayers were put up solemnly for his life, and some, of great and good note, were too confident that he would not die. He had the help of five or six very able physicians, but no help was effectual to save his life. I suppose himself had thoughts that he should have outlived this sickness, till near his dissolution, perhaps a day or two before; which I collect, partly by some words which he was said to speak upon a day of humiliation which we had for him in Whitehall, I take it, about a week before he expired; and partly, from his delaying, almost to the last, to nominate his successor, to the wonderment of many, who began sooner to despair of his life. His funeral pomp was very great,

the relation of it enough, I think, to fill half this paper. Multitudes of mourners, and Whitehall hung with blacks, and some rooms underfoot also; some with black velvet, and all things (almost) covered with mourning. His eldest son succeedeth him, being chosen by the council the day following his father's death, whereof he had no expectation. I have heard him say, he had thought to have lived as a country gentleman, and that his father had not employed him in such a way as to prepare him for such employment; which, he thought, he did designedly. I suppose his meaning was, lest it should have been apprehended, he had prepared and appointed him for such a place; the burden whereof I have several times heard him complaining under since his coming to the government, the weighty occasions whereof, with continual oppressing cares, had drunk up his father's spirits, in whose body very little blood was found when he was opened; the greatest defect visible was in his heart, which was flaccid and shrunk together; yet he was one that could bear much without complaining, as one of a strong constitution of brain (as appeared when he was dissected) and likewise of body. His son seemeth to be of another frame, more soft and tender, and penetrable with easier cares by much, yet he is of a sweet countenance, vivacious, and candid, as is the whole frame of his spirit, only, naturally, inclined to choler. His reception of multitudes of addresses, from towns, cities, and counties, doth declare, among several other indiciums, more of ability in him, than could ordinarily have been expected from him. He spake also with general acceptation and applause, when he made his speech before the Parliament, even far beyond the Lord Fynes. The Parliament hath now sate about eight weeks, and little, yet, is done. It is a very compound assembly; the parts are especially, cavaliers, commonwealth men, and such as are for the present government; for there are not a few such, who would introduce and uphold the old ways, laws, and worships, and the former monarchy, as 't is conceived. Sir H. Vane, Sir Arthur Hazelrigg, the Lord Lambert, and very many, not of the least note, are for a commonwealth; and neither of these two sorts do much regard the upper house, as it is now constituted. Great laboring there hath been to nullify the election of the members for Scotland and Ireland, 't is supposed, to lessen the number of the votes which take to the present government. But the members are now settled, and now, I suppose, they will all fall to advising about transacting with the other house, as they call it, which was constituted by the humble petition and advice, for a balance between the House of Commons and the Protector. If this assembly miss it, we are like to be in an ill condition. The old ways and customs of England, as to worships, are in the hearts of the most, who long to see the days again

which once they saw. We have had a very dry and dusty time, and cold, in Febr: and March, hitherto. There hath been a pestilential disease among horses for these many months, and yet it ceaseth not; and a sickly time is feared among men, the small-pox prevailing already and the spotted fever abroad. Sir! I shall be glad to understand of your health, and of all yours, upon all occasions. I with my wife present our humble respects to yourself, Mrs. Winthrope, and all yours. The Lord vouchsafe the manifestations of his favor always to you and them, to whose free and rich grace committing you, I take leave, and rest.

Yours to serve you,

SAVOY, March: 30, 1659. WILLIAM HOOKE.

The Bay Psalm Book.

SONGS OF THE PURITANS.

[*The First Book Printed in America. Supervised by Richard Mather, Thomas Welde and John Eliot. The Preface was written by Mather. Printed by Stephen Daye, at Cambridge, Mass.*, 1640.]

FROM THE PREFACE.

IF therefore the verses are not alwayes so smooth and elegant as some may desire or expect; let them consider that Gods Altar needs not our pollishings: Ex. 20. for wee have respected rather a plaine translation, then to smooth our verses with the sweetnes of any paraphrase, and soe have attended Conscience rather then Elegance, fidelity rather then poetry, in translating the hebrew words into english language, and Davids poetry into english meetre; that soe we may sing in Sion the Lords songs of prayse according to his owne will; untill hee take us from hence, and wipe away all our teares, & bid us enter into our masters ioye to sing eternall Halleluiahs.

PSALME XVIII.

To the chiefe Musician, a *psalme* of Dauid, the servant of the Lord, who spake the words of this Song, in the day that the Lord deliuered him from the hands of all his enemies, & from the hand of Saule. and hee Sayde,

I'Le dearely love thee, Lord, my strength:
The Lord is my rock, and my towre,
and my deliverer, my God,
I'le trust in him *who is* my powre,
My shield, & my salvationes-horne,

3 my high-fort; Who is prayse worthy,
I on the Lord will call, so shall
I bee kept from mine enemye.
4 Deaths sorrowes mee encompassed,
mee fear'd the floods of ungodlie,
5 Hells pangs beset me round about,
the snares of death prevented mee.
6 I in my streights, cal'd on the Lord,
and to my God cry'd: he did heare
from his temple my voyce, my crye,
before him came, unto his eare.
7 Then th' earth shooke, & quak't, & moũtaines
roots mov'd, & were stird at his ire,
8 Vp from his nostrils went a smoak,
and from his mouth devouring fire:
By it the coales inkindled were.
9 Likewise the heavens he downe-bow'd,
and he descended, & there was
under his feet a gloomy cloud.
10 And he on cherub rode, and flew;
yea he flew on the wings of winde.
11 His secret place hee darknes made
his covert that him round confinde,
Dark waters, & thick clouds of skies.
12 From brightnes, that before him was,
his thickned clouds did passe away,
hayl-stones and coales of fire did passe.
13 Also Iehovah thundered,
within the heavens, the most high
likewise his angry-voyce did give,
hayl-stones, and coales of fire *did fly*.
14 Yea he did out his arrows send,
and bruising he them scattered,
and lightnings hee did multiply,
likewise he them discomfited.
15 The waters channels then were seene,
and the foundationes of the world
appear'd; at thy rebuke, at blast,
of the breath of thy nostrils Lord.

. . . . . .

PSALME XIX.

To the chiefe Musician a psalme of David.

THe heavens doe declare
the majesty of God:
also the firmament shews forth
his handy-work abroad.
2 Day speaks to day, knowledge
night hath to night declar'd.
3 There neither speach nor language is,
where their voyce is not heard.

4 Through all the earth their line
is gone forth, & unto
the utmost end of all the world,
their speaches reach also:
A Tabernacle hee
in them pitcht for the Sun.
5 Who Bridegroom like from's chamber goes
glad Giants-race to run.
6 From heavens utmost end,
his course and compassing;
to ends of it, & from the heat
thereof is hid nothing.

. . . . . .

PSALME XXIIII.

A psalme of david.

THe earth Iehovahs is,
and the fulnesse of it:
the habitable world, & they
that there upon doe sit.
2 Because upon the seas,
hee hath it firmly layd:
and it upon the water-floods
most sollidly hath stayd.
3 The mountaine of the Lord,
who shall thereto ascend?
and in his place of holynes,
who is it that shall stand?
4 The cleane in hands, & pure
in heart; to vanity
who hath not lifted up his soule,
nor sworne deceitfully.
5 From God he shall receive
a benediction,
and righteousnes from the strong-God
of his salvation.
6 This is the progenie
of them that seek thy face:
of them that doe inquire for him:
of Iacob 'tis the race. Selah.
7 Yee gates lift-up your heads,
and doors everlasting,
be yee lift up: & there into
shall come the glorious-King.
8 Who is this glorious King?
Iehovah, puissant,
and valiant, Iehovah is
in battel valiant.
9 Yee gates lift-up your heads,
and doors everlasting,
doe yee lift-up: & there into
shall come the glorious-King.

10 Who is this glorious-King?
loe, it is Iehovah
of warlike armies, hee the King
of glory is; Selah.

PSALME XXIX.

A psalme of David.

VNto the Lord doe yee ascribe
(o Sonnes of the mighty)
unto the Lord doe yee ascribe
glory & potency.
2 Vnto the Lord doe yee ascribe
his names glorious renowne,
in beauty of his holynes
unto the Lord bow downe.
3 The mighty voyce of Iehovah
upon the waters is:
the God of glory thundereth,
God on great waters is.
4 Iehovahs voyce is powerfull,
Gods voyce is glorious,
5 Gods voyce breaks Cedars: yea God breaks
Cedars of Lebanus.
6 He makes them like a calfe to skip:
the mountaine Lebanon,
and like to a young Vnicorne
the hill of Syrion.
7 Gods voyce divides the flames of fire.
8 Iehovahs voyce doth make
the desart shake: the Lord doth cause
the Cadesh-desart shake.
9 The Lords voyce makes the hindes to calve,
and makes the forrest bare:
and in his temple every one
his glory doth declare.
10 The Lord sate on the flouds: the Lord
for ever sits as King.
11 God to his folk gives strength: the Lord
his folk with peace blessing.

PSALME XLVI.

To the chief musician, for the sonnes of-
Korah. a song upon Alemoth.

GOD is our refuge, strength, & help
in troubles very neere.
2 Therefore we will not be afrayd,
though th' earth removed were.
Though mountaines move to midst of seas
3 Though waters roaring make
and troubled be, at whose swellings
although the mountaines shake. Selah.

4 There is a river streames whereof
shall rejoyce Gods city:
the holy place the tent wherin
abideth the most high.
5 God is within the midst of her,
moved shee shall not bee:
God shall be unto her an help,
in the morning early.
6 The nations made tumultuous noyse,
the kingdomes moved were:
he did give forth his thundering voyce
the earth did melt *with feare.*
7 The God of Armies is with us
th' eternall Iehovah:
the God of Iacob is for us
a refuge high. Selah.
8 O come yee forth behold the works
which Iehovah hath wrought,
the fearfull desolations,
which on the earth he brought.
9 Vnto the utmost ends of th' earth
warres into peace hee turnes:
the speare he cuts, the bowe he breaks,
in fire the chariots burnes.
10 Be still, & know that I am God,
exalted be will I
among the heathen: through the earth
I 'le be exalted hye.
11 The God of armyes is with us,
th' eternall Iehovah
the God of Iacob is for us
a refuge high. Selah.

PSALME LXIII.

A psalme of David, when he was in the wilderness of Iudah.

O GOD, thou art my God, early
I will for thee inquire:
my soule thirsteth for thee, my flesh
for thee hath strong desire,
In land whereas no water is
that thirsty is & dry.
2 To see, as I saw in thine house
thy strength & thy glory.
3 Because thy loving kindenes doth
abundantly excell
ev'n life it selfe: wherefore my lips
forth shall thy prayses tell.
4 Thus will I blessing give to thee
whilst that alive am I:
and in thy name I will lift up
these hands of mine on high.

5 My soule as with marrow & fat
shall satisfied bee:
my mouth also with joyfull lips
shall prayse give unto thee.
6 When as that I remembrance have
of thee my bed upon,
and on thee in the night watches
have meditation.
7 Because that thou hast been to me
he that to me help brings;
therefore will I sing joyfully
in shaddow of thy wings.
8 My soule out of an ardent love
doth follow after thee:
also thy right hand it is that
which hath upholden mee.
9 But as for those that seek my soule
to bring it to an end,
they shall into the lower parts
of the earth downe descend.
10 By the hand of the sword also
they shall be made to fall:
and they be for a portion
unto the Foxes shall.
11 But the King shall rejoyce in God,
all that by him doe sweare
shall glory, but stopped shall be
their mouths that lyars are.

Thomas Shepard.

BORN in Towcester, England, 1605. DIED at Cambridge, Mass., 1649.

THE SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCES OF A PURITAN.

[*A Private Diary Containing Meditations and Experiences. Written* 1640.]

NOVEMBER 25. I found my heart and mouth straitened on the Lecture-Day, and for want of enlargement much troubled. Hence I essayed to humble my soul before God, which the Lord helped me to do in this Manner:

1. I saw the Vanity of Honor, and therefore, why should I be troubled for the loss of it by the want of enlargements?

(1) Because it was but a Conceit in men's minds of itself.

(2) Because it was naturally most dear, and so stood between me and Christ.

2. I saw how fit it was, that the Will of Christ should be done, as well in denying, as in giving enlargements; though he should strip me naked of them and all other things.

3. When my heart objected, can you be content that Christ should lose his Honor, and his Ordinance be blemished by your straitening? I then saw I was to be content to want them in Regard of my own unworthiness; and so,

(1) To be vile in my own eyes for my sin, that moves the Lord to deny.

(2) To mourn that he should not glorify himself by me.

(3) Then to pray him the more earnestly to glorify himself by doing for me by his own Hand.

(4) I saw therefore that I should leave myself with the Lord for that end, with him who all had, and only did all. . . . .

January 9. As I was walking in my Study, musing on my Sermon in Q. 10. That God's Mercy was himself, as his Justice also was; the one to the men that come to Christ; and to those that are out of Christ, the other. Hence I considered, when I come to Christ there is no Wrath or Justice to devour, but sweet Love. Wrath there is for refusing him, not else. It was then objected, But it is to the Elect only. The Lord let me then see I had nothing to do with that but to look on his Truth, which is to them that come to him, that he would stand as a Rock between the scorching Sun and their Souls. Hence my heart was sweetly ravished, and began to long to die, and think of being with him. And my heart said, Remember to comfort yourself thus, when you come to lie on your sick bed, to lie under this Rock, as in a hot Day. If one saw a Rock in a hot Day, should he say, That Rock will cool me if I be elected to it, and God has purposed it; so keep off in fears? No, God has purposed thus to be a Rock to all that come to him, and are drawn by his Love. . . . .

January 12. On Lecture-Day morning I began to feel my heart slight and vilify what I was to deliver. But the Lord put it into my mind, that though the truth is a poor, mean thing in itself, as every ordinance also is; yet very glorious, as it is appointed and separated of God for his own ends. Hence I came to see the glory of God's ordinances, where it did lie; and that was, not in themselves, but in God's sanctifying them for most sweet ends, to communicate his Presence and his lovely Pleasantness, and this love operating with power.

January 19. I saw my loose walking without God; and so was put to a stand, what to say of myself. I saw that hypocrites are far from humbling, because far from conviction: they hope something there is in them. But I brought my heart to consider thus, If my state

is good, then there is cause of deeper mourning for abusing the Lord, so good; or my state is not good, and then there is cause of breaking because I am so wretched still; and so I went to prayer. . .

March 17. I began to question, whether Christians generally were so good as they seemed to be? I thought, [1] They were not so good as the Lord would have them to be, from two arguments. (1) From the want of assurance generally among men. Which argues God is angry, when he doth not appear according as he doth use to do to them who love his Name. (2) Because men are better generally under the rod, than under mercy. We see what an admirable Spirit there is under sore afflictions, which men cannot attain to, or keep, but then. Now [2dly] I thought that Men were not so good as they appeared to be, (1) Because very few are recovered to that frame before death, which God will bring them to, that get assurance. Few recover holiness by mercy, or feel the eternal good of sore afflictions. (2) Because many eminent professors fall off and fall away. If they continue long, by some trial or other they are made transparent. (3) Because, though others of less holiness may be upright; yet for us that have more means, not to be more holy and humble, nay not so humble and holy as those that want means, cannot stand with uprightness, generally. My counsel therefore is, Let all take Heed of being led by example of men, and thinking, We are good because we are like them that be so. . . . .

On the evening of this day before the Sacrament, I saw it my duty to sequester myself from all other things for the Lord the next day. And (1) I saw, I was to pitch on the right end, (2) on the means, all things to lead me to that end. I saw mine own ends were, to procure honor, pleasure, gain to myself and not the Lord: and I saw how impossible it was for me to attain those ends I should attain, viz., To seek the Lord for himself, to lay up all my honor, pleasure, etc., in him. Or if I did, it was for myself, because good unto me. So the Lord helped me thus. To see,

(1) If honor, pleasure was good; Oh, how good was he who gave them, and could have cut me short of them? And so my heart was raised up a little unto God.

(2) I saw my blessedness did not chiefly lie in receiving good and comfort from God, and in God; but in holding forth the Glory of God and his Virtues. For 't is, I saw, an amazing, glorious Object, to see God in a Creature; God speak, God act; the Deity not being the Creature and turned into it, but filling of it, shining through it; to be covered with God, as with a cloud; or as a glass lantern, to have his beams penetrate through it. Nothing is good but God; and I am no further good, than as I hold forth God. The Devil over-

came Eve to damn herself by telling her she should be like God. O that's a glorious thing! And should not I be holy, and so be like him indeed?

Hereupon I found my heart more sweetly drawn to close with God, thus as my end, and to place my happiness in it. And also I saw, it was my misery to hold forth sin and Satan and self in my course. And I saw one of those two things I must do. Now because my soul wanted pleasure, I purposed thus to hold forth God, and did hope it should be my pleasure so to do, as it would be my pain to do otherwise. . . . .

November 24. I felt over night much darkness and unbelief; and saw, that if Satan had once made us begin to doubt, he would hold us with doubts continually, about the Being of God and Truth of the Scriptures. And I saw the next morning this error; viz., That I did believe what the Lord spake, because I saw it agreeable to my reason, and so made that my last resolution of all doubts. And I began to think, how it should be otherwise? So I saw I was indeed to see the things God spake, in the reality of them, and in their agreement with reason, but not to make this the last resolution of doubts, though a resolution. But then, when I had seen things so agreeable to reason, yet to look upon God's Testimony of them in Scripture as the last and chief Light and Ground of Settlement; and not to believe these things are true, because I see they are true, but to believe the Lord sees them more clearly than I: and he knowing them to be so, I see them so, and believe them upon his Testimony much more: For, if I believe any thing to be true because I see it so, much more because God saith it, who sees it better, and whose Word stakes me down, and confirms me in it.

A CHARACTER OF MISTRESS JOANNA SHEPARD.

[*Shepard's Memoir of His Own Life. Written about* 1647.]

THE Lord hath not been wont to let me live long without some affliction or other; and yet ever mixed with some mercy. And therefore, April the 2d, 1646, as he gave me another son, John, so he took away my most dear, precious, meek, and loving wife, in childbed, after three weeks' lying-in; having left behind her two hopeful branches, my dear children, Samuel and John. This affliction was very heavy to me; for in it the Lord seemed to withdraw his tender

care for me and mine, which he graciously manifested by my dear wife; also refused to hear prayer, when I did think he would have hearkened and let me see his beauty in the land of the living, in restoring of her to health again; also, in taking her away in the prime time of her life, when she might have lived to have glorified the Lord long; also, in threatening me to proceed in rooting out my family, and that he would not stop, having begun here, as in Eli, for not being zealous enough against the sins of his sons. And I saw that if I had profited by former afflictions of this nature, I should not have had this scourge. But I am the Lord's, and he may do with me what he will. He did teach me to prize a little grace, gained by a cross, as a sufficient recompense for all outward losses.

But this loss was very great. She was a woman of incomparable meekness of spirit, toward myself especially, and very loving; of great prudence to take care for and order my family affairs, being neither too lavish nor sordid in any thing, so that I knew not what was under her hands. She had an excellency to reprove for sin, and discern the evils of men. She loved God's people dearly, and [was] studious to profit by their fellowship, and therefore loved their company. She loved God's word exceedingly, and hence was glad she could read my notes, which she had to muse on every week. She had a spirit of prayer beyond ordinary of her time and experience. She was fit to die long before she did die, even after the death of her first-born, which was a great affliction to her. But her work not being done then, she lived almost nine years with me, and was the comfort of my life to me; and the last sacrament before her lying-in seemed to be full of Christ, and thereby fitted for heaven. She did oft say she should not outlive this child; and when her fever first began, by taking some cold, she told me so, that we should love exceedingly together, because we should not live long together. Her fever took away her sleep; want of sleep wrought much distemper in her head, and filled it with fantasies and distractions, but without raging. The night before she died, she had about six hours' unquiet sleep. But that so cooled and settled her head, that when she knew none else, so as to speak to them, yet she knew Jesus Christ, and could speak to him; and therefore, as soon as she awakened out of sleep, she brake out into a most heavenly, heart-breaking prayer, after Christ, her dear Redeemer, for the spirit of life, and so continued praying until the last hour of her death, "Lord, though I [am] unworthy, Lord, one word, one word," etc.; and so gave up the ghost.

Thus God hath visited and scourged me for my sins, and sought to wean me from this world. But I have ever found it a difficult thing to profit even but a little by the sorest and sharpest afflictions.

THE WAY TO HEAVEN.

[*The Sincere Convert.* 1655.]

THE Gate is strait, and therefore a man must sweat and strive to enter; both the entrance is difficult and the progress of salvation too. Jesus Christ is not got with a wet finger. It is not wishing and desiring to be saved will bring men to Heaven; Hell's mouth is full of good wishes. It is not shedding a Tear at a Sermon, or blubbering now and then in a corner, and saying over thy prayers, and crying God's Mercy for thy sins will save thee. It is not a "Lord, have mercy upon us," will do thee good. It is not coming constantly to church; these are easy matters. But it is a tough Work, a wonderful hard Matter to be saved. Hence the Way to Heaven is compared to a race, where a man must put forth all his strength and stretch every limb and all to get forward. Hence a Christian's Life is compared to wrestling, Eph. vi. 12. All the policy and power of Hell buckle together against a Christian, therefore he must look to himself, or else he falls. Hence it is compared to fighting, II. Tim. iv. 7, as Man must fight against the Devil, the World, himself, who shoot poisoned Bullets in the Soul, where a Man must kill or be killed. God hath not lined the Way to Heaven with Velvet, nor strewed it with Rushes. He will never feed a slothful humor in man, who will be saved if Christ and Heaven will drop into their mouths, and if any would bear their charges thither. If Christ might be bought for a few cold Wishes and lazy Desires, he would be of small reckoning among men, who would say: "Lightly come, lightly go." Indeed Christ's Yoke is easy in itself, and when a man is got into Christ, nothing is so sweet; but for a carnal dull heart, it is hard to draw in it: For,

There are four strait Gates which every one must pass through before he can enter into Heaven.

1. There is the strait Gate of Humiliation. God saveth none but first he humbleth them. Now it is hard for a heart as stiff as a stake to bow, as hard as a stone to bleed for the least prick, not to mourn for one sin, but all sins; and not for a fit, but all man's life-time. Oh it is hard for a man to suffer himself to be loaden with sin, and prest to death for sin, so as never to love sin more, but to spit in the face of that which he once loved as dearly as his life. It is easy to drop a tear or two, and be Sermon-sick; but to have a heart rent for sin, and from sin, this is true Humiliation, and this is hard.

2. The strait Gate of Faith. It is an easy matter to presume but hard to believe in Christ. It is easy for a man that was never humbled to believe and say: "'Tis but believing." But it is an hard matter

for a man humbled when he sees all his sins in order before him, the Devil and Conscience roaring upon him, and crying out against him, and God frowning upon him; now to call God Father is an hard Work. Judas had rather be hanged than believe. It is hard to see a Christ as a Rock to stand upon, when we are overwhelmed with sorrow of heart for sin. It is hard to prize Christ above ten thousand worlds of pearl. 'Tis hard to desire Christ and nothing but Christ; hard to follow Christ all the day long, and never be quiet till he is got in thine arms, and then with Simeon to say: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace."

3. The strait Gate of Repentance. It is an easy Matter for a man to confess himself to be a sinner, and to cry to God for forgiveness until next time. But to have a bitter sorrow, and so to turn from all sin, and to return to God, and all the ways of God, which is true Repentance indeed; this is hard.

4. The strait Gate of Opposition of Devils, the World, and a Man's own self, who knocks a Man down when he begins to look towards Christ and Heaven.

Hence learn that every easy way to Heaven is a false way, although Ministers should preach it out of their pulpits, and Angels should publish it out of Heaven.

Now there are nine easy Ways to Heaven (as men think) all of which lead to Hell.

1. The common broad Way, wherein a whole parish may all go abreadth in it; tell these people they shall be damned; their answer is, "Then woe to many more besides me."

2. The Way of Civil Education; whereby many wild natures are by little and little tamed, and like wolves are chained up easily while they are young.

3. Balaam's Way of good Wishes; whereby many people will confess their ignorance, forgetfulness, and that they can not make such shows as others do, but they thank God their hearts are as good, and God for his part accepts (say they) the will for the deed. And, "My son, give me thine heart;" the heart is all in all, and so long they hope to do well enough. Poor deluded Creatures, thus to think to break through Armies of Sins, Devils, Temptations, and to break open the very Gates of Heaven with a few good Wishes! They think to come to their journey's end without legs, because their hearts are good to God.

4. The Way of Formality; whereby men rest in the performance of most or of all external duties without inward life. Every man must have some religion, some fig-leaves to hide their nakedness. Now this religion must be either true religion, or the false one; if the true he

must either take up the power of it, but that he will not, because it is burdensome; or the form of it, and this being easy, men embrace it as their God, and will rather lose their lives than their religion thus taken up. This Form of Religion is the easiest religion in the world; partly because it easeth men of trouble of conscience, quieting that. Thou hast sinned, said Conscience, and God is offended; take a Book and pray, keep thy Conscience better, and bring thy Bible with thee. Now Conscience is silent, being charmed down with the Form of Religion, as the Devil is driven away (as they say) with Holy Water; partly also because the Form of Religion credits a man, partly because it is easy in itself; it's of a light carriage, being but the shadow and picture of the substance of religion; as now, what an easy matter is it to come to Church! They hear (at least outwardly) very attentively an hour or more, and then to turn to a proof, and to turn down a leaf, here's the Form. But now to spend Saturday-night and all the whole Sabbath Day-morning, in trimming the Lamp, and in getting Oil in the Heart to meet the Bridegroom the next Day, and so meet him in the Word, and there to tremble at the Voice of God, and suck the breast while it is open, and when the Word is done, to go aside privately and there to chew upon the Word, there to lament with tears all the vain thoughts in duties, deadness in hearing—this is hard, because this is the Power of Godliness, and this men will not take up. So for private praying what an easy matter is it for a man to say over a few prayers out of some devout Book, or to repeat some old prayer got by heart since a child, or to have two or three short-winded Wishes for God's Mercy in the morning and at night! this Form is easy. But now to prepare the heart by serious meditation of God and man's self before he prays, then to come to God with a bleeding, hunger-starved heart, not only with a desire but with a warrant, "I must have such or such a Mercy," and there to wrestle with God, although it be an hour or two together for a Blessing—this is too hard. Men think none do thus and therefore they will not.

5. The Way of Presumption; whereby men having seen their sins, catch hold easily upon God's Mercy, and snatch comforts before they are reached out unto them. There is no word of comfort in the Book of God intended for such as regard Iniquity in their Hearts, though they do not act it in their lives. Their only comfort is that the Sentence of Damnation is not yet executed upon them.

6. The Way of Sloth; whereby men lie still and say "God must do all." If the Lord would set up a Pulpit at the ale-house door, it may be they would hear oftener. If God will always thunder, they will always pray; if he strike them now and then with sickness, God shall be paid with good words and promises enough, that they will be better

if they live; but as long as Peace lasts they will run to Hell as fast as they can; and if God will not catch them they care not, they will not return.

7. The Way of Carelessness, when men feeling many difficulties pass through some of them, but not all, and what they can not get now, they feed themselves with a false hope they shall hereafter. They are content to be called Precisians and Fools, and crazy Brains, but they want Brokenness of Heart, and they will pray (it may be) for it, and pass by that difficulty; but to keep the wound always open, this they will not do, to be always sighing for help, and never to give themselves rest till their hearts are humbled; that they will not. These have a Name to live, yet are dead.

8. The Way of Moderation or honest Discretion, which indeed is nothing but Luke-warmness of the Soul, and that is when a man contrives and cuts out such a way to Heaven, as he may be hated of none, but please all, and so do any thing for a quiet life and so sleep in a whole skin. The Lord saith: "He that will live godly must suffer persecution." No, not so, Lord. Surely (think they) if men were discreet and wise, it would prevent a great deal of trouble and opposition in good Courses; this man will commend those that are most zealous, if they were wise; if he meet with a black-mouthed Swearer, he will not reprove him, lest he be displeased with him; if he meet with an honest Man, he'll yield to all he saith, that so he may commend him; and when he meets them both together, they shall be both alike welcome (whatever he thinks) to his house and table, because he would fain be at peace with all men.

9. And lastly, The Way of Self-Love; whereby a man fearing terribly he shall be damned, useth diligently all means whereby he shall be saved. Here is the strongest difficulty of all, to row against the Stream, and to hate a man's self, and then to follow Christ fully.

ON THE GLORY OF GOD.

[*From the Same.*]

WHEN we see a stately House, although we see not the Man that built it, yet will we conclude thus: Surely some wise Artificer hath been working here. Can we, when we behold the stately Theatre of Heaven and Earth, conclude other but that the Finger, Arms, and wisdom of God hath been here, although we see not him

that is invisible, and although we know not the time when he began to build? Every creature in Heaven and Earth is a loud preacher of this truth: Who set those Candles, those Torches of Heaven on the Table? Who hung out those Lanthorns in Heaven to enlighten a dark World? Who can make the Statue of a Man, but one wiser than the Stone out of which it is hewn? Could any frame a Man but one wiser and greater than Man? Who taught the birds to build their nests, and the bees to set up and order their commonwealth? Who sends the sun post from one end of Heaven to the other, carrying so many thousand blessings to so many thousands of People and Kingdoms? What power of Men or Angels can make the least Pile of Grass, or put Life into the least Fly, if once dead? There is therefore a Power over all created Power, which is God. . . .

O labor to see and behold this God. Is there a God, and wilt thou not give him a good look? O pass by all the Rivers, till thou come to the Spring-head; wade through all Creatures, until thou art drowned, plunged, and swallowed up with God. When thou seest the Heavens, say: Where is that great Builder that made this? When thou hearest of mutations of kingdoms, say: Where is the Lord of Hosts, the great Captain of these Armies? When thou tastest sweetness in the Creature, or in God's Ordinances, say: Where is Sweetness itself, Beauty itself, where is the Sea of these Drops, the Sun of these Beams? Oh! that men saw this God! It's Heaven to behold him. Thou art then in a Corner of Hell, that canst not, dost not, see him, and yet what is less known than God? Methinks when men hear there is a God about them, they should lie grovelling in the Dust, because of his Glory. . . . .

Now what this Glory is, no man or angel hath, doth, or ever shall know; their Cockle-shell can never comprehend this Sea; he must have the wisdom of God, and so be a god, that comprehendeth the Essence of God; but though it can not be comprehended what it is, yet it may be apprehended, that it is uncomprehensible and glorious; which makes his Glory to be the more admired, as we admire the Lustre of the Sun the more, in that it is so great we can not behold it. . . . .

Here's infinite, eternal, present sweetness, goodness, grace, glory and mercy to be found in God. Why post you from Mountain to Hill, why spend you your money, your thoughts, time, endeavors, on things that satisfy not? Here is thy resting Place. Thy Clothes may warm thee, but they cannot feed thee; thy Meat may feed thee, but cannot heal thee; thy physic may heal thee but cannot maintain thee; thy Money may maintain thee but cannot comfort thee when distresses of Conscience and anguish of heart come upon thee; this God is joy in sadness, light in darkness, life in death, heaven in hell.

Here is all thine eye ever saw, thine heart ever desired, thy tongue ever asked, thy mind ever conceived. Here is all Light in this Sun, and all Water in this Sea, out of whom as out of a crystal Fountain, thou shalt drink all the refined Sweetness of all Creatures in Heaven and Earth for ever and ever. All the World is seeking and tiring out themselves for Rest; here only it can be found.

THE LAST JUDGMENT.

[*From the Same.*]

WHAT will become of thine immortal Soul when thou art dead? Thou sayest: "I know not, I hope well." I tell thee therefore that which may send thee mourning to thy House, and quaking to thy Grave, if thou diest in this estate, thou shalt not die like a Dog, nor yet like a Toad; but after death comes Judgment; then farewell friends when dying; and farewell God forever when thou art dead.

Now the Lord open your eyes to see the terrors of this particular Judgment; which if you could see, (unless you were mad) it would make you spend whole days and nights in seeking to set all even with God.

I will show you briefly the manner and nature of it in these particulars:—

1. Thy Soul shall be dragged out of thy Body, as out of a stinking prison, by the Devil, the Jaylor, into some place within the Bowels of the third Heavens, and there thou shalt stand stript of all friend, all comfort, all creatures before the Presence of God; as at the Assizes, first the jaylor brings the prisoners out.

2. Then thy Soul shall have a new Light put into it, whereby it shall see the glorious Presence of God, as prisoners brought with guilty eyes, look with terror upon the Judge. Now thou seest no God abroad in the world, but then thou shalt see the Almighty Jehovah; which Sight shall strike thee with that hellish terror and dreadful horror, that thou shalt call to the mountains to cover thee, "O Rocks, Rocks, hide me from the Face of the Lamb!"

3. Then all the sins that ever thou hast or shall commit, shall come fresh to thy mind, as when the prisoner is come before the face of the Judge, then his accusers bring in their evidence; thy sleepy Conscience then will be instead of a thousand Witnesses, and every sin then with all the circumstances of it, shall be set in order, armed with God's wrath round about thee. As letters writ with the juice

of oranges cannot be read until it be brought unto the fire, and then they appear; so thou canst not read that bloody bill of indictment thy conscience hath against thee now; but when thou shalt stand near unto God, a consuming Fire, then what an heavy reckoning will appear? It may be thou hast left thy sins now, and goest so far, and profitest so much, that no Christian can discern thee; nay, thou thinkest thyself in a safe estate; but yet there is one Leak in thy Ship that will sink thee; there is one secret sin in thine heart, which thou livest in, as all unsound people do, that will damn thee. I tell thee as soon as ever thou art dead and gone, then thou shalt see where the Knot did bind thee, where that sin was that hath spoiled thee forever, and then thou shalt grow mad to think: "O that I never saw this sin I loved, lived in, plotted, perfected mine own eternal ruin, until now, when it is too late to amend!"

4. Then the Lord shall take his everlasting Farewell of thee, and make thee know it too. Now God is departed from thee in this life, but he may return in mercy to thee again; but when the Lord departs with all his Patience, to wait for thee no more, nor shall Christ be offered thee any more, no Spirit to strive with thee any more, and so shall pass Sentence, though haply not vocally, yet effectually upon thy Soul;—the Lord saying: "Depart, thou cursed!" Thou shalt see indeed the Glory of God that others find, but to thy greater Sorrow shalt never taste the same.

5. Then shall God surrender up thy forsaken Soul into the hands of Devils, who being thy Jaylors, must keep thee till the great Day of Account; so that as thy friends are scrambling for thy goods, and worms for thy body, so Devils shall scramble for thy Soul. For as soon as ever a wicked man is dead, he is either in Heaven or in Hell. Not in Heaven, for no unclean thing comes there; if in Hell then amongst Devils; there shall be thine eternal Lodging, and hence thy forlorn Soul shall lie mourning for the Time past, now, 't is too late to recall again; groaning under the intolerable torments of the wrath of God present, and amazed at the Eternity of Misery and Sorrow that is to come, waiting for that fearful Hour when the last trump shall blow, and then body and soul meet to bear that Wrath, that Fire that shall never go out. Oh, therefore suspect and fear the worst of thyself now! Thou hast seldom or never, or very little, troubled thine head about this matter, whether Christ will save thee or not; thou hast such strong hopes and confidences already, that he will. Know, that it is possible thou mayst be deceived, and if so, when thou shalt know thy Doom after Death, thou canst not get an hour more to make thy peace with God, although thou shouldest weep tears of blood. If either the Muffler of Ignorance shall be before

thine eyes, like an handkerchief about the face of one condemned; or if thou art pinioned with any lust, or if thou makest thine own pardon, proclaimest (because thou art sorry a little for thy sins, and resolvest never to do the like again) peace to thy Soul, thou art one that after death shalt appear before the Lord to Judgment; thou that art thus condemned now, dying so, shalt come to thy fearful Judgment after death.

There shall be a general Judgment of the soul and body at the End of the World, wherein they shall be arraigned and condemned before the great tribunal Seat of Jesus Christ. The hearing of Judgment to come made Felix to tremble. Nothing of more Efficacy to awaken a secure Sinner, than sad Thoughts of this fiery Day.

But thou wilt ask me: "How it may be proved that there will be such a day?"

I answer, God's Justice calls for it. This world is the stage where God's Patience and Bounty act their Parts, and hence every Man will profess and conceive because he feels it, that God is merciful. But God's Justice is questioned. Men think God to be all Mercy and no Justice; all Honey and no Sting; now the wicked prosper in their ways, are never punished, but live and die in peace; whereas the godly are daily afflicted and reviled. Therefore because this Attribute suffers a total Eclipse almost now, there must come a Day wherein it must shine out before all the world in all the glory of it. . . . .

Christ shall break out of the third Heaven and be seen in the air, before any Dead arise; and this shall be with an admirable shout, as when a King cometh to triumph among his subjects, and over his enemies.

Then shall the voice of the Arch-Angel be heard. Now this Arch-Angel is Jesus Christ himself, as the Scripture expounds, being in the clouds of Heaven; he shall with an audible Heaven-shaking shout say: "Rise, you Dead, and come to Judgment!" even as he called to Lazarus, "Lazarus, arise!"

Then the trump shall blow and even as at the giving of the law it's said "the trumpet sounded," much more louder shall it not sound when he comes to judge men that have broken the Law?

Then shall the Dead arise. The bodies of them that have died in the Lord shall rise first, then the others that live shall (like Enoch) be translated and changed.

When thus the Judge and Justices are upon their bench at Christ's right hand, on their thrones, then shall the guilty prisoners be brought forth, and come out of their graves like filthy toads against this terrible storm. Then shall all the wicked that ever were or ever shall be, stand

quaking before this glorious Judge, with the same bodies, feet, hands to receive their Doom.

Oh! Consider of this Day, thou that livest in thy sins now, and yet art safe; there is a Day coming wherein thou mayst and shalt be judged!

Consider, Who shall be thy Judge? Why Mercy, Pity, Goodness itself, even Jesus Christ that many times held out his bowels of compassion towards thee. A child of God may say: "Yonder is my brother, friend, husband;" but thou mayst say: "Yonder is mine Enemy." He may say at that Day: "Yonder is he that shed his blood to save me;" thou must say: "Yonder he comes whose Heart I have pierced with my sins, whose Blood I have despised." They may say: "O come, Lord Jesus, and cover me under thy Wings!" but thou shalt then cry out: "O Rocks, fall upon me, and hide me from the Face of the Lamb!" . . . .

Consider the manner of his coming. He shall come in flaming fire, the Heavens shall be on a flame, the elements shall melt like scalding lead upon thee. When a house is on fire at midnight in a town what a fearful cry is there made! When all the world shall cry "Fire! fire!" and run up and down for shelter to hide themselves, but cannot find it but say: "O now the gloomy day of blood and fire is come! Here's for my pride, here's for my oaths and the wages for my drunkenness, security, and neglect of duties!"

In regard of the heavy accusations that shall come against thee at that day there's never a wicked man almost in the world as fair a face as he carries but he hath at some time or other committed some secret villany that he would be ready to hang himself for shame if others did know it. . . . . At this day all the world shall see and hear these privy pranks, then the Books shall be opened. Men will not take up a foul business nor end it in private, therefore there shall be a day of public hearing. Things shall not be suddenly shuffled up, as carnal thoughts imagine, viz.: That at this day, first Christ shall raise the dead and then the separation shall be made and then the sentence passed, and then suddenly the Judgment Day is done.

No, no, it must take up some large quantity of time that all the world may see the secret sins of wicked men in the world and therefore it may be made evident from all Scripture and reason, that this day of Christ's kingly office in judging the world shall last happily longer than his private Administration now (wherein he is less glorious) in governing the world. . . . . In regard of the fearful sentence that then shall be passed upon thee: "Depart, thou cursed Creature, into everlasting Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels!" Thou shalt then cry out: "O mercy Lord! O a little

mercy!" "No," will the Lord Jesus say, "I did indeed once offer it you, but you refused; therefore Depart!"

Then thou shalt plead again: "Lord, if I must depart, yet bless me before I go!"

"No, no, Depart, thou cursed!"

"O, but Lord, if I must depart cursed let me go to some good place!"

"No, Depart, thou cursed, into Hell fire!"

"O Lord, that's a torment I cannot bear; but if it must be so, Lord, let me come out again quickly!"

"No! Depart, thou cursed, into everlasting Fire!"

"O Lord, if this be thy pleasure that here I must abide let me have good company with me!"

"No! Depart, thou cursed, into everlasting Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels!"

This shall be thy sentence, the hearing of which may make the Rocks to rent. . . . .

When the Judgment Day is done then the fearful wrath of God shall be poured out and piled upon their bodies and souls and the breath of the Lord like a stream of Brimstone shall kindle it; and here thou shalt lie burning, and none shall ever quench it. This is the execution of a sinner after Judgment.

Now this Wrath of God consists in these Things:

1. Thy Soul shall be banished from the Face and blessed sweet Presence of God and Christ, and thou shalt never see the Face of God more. It is said that they wept sore because they should see Paul's face no more. Oh, thou shalt never see the Face of God, Christ, saints and angels more. O heavy Doom to famish and pine away forever without one Bit of Bread to comfort thee, one Smile of God to refresh thee! Men that have their sores running upon them, must be shut up from the presence of men sound and whole. Oh, thy sins, like Plague-Sores, run on thee, therefore thou must be shut out like a dog from the Presence of God and all his people.

2. God shall set himself like a consuming, infinite Fire against thee, and tread thee under his Feet, who has by sin trod him and his Glory under Foot all thy Life. A man may devise exquisite torments for another, and great power may make a little stick to lay on heavy strokes; but great Power stirred up to strike from great Fury and Wrath, makes the stroke deadly. I tell thee all the wisdom of God shall be then set against thee, to devise torments for thee. There was never such Wrath felt or conceived, as the Lord hath devised against thee, that livest and diest in thy natural estate, hence it is called "Wrath to come." The torment which wisdom shall devise, the almighty Power of God shall inflict upon thee, so as there was never

such Power seen in making the world, as in holding a poor Creature under his wrath, that holds up the Soul in Being with one Hand, and beats it with the other, ever burning like Fire against the Creature, and yet that Creature never burnt up. Think not this Cruelty,—it's Justice; what cares God for a vile wretch whom nothing can make good while it lives? If we have been long in hewing a block and we can make no meet vessel of it, put it to no good use for ourselves, we cast it into the fire. God heweth thee by Sermons, Sickness, Losses, and Crosses, sudden Deaths, Mercies and Miseries,—yet nothing makes thee better; what should God do with thee but cast thee hence? Oh, consider of this Wrath before you feel it! I had rather have all the world burning about my ears, than to have one blasting Frown from the blessed Face of an infinite and dreadful God! Thou canst not endure the torment of a little kitchen-fire on the tip of thy finger, not one half-hour together; how wilt thou bear the Fury of this infinite, endless, consuming Fire in body and soul throughout all Eternity!

3. The never-dying Worm of a guilty Conscience shall torment thee, as if thou hast swallowed down a living, poisonful Snake, which shall lie gnawing and biting thine heart for sin past, day and night. And this Worm shall torment by showing the cause of thy misery; that is that thou didst never care for him that would have saved thee. By showing thee also thy sins against the Law; by showing thee thy sloth whereby thy happiness is lost. Then shall thy Conscience gnaw to think, "So many nights I went to bed without prayer, and so many days and hours I spent in feasting and foolish sporting. Oh, if I had spent half that time, now misspent, in praying, in mourning, in meditation, yonder in Heaven had I been!" By showing thee also the means that thou once hadst to avoid this misery: "Such a minister I heard once, that told me of my particular sins, as if he had been told of me; such a friend persuaded me once to turn over a new leaf; I remember so many knocks God gave at this iron heart of mine, so many mercies the Lord sent; but oh, no means could prevail with me!" Lastly, by showing thee how easily thou mightest have avoided all these miseries: "Oh, once I was almost persuaded to be a Christian, but I suffered my heart to grow dead, and fell to loose company and so lost all. The Lord Jesus came unto my door and knocked, and if I had done that for Christ which I did for the Devil many a time, to open at his knocks, I had been saved." A thousand such bites will this Worm give at thine heart, which shall make thee cry out: "O Time, Time! O Sermons, Sermons! O my Hopes and my Helps are now lost, that once I had to save my lost Soul!"

4. Thou shalt take up thy lodging forever with Devils, and they

shall be thy companions. Him thou hast served here, with him thou must dwell there. It scares Men out of their Wits almost to see the Devil, as they think, when they be alone; but what horror shall fill thy soul, when thou shalt be banished from Angels' society, and come into the fellowship of Devils forever!

5. Thou shalt be filled with final Despair. If a man be grievously sick, it comforts him to think it will not last long. But if the physician tell him he must live all his life-time in this extremity, he thinks the poorest beggar in a better estate than himself. Oh, to think, when thou hast been millions of years in thy sorrows, when thou art no nearer thy end of bearing thy misery, than at the first coming in, "Oh, I might once have had Mercy and Christ, but no hope now ever to have one glimpse of his Face, or one good look from him any more!"

6. Thou shalt vomit out blasphemous oaths and curses in the Face of God the Father forever; and curse God that never elected thee; and curse the Lord Jesus that never shed one drop of blood to redeem thee; and curse God the Holy Ghost that passed by thee and never called thee. And here thou shalt lie and weep and gnash thy teeth in spite against God and thyself, and roar and stamp and grow mad that there thou must lie under the curse of God forever. Thus (I say) thou shalt lie blaspheming, with God's Wrath like a Pile of Fire on thy Soul burning, and Floods, nay Seas, nay more, Seas of Tears (for thou shalt forever lie weeping) shall never quench it. And here, which way soever thou lookest, thou shalt see matter of everlasting grief. Look up to Heaven, and there thou shalt see (Oh!) that God is forever gone. Look about thee, thou shalt see Devils quaking, cursing God; and thousands, nay, millions of sinful damned Creatures crying and roaring out with doleful shriekings: "O the Day that ever I was born!" Look within thee, there is a guilty conscience gnawing. Look to time past; O those golden Days of Grace and sweet Seasons of Mercy are quite lost and gone! Look to time to come; there thou shalt behold evils, troops and swarms of sorrows, and woes and raging waves and billows of Wrath coming roaring upon thee. Look to time present; oh, not an hour or moment of ease or refreshing, but all Curses meet together, and feeding upon one poor, lost, immortal Soul, that never can be recovered again! No God, no Christ, no Spirit to comfort thee, no Minister to preach unto thee; no Friend to wipe away thy continual tears, no Sun to shine upon thee, not a Bit of Bread, not one Drop of Water to cool thy Tongue!

Thomas Welde.

SETTLED over First Church of Roxbury, Mass., 1632–40. DIED in England about 1662.

THE HERESIES OF ANNE HUTCHINSON AND HER FOLLOWERS.

[*Preface to "A Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of the Antinomians."* 1644.]

AFTER we had escaped the cruel hands of persecuting prelates, and the dangers at sea, and had prettily well outgrown our wilderness troubles in our first plantings in New-England; and when our Commonwealth began to be founded and our churches sweetly settled in peace (God abounding to us in more happy enjoyments than we could have expected), lest we should now grow secure, our wise God, who seldom suffers his own, in this their wearisome pilgrimage, to be long without trouble, sent a new storm after us, which proved the sorest trial that ever befell us since we left our native soil.

Which was this, that some going thither from hence full fraught with many unsound and loose opinions, after a time began to open their packs and freely vent their wares to any that would be their customers. Multitudes of men and women, church members and others, having tasted of their commodities, were eager after them, and were straight infected before they were aware, and some being tainted conveyed the infection to others; and thus that plague first began amongst us, that, had not the wisdom and faithfulness of Him, that watcheth over his vineyard night and day, by the beams of his light and grace cleared and purged the air, certainly we had not been able to have breathed there comfortably much longer.

The opinions (some of them) were such as these; I say, some of them, to give but a taste, for afterwards you shall see a litter of fourscore and eleven of their brats hung up against the sun, besides many new ones of Mistress Hutchinson's; all which they hatched and dandled, as:

That the Law and the preaching of it, is of no use at all to drive a man to Christ.

That a man is united to Christ and justified, without faith; yea, from eternity.

That faith is not a receiving of Christ, but a man's discerning that he hath received him already.

That a man is united to Christ only by the work of the Spirit upon him, without any act of his.

That a man is never effectually Christ's, till he hath assurance.

This assurance is only from the witness of the Spirit.

This witness of the Spirit is merely immediate, without any respect to the word, or any concurrence with it.

When a man hath once this witness he never doubts more.

To question my assurance, though I fall into murder or adultery, proves that I never had true assurance.

Sanctification can be no evidence of a man's good estate.

No comfort can be had from any conditional promise.

Poverty in spirit (to which Christ pronounced blessedness, Matt. v. 3) is only this, to see I have no grace at all.

To see I have no grace in me, will give me comfort; but to take comfort from sight of grace, is legal.

An hypocrite may have Adam's graces that he had in innocency.

The graces of Saints and hypocrites differ not.

All graces are in Christ, as in the subject, and none in us, so that Christ believes, Christ loves, etc.

Christ is the new Creature.

God loves a man never the better for any holiness in him, and never the less, be he never so unholy.

Sin in a child of God must never trouble him.

Trouble in conscience for sins of Commission, or for neglect of duties, shows a man to be under a covenant of works.

All covenants to God expressed in works are legal works.

A Christian is not bound to the Law as a rule of his conversation.

A Christian is not bound to pray except the Spirit moves him.

A minister that hath not this (new) light is not able to edify others that have it.

The whole letter of the Scripture is a covenant of works.

No Christian must be pressed to duties of holiness.

No Christian must be exhorted to faith, love, and prayer, etc., except we know he hath the Spirit.

A man may have all graces, and yet want Christ.

All a believer's activity is only to act sin. . . . . .

Consider their sleights they used in fomenting their opinions, some of which I will set down, as:

They labored much to acquaint themselves with as many as possibly they could, that so they might have the better opportunity to communicate their new light unto them.

Being once acquainted with them, they would strangely labor to insinuate themselves into their affections by loving salutes, humble carriage, kind invitements, friendly visits, and so they would win upon men and steal into their bosoms before they were aware. Yea, as soon as any new-comers (especially men of note, worth, and activity, fit instruments to advance their design) were landed, they would be sure to

welcome them, show them all courtesy, and offer them room in their own houses, or of some of their own sect, and so having gotten them into their web, they could easily poison them by degrees. It was rare for any man thus hooked in, to escape their leaven.

Because such men as would seduce others had need be some way eminent, they would appear very humble, holy, and spiritual Christians, and full of Christ. They would deny themselves far, speak excellently, pray with such soul-ravishing expressions and affections, that a stranger that loved goodness could not but love and admire them, and so be the more easily drawn after them; looking upon them as men and women as likely to know the secrets of Christ and bosom-counsels of his Spirit as any other.

And this opinion of them was the more lifted up through the simplicity and weakness of their followers, who would, in admiration of them, tell others that, since the Apostles' times, they were persuaded, none ever received so much light from God, as such and such had done, naming their leaders.

As they would lift up themselves, so also their opinions, by gilding them over with specious terms of "Free Grace," "glorious light," "Gospel truths," "as holding forth naked Christ:" and this took much with simple honest hearts that loved Christ, especially with new converts, who were lately in bondage under sin and wrath, and had newly tasted the sweetness of "Free Grace;" being now in their first love to Christ, they were exceeding glad to embrace any thing that might further advance Christ and "Free Grace;" and so drank them in readily.

If they met with Christians that were full of doubts and fears about their conditions (as many tender and godly hearts there were), they would tell them they had never taken a right course for comfort, but had gone on (as they were led) in a legal way of evidencing their good estate by sanctification, and gazing after qualifications in themselves; and would show them from their own experience, that themselves for a long time were befooled even as they are now, in poring upon graces in themselves, and while they did so they never prospered; but were driven to pull all that building down, and lay better and safer foundations in "Free Grace;" and then would tell them of this Gospel-way we speak of, how they might come to such a settled peace that they might never doubt more, though they should see no grace at all in themselves. . . . .

They commonly labored to work first upon women, being (as they conceived) the weaker to resist, the more flexible, tender and ready to yield; and if once they could wind in them, they hoped by them, as by an Eve, to catch their husbands also, which indeed often proved too true amongst us there.

As soon as they had thus wrought in themselves, and a good conceit of their opinions, by all these ways of subtlety, into the hearts of people, nextly, they strongly endeavored with all the craft they could, to undermine the good opinion of their ministers and their doctrine, and to work them clean out of their affections, telling them they were sorry that their teachers had so misled them, and trained them up under a covenant of works, and that themselves never having been taught of God, it is no wonder they did no better teach them the truth, and how they may sit till doomsday under their legal sermons and never see light; and withal sometimes casting aspersions on their persons and practice, as well as their doctrine, to bring them quite out of esteem with them. And this they did so effectually, that many declined the hearing of them, though they were members of their churches, and others that did hear were so filled with prejudice that they profited not, but studied how to object against them and censure their doctrine, which (while they stood right) were wont to make their hearts to melt and tremble.

Yea, some that had been begotten to Christ by some of their faithful labors in this land, for whom they could have laid down their lives, and not being able to bear their absence followed after them thither to New-England to enjoy their labors; yet these falling acquainted with those seducers, were suddenly so altered in their affections towards those their spiritual fathers, that they would neither hear them nor willingly come in their company, professing they had never received any good from them.

They would not, till they knew men well, open the whole mystery of their new religion to them, but this was ever their method, to drop a little at once into their followers as they were capable, and never would administer their physic, till they had first given good preparatives to make it work, and then stronger and stronger potions, as they found the patient able to bear.

They would in company now and then let fall some of their most plausible errors, as a bait let down to catch withal. Now if any began to nibble at the bait, they would angle still and never give over till they had caught them; but if any should espy the naked hook, and so see their danger, and profess against the opinions, then you should have them fairly retreat, and say, "Nay, mistake me not, for I do mean even as you do, you and I are both of one mind in substance, and differ only in words." By this kind of Jesuitical dealing, they did not only keep their credit with them, as men that held nothing but the truth; but gained this also, viz., that when afterwards they should hear those men taxed for holding errors, they would be ready to defend them, and say, out of their simplicity of heart, "Such men hold nothing but truth,

for I myself once judged of them even as you do, but when I heard them explain themselves, they and I were both one." By this Machiavelian policy, these deluders were reputed sound in their judgments and so were able to do the more hurt, and were longer undetected.

What men they saw eminent in the country and of most esteem in the hearts of the people, they would be sure still to father their opinions upon them and say, "I hold nothing but what I had from such and such a man," whereas their judgments and expressions also were in truth, far differing from theirs upon point of trial; but if it came to pass that they were brought face to face to make it good (as sometimes they have been), they would wind out with some evasion or other, or else say, "I understood him so." For it was so frequent with them to have many dark shadows and colors to cover their opinions and expressions withal, that it was a wonderful hard matter to take them tardy, or to know the bottom of what they said or sealed.

But the last and worst of all, which most suddenly diffused the venom of these opinions into the very veins and vitals of the people in the country, was Mistress Hutchinson's double weekly-lecture, which she kept under a pretence of repeating sermons, to which resorted sundry of Boston and other towns about, to the number of fifty, sixty, or eighty at once; where, after she had repeated the sermon, she would make her comment upon it, vent her mischievous opinions as she pleased, and wreathed the Scriptures to her own purpose; where the custom was for her scholars to propound questions, and she (gravely sitting in the chair) did make answers thereunto. The great respect she had at first in the hearts of all, and her profitable and sober carriage of matters, for a time, made this her practice less suspected by the godly magistrates and elders of the church there, so that it was winked at for a time (though afterward reproved by the assembly, and called into a court); but it held so long, until she had spread her leaven so far, that had not Providence prevented, it had proved the canker of our peace and ruin of our comforts.

By all these means and cunning sleights they used, it came about that those errors were so soon conveyed before we were aware, not only into the church of Boston, where most of these seducers lived, but also into almost all the parts of the country round about.

These opinions being thus spread, and grown to their full ripeness and latitude, through the nimbleness and activity of their fomenters, began now to lift up their heads full high, to stare us in the face, and to confront all that opposed them.

And that which added vigor and boldness to them was this, that now by this time they had some of all sorts, and quality, in all places to defend and patronize them; some of the magistrates, some gentle-

men, some scholars and men of learning, some burgesses of our general court, some of our captains and soldiers, some chief men in towns, and some men eminent for religion, parts, and wit. So that whereso-ever the case of the opinions came in agitation, there wanted not patrons to stand up to plead for them, and if any of the opinionists were complained of in the courts for their misdemeanors, or brought before the churches for conviction or censure, still, some or other of that party would not only suspend giving their vote against them, but would labor to justify them, side with them and protest against any sentence that should pass upon them, and so be ready, not only to harden the delinquent against all means of conviction, but to raise a mutiny, if the major part should carry it against them. So in town-meetings, military-trainings and all other societies, yea, almost in every family, it was hard, if that some or other were not ready to rise up in defence of them, even as of the apple of their own eye.

Now, oh their boldness, pride, insolency, alienations from their old and dearest friends, the disturbances, divisions, contentions they raised amongst us, both in Church and State, and in families, setting division betwixt husband and wife!

Oh the sore censure against all sorts that opposed them, and the contempt they cast upon our godly magistrates, churches, ministers, and all that were set over them, when they stood in their way!

Now the faithful ministers of Christ must have dung cast on their faces, and be no better than legal preachers, Baal's priests, popish factors, scribes, Pharisees, and opposers of Christ himself.

Now they must be pointed at, as it were with the finger, and reproached by name, "Such a church officer is an ignorant man, and knows not Christ; such an one is under a covenant of works; such a pastor is a proud man, and would make a good persecutor; such a teacher is grossly popish;" so that through these reproaches occasion was given to men to abhor the offerings of the Lord.

Now one of them in a solemn convention of ministers dared to say to their faces that they did not preach the covenant of "Free Grace," and that they themselves had not the scale of the Spirit, etc.

Now, after our sermons were ended at our public lectures, you might have seen half a dozen pistols discharged at the face of the preacher, (I mean) so many objections made by the opinionists in the open assembly against our doctrine delivered, if it suited not their new fancies, to the marvellous weakening of holy truths delivered (what in them lay) in the hearts of all the weaker sort; and this done not once and away, but from day to day after our sermons; yea, they would come when they heard a minister was upon such a point as was like to strike at their opinions, with a purpose to oppose him to his face.

Now you might have seen many of the opinionists rising up, and contemptuously turning their backs upon the faithful pastors of that church, and going forth from the assembly when he began to pray or preach.

Now you might have read epistles of defiance and challenge, written to some ministers after their sermons, to cross and contradict truths by them delivered, and to maintain their own way.

Now might one have frequently heard, both in court and church-meetings where they were dealt withal, about their opinions and exorbitant carriages, such bold and menacing expressions as these:

"This I hold, and will hold to my death, and will maintain it with my blood. And if I cannot be heard here, I must be forced to take some other course."

They said moreover what they would do against us (biting their words in) when such and such opportunities should be offered to them, as they daily expected. Insomuch that we had great cause to have feared the extremity of danger from them, in case power had been in their hands.

Now you might have heard one of them preaching a most dangerous sermon in a great assembly; when he divided the whole country into two ranks, some (that were of his opinion) under a covenant of grace, and those were friends to Christ; others under a covenant of works, whom they might know by this, if they evidence their good estate by their sanctification: those were (said he) enemies to Christ, Herods, Pilates, scribes and Pharisees, yea, antichrists; and advised all under a covenant of grace to look upon them as such, and did, with great zeal, stimulate them to deal with them as they would with such. And withal alleging the story of Moses that killed the Egyptian, barely left it so. I mention not this or any thing in the least degree to reflect upon this man, or any others; for God hath long since opened his eyes (I hope), but to show what racket these opinions did make there, and will anywhere else where they get an head.

Now might you have seen open contempt cast upon the face of the whole general court in subtle words to this very effect, That the magistrates were Ahabs, Amaziahs, scribes and Pharisees, enemies to Christ, led by Satan, that old enemy of "Free Grace," and that it were better a millstone were hung about their necks, and they were drowned in the sea, than they should censure one of their judgment, which they were now about to do.

Another of them you might have seen so audaciously insolent and high-flown in spirit and speech, that she bade the court of magistrates (when they were about to censure her for her pernicious carriage) take heed what they did to her, for she knew by an infallible revelation,

that for this act which they were about to pass against her, God would ruin them, their posterity, and that whole Commonwealth.

By a little taste of a few passages instead of multitudes here presented, you may see what an height they were grown unto in a short time, and what a spirit of pride, insolency, contempt of authority, division, sedition they were acted by. It was a wonder of mercy that they had not set our Commonwealth and churches on a fire, and consumed us all therein.

They being mounted to this height, and carried with such a strong hand (as you have heard), and seeing a spirit of pride, subtlety, malice, and contempt of all men that were not of their minds, breathing in them (our hearts sadded, and our spirits tired), we sighed and groaned to Heaven, we humbled our souls by prayer and fasting, that the Lord would find out and bless some means and ways for the cure of this sore, and deliver his truth and ourselves from this heavy bondage. Which (when his own time was come) He hearkened unto, and in infinite mercy looked upon our sorrows, and did, in a wonderful manner, beyond all expectation, free us by these means following:

He stirred up all the ministers' spirits in the country to preach against those errors and practices, that so much pestered the country, to inform, to confute, to rebuke, etc., thereby to cure those that were diseased already, and to give antidotes to the rest, to preserve them from infection, and though this ordinance went not without its appointed effect in the latter respect, yet we found it not so effectual for the driving away of this infection, as we desired, for they (most of them) hardened their faces, and bent their wits how to oppose and confirm themselves in their way.

We spent much time and strength in conference with them, sometimes in private before the elders only, sometimes in our public congregations for all comers; many, very many, hours and half days together we spent therein to see if any means might prevail. We gave them free leave, with all lenity and patience, to lay down what they could say for their opinions, and answered them, from point to point, and then brought clear arguments from evident Scriptures against them, and put them to answer us even until they were oftentimes brought to be either silent, or driven to deny common principles, or shuffle off plain Scripture; and yet (such was their pride and hardness of heart) that they would not yield to the truth, but did tell us they would take time to consider of our arguments, and in mean space meeting with some of their abettors, strengthened themselves again in their old way, that when we dealt with them next time we found them further off than before, so that our hopes began to languish of reducing them by private means.

Then we had an assembly of all the ministers and learned men in the whole country, which held for three weeks together, at Cambridge (then called New-Town), Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Bulkley (alias Buckley) being chosen moderators, or prolocutors, the magistrates sitting present all that time as hearers, and speakers also, when they saw fit. A liberty also was given to any of the country to come in and hear (it being appointed, in great part, for the satisfaction of the people) and a place was appointed for all the opinionists to come in and take liberty of speech (only due order observed) as much as any of ourselves had, and as freely.

The first week we spent in confuting the loose opinions that we gathered up in the country. . . . . The other fortnight we spent in a plain syllogistical dispute (*ad vulgus* as much as might be), gathered up nine of the chiefest points (on which the rest depended) and disputed of them all in order, *pro* and *con*. In the forenoons we framed our arguments, and in the afternoons produced them in public, and next day the adversary gave in their answers, and produced also their arguments on the same questions; then we answered them and replied also upon them the next day. . . . . God was much present with his servants, truth began to get ground and the adverse party to be at a stand; but after discourse amongst themselves still they hardened one another. Yet the work of the assembly (through God's blessing) gained much on the hearers that were indifferent, to strengthen them, and on many wavering, to settle them; the error of the opinions and wilfulness of their maintainers laid stark naked.

Then after this mean was tried, and the magistrates saw that neither our preaching, conference, nor yet our assembly meeting did effect the cure, but that still, after conference had together, the leaders put such life into the rest, that they all went on in their former course, not only to disturb the churches, but miserably interrupt the civil peace, and that they threw contempt both upon courts and churches, and began now to raise sedition amongst us, to the endangering the Commonwealth. Hereupon for these grounds named (and not for their opinions, as themselves falsely reported, and as our godly magistrates have been much traduced here in England), for these reasons, I say, being civil disturbances, the magistrate convents them, ... and censures them; some were disfranchised, others fined, the incurable amongst them banished.

This was another mean of their subduing, some of their leaders being down, and others gone, the rest were weakened, but yet they (for all this) strongly held up their heads many a day after.

HOW THE HERESIES CAME TO AN END.

[*From the Same.*]

THE last stroke that slew the opinions, was the falling away of their leaders into more hideous and soul-destroying delusions, which ruin, indeed, all religion; as, that the souls of men are mortal like the beasts.

That there is no such thing as inherent righteousness.

That these bodies of ours shall not rise again.

That their own revelations of particular events were as infallible as the Scripture, etc.

They also grew, many of them, very loose and degenerate in their practices (for these opinions will certainly produce a filthy life by degrees), as no prayer in their families, no Sabbath, insufferable pride, frequent and hideous lying; divers of them being proved guilty, some of five, others of ten gross lies; another falling into a lie, God smote him in the very act, that he sunk down into a deep swoon, and being by hot waters recovered, and coming to himself, said: "Oh God! Thou mightst have struck me dead, as Ananias and Sapphira, for I have maintained a lie!" . . . .

These things exceedingly amazed their followers (especially such as were led after them in the simplicity of their hearts, as many were), and now they began to see that they were deluded by them.

A great while they did not believe that Mistress Hutchinson and some others did hold such things as they were taxed for, but when themselves heard her defending her twenty-nine cursed opinions in Boston church, and there falling into fearful lying, with an impudent forehead in the open assembly, then they believed what before they could not, and were ashamed before God and men that ever they were so led aside from the Lord and his truth, and the godly counsel of their faithful ministers, by such an impostor as she was.

Now no man could lay more upon them, than they would upon themselves in their acknowledgments.

Many after this came unto us, who before flew from us, with such desires as those in Acts ii.: "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" and did willingly take shame to themselves in the open assemblies by confessing (some of them with many tears) how they had given offence to the Lord and his people by departing from the truth and being led by a spirit of error, their alienation from their brethren in their affections, and their crooked and perverse walking in contempt of authority, slighting the churches and despising the counsel of their godly teachers.

Now they would freely discover the sleights the adversaries had used to undermine them by, and steal away their eyes from the truth and their brethren, which before (whiles their hearts were sealed) they could not see. And the fruit of this was, great praise to the Lord, who had thus wonderfully wrought matters about, gladness in all our hearts and faces, and expressions of our renewed affections by receiving them again into our bosoms, and from that time until now have walked, according to their renewed covenants, humbly and lovingly amongst us, holding forth truth and peace with power.

But for the rest, which (notwithstanding all these means of conviction from heaven and earth, and the example of their seduced brethren's return) yet stood obdurate, yea, more hardened (as we had cause to fear) than before; we convented those of them that were members before the churches, and yet labored once and again to convince them, not only of their errors, but also of sundry exorbitant practices which they had fallen into; as manifest pride, contempt of authority, neglecting to fear the church, and lying, etc., but after no means prevailed we were driven with sad hearts to give them up to Satan. Yet not simply for their opinions, for which I find we have been slanderously traduced, but the chiefest cause of their censure was their miscarriages, as has been said, persisted in with great obstinacy.

The persons cast out of the churches were about nine or ten, as far as I can remember; who for a space continued very hard and impenitent, but afterward some of them were received into fellowship again, upon their repentance.

These persons cast out, and the rest of the ring-leaders that had received sentence of banishment, with many others infected by them, that were neither censured in court nor in churches, went all together out of our jurisdiction and precinct into an island, called Rhode Island (surnamed by some, the Island of Errors), and there they live to this day, most of them; but in great strife and contention in the civil estate and otherwise; hatching and multiplying new opinions, and cannot agree, but are miserably divided into sundry sects and factions.

But Mistress Hutchinson, being weary of the Island, or rather, the Island weary of her, departed from thence with all her family, her daughter, and her children, to live under the Dutch, near a place called by seamen and in the map, Hell-gate. (And now I am come to the last act of her tragedy, a most heavy stroke upon herself and hers, as I received it very lately from a godly hand in New-England.) There the Indians set upon them and slew her and all her family, and her daughter's husband and all their children, save one that escaped (her own husband being dead before), a dreadful blow. Some write that the Indians did burn her to death with fire, her house and all

the rest named that belonged to her; but I am not able to affirm by what kind of death they slew her, but slain it seems she is, according to all reports. I never heard that the Indians in those parts did ever before this commit the like outrage upon any one family, or families; and therefore God's hand is the more apparently seen herein, to pick out this woful woman, to make her and those belonging to her an unheard of heavy example of their cruelty above others.

Thus the Lord heard our groans to heaven and freed us from this great and sore affliction, which first was small, like Elias' cloud, but after spread the heavens; and hath (through great mercy) given the churches rest from this disturbance ever since; that we know none that lifts up his head to disturb our sweet peace, in any of the churches of Christ among us. Blessed forever be his Name.

I bow my knees to the God of truth and peace, to grant these churches as full a riddance from the same or like opinions, which do destroy his truth and disturb their peace.

Peter Bulkley.

BORN in Bedfordshire, England, 1583. DIED at Concord, Mass., 1659.

NEW ENGLAND AND HER COVENANT.

[*The Gospel-Covenant.* 1646.]

AND thou, New England, which art exalted in privileges of the Gospel above many other people, know thou the time of thy visitation, and consider the great things the Lord hath done for thee. The Gospel hath free passage in all places where thou dwellest; oh that it might be glorified also by thee! Thou enjoyest many faithful witnesses, which have testified unto thee the Gospel of the grace of God. Thou hast many bright stars shining in thy firmament to give thee the knowledge of salvation from on high, to guide thy feet in the way of peace. Be not high-minded, because of thy privileges, but fear because of thy danger. The more thou hast committed unto thee, the more thou must account for. No people's account will be heavier than thine if thou do not walk worthy of the means of thy salvation. The Lord looks for more from thee than from other people; more zeal for God, more love to his truth, more justice and equity in thy ways. Thou shouldst be a special people, an only people, none like thee in

all the earth; oh, be so in loving the Gospel and Ministers of it, having them in singular love for their work's sake. Glorify thou that word of the Lord, which hath glorified thee. Take heed lest for neglect of either God remove thy candlestick out of the midst of thee; lest being now as a city upon an hill which many seek unto, thou be left like a beacon upon the top of a mountain desolate and forsaken. If we walk unworthy of the Gospel brought unto us, the greater our mercy hath been in the enjoying of it, the greater will our judgment be for the contempt. Be instructed and take heed. . . . .

The things of the covenant are great things. Princes and monarchs when they enter into covenant with other nations, they do not make covenants about children's toys and light matters, but such as concern the welfare of the kingdom; so when the great Monarch of heaven and earth enters into covenant with us, it is about the great things of our salvation, the great things of heaven, yea, of God himself. The covenant is full of blessings, it is a rich store-house, replenished with all manner of blessings. It is not dry nor barren, but like the fat olive or fruitful vine the fruit whereof cheers the heart of God and man. God himself is delighted in the communication of his grace to his people; and they are delighted with the participation of his grace from him. The covenant is a tree of life to those that feed upon it; they shall live forever. It is a well of salvation. It's a fountain of good things to satisfy every thirsty soul. It is a treasure full of goods. . . . .

Here is unsearchable riches in this covenant, which can never be emptied nor come to an end. Our finite narrow understandings can never apprehend the infinite grace this covenant contains no more than an egg-shell is able to contain the water of the whole sea. Yet it is not in vain to consider them as we are able to express them, though they be above that which we are able to speak or think. As Moses, though he could not see God's face, nor discern his glory to the full, yet he was permitted to see his back parts; so we may take a little view of the blessings promised, though the full cannot be seen. As in a map, we have the bounds of a Lordship set forth, the rivers, woods, meadows, pastures, etc. These are seen darkly in the map, but they are nothing to that when they are seen in their own beauty and greenness: to see the silver streams in the rivers, the beautiful woods, the large meadows, fat pastures, and goodly orchards, which are far more excellent in themselves, than when they are seen in the map. So we can show you but a little map of those glorious things which the covenant contains; but by that little you do see, you may be raised up to the consideration of the things that are not seen, but are to be revealed in due time.

Roger Williams.

Born in Wales, 1599. Died at Providence, R. I., 1683.

THE BLOODY TENENT OF PERSECUTION.

[*The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody.* 1652.]

TRUTH. Dear Peace, our golden sand is out, we now must part with an holy kiss of heavenly peace and love; Mr. Cotton speaks and writes his conscience; yet the Father of Lights may please to show him that what he highly esteems as a tenent washed white in the Lamb's blood, is yet more black and abominable, in the most pure and jealous eye of God.

Peace. The blackamoor's darkness differs not in the dark from the fairest white.

Truth. Christ Jesus, the Sun of Righteousness, hath broke forth, and daily will, to a brighter and brighter discovery of this deformed Ethiopian. And for myself I must proclaim, before the most holy God, angels, and men, that (whatever other white and heavenly tenents Mr. Cotton holds) yet this is a foul, a black, and a bloody tenent.

A tenent of high blasphemy against the God of Peace, the God of Order, who hath of one blood made all mankind, to dwell upon the face of the earth, now all confounded and destroyed in their civil beings and subsistences by mutual flames of war from their several respective religions and consciences.

A tenent warring against the Prince of Peace, Christ Jesus, denying his appearance and coming in the flesh, to put an end to and abolish the shadows of that ceremonial and typical land of Canaan.

A tenent fighting against the sweet end of his coming, which was not to destroy men's lives, for their religions, but to save them by the meek and peaceable invitations and persuasions of his peaceable wisdom's maidens.

A tenent foully charging his wisdom, faithfulness, and love, in so poorly providing such magistrates and civil powers all the world over, as might effect so great a charge pretended to be committed to them.

A tenent lamentably guilty of his most precious blood, shed in the blood of so many hundred thousands of his poor servants by the civil powers of the world, pretending to suppress blasphemies, heresies, idolatries, superstition, etc.

A tenent fighting with the spirit of love, holiness, and meekness, by kindling fiery spirits of false zeal and fury, when yet such spirits know not of what spirit they are.

A tenent fighting with those mighty angels who stand up for the peace of the saints, against Persia, Grecia, etc., and so consequently, all other nations, who fighting for their several religions, and against the truth, leave no room for such as fear and love the Lord on the earth.

A tenent, against which the blessed souls under the altar cry loud for vengeance, this tenent having cut their throats, torn out their hearts, and poured forth their blood in all ages, as the only heretics and blasphemers in the world. . . . .

A tenent loathsome and ugly (in the eyes of the God of heaven, and serious sons of men) I say, loathsome with the palpable filths of gross dissimulation and hypocrisy. Thousands of peoples and whole nations compelled by this tenent to put on the foul vizard of religious hypocrisy, for fear of laws, losses, and punishments, and for the keeping and hoping for of favor, liberty, worldly commodity, etc.

A tenent wofully guilty of hardening all false and deluded consciences (of whatsoever sect, faction, heresy, or idolatry, though never so horrid and blasphemous) by cruelties and violences practised against them; all false teachers and their followers (ordinarily) contracting a brawny and steely hardness from their sufferings for their consciences.

A tenent that shuts and bars out the gracious prophecies and promises and discoveries of the most glorious Sun of Righteousness, Christ Jesus, that burns up the holy Scriptures, and forbids them (upon the point) to be read in English, or that any trial or search, or (truly) free disquisition be made by them; when the most able, diligent, and conscionable readers must pluck forth their own eyes, and be forced to read by the (whichsoever predominant) clergy's spectacles.

A tenent that seals up the spiritual graves of all men, Jews and Gentiles (and consequently stands guilty of the damnation of all men), since no preachers, nor trumpets of Christ himself may call them out, but such as the several and respective nations of the world themselves allow of.

A tenent that fights against the common principles of all civility, and the very civil being and combinations of men in nations, cities, etc., by commixing (explicitly or implicitly) a spiritual and civil state together, and so confounding and overthrowing the purity and strength of both. . . . .

A tenent that stunts the growth and flourishing of the most likely and hopefulest commonweals and countries, while consciences, the best, and the best deserving subjects are forced to fly (by enforced or voluntary banishment) from their native countries; the lamentable proof whereof England hath felt in the flight of so many worthy English into the Low Countries and New-England, and from New-England into old again and other foreign parts.

A tenent whose gross partiality denies the principles of common justice, while men weigh out to the consciences of all others that which they judge not fit nor right to be weighed out to their own. Since the persecutor's rule is, to take and persecute all consciences, only himself must not be touched.

A tenent that is but Machiavelism, and makes a religion but a cloak or stalking horse to policy and private ends of Jeroboam's crown and the priest's benefice, etc.

A tenent that corrupts and spoils the very civil honesty and natural conscience of a nation. . . . .

In the sad consideration of all which (dear Peace) let heaven and earth judge of the washing and color of this tenent. For thee, sweet heavenly guest, go lodge thee in the breasts of the peaceable and humble witnesses of Jesus, that love the truth in peace! Hide thee from the world's tumults and combustions in the breasts of thy truly noble children, who profess and endeavor to break the irony and insupportable yokes upon the souls and consciences of any of the sons of men.

PEACE. Methinks (dear Truth) if any of the least of these deep charges be found against this tenent, you do not wrong it when you style it bloody. But since, in the woful proof of all ages past, since Nimrod (the hunter or persecutor before the Lord) these and more are lamentably evident and undeniable. It gives me wonder that so many and so excellent eyes of God's servants should not espy so foul a monster, especially considering the universal opposition this tenent makes against God's glory, and the good of all mankind.

TRUTH. There hath been many foul opinions, with which the old serpent hath infected and bewitched the sons of men (touching God, Christ, the Spirit, the Church, against holiness, against peace, against civil obedience, against chastity), insomuch that even sodomy itself hath been a tenent maintained in print by some of the very pillars of the Church of Rome. But this tenent is so universally opposite to God and man, so pernicious and destructive to both (as hath been declared) that like the powder-plot, it threatens to blow up all religion, all civility, all humanity, yea, the very being of the world, and the nations thereof at once.

PEACE. He that is the father of lies, and a murderer from the beginning, he knows this well, and this ugly blackamoor needs a mask or vizard.

TRUTH. Yea the bloodiness and inhumanity of it is such, that not only Mr. Cotton's more tender and holy breast, but even the most bloody Bonners and Gardiners have been forced to arm themselves with the fair shows and glorious pretences of the glory of God, and zeal for that glory, the love of his truth, the gospel of Christ Jesus,

love and pity to men's souls, the peace of the Church, uniformity, order, the peace of the commonweal, the wisdom of the state, the King's, Queen's, and Parliament's proceedings, the odiousness of sects, heresies, blasphemies, novelties, seducers, and their infections, the obstinacy of heretics, after all means, disputations, examinations, synods, yea, and after conviction in the poor heretic's own conscience. Add to these the flattering sound of those glossing titles, the godly magistrate, the Christian magistrate, the nursing fathers and mothers of the Church, Christian kings and queens. But all other kings and magistrates (even all the nations of the world over, as Mr. Cotton pleads) must suspend and hold their hands, and not meddle in matters of religion until they be informed, etc.

PEACE. The dreadful righteous hand of God, the eternal and avenging God, is pulling off these masks and vizards, that thousands and the world may see this bloody tenent's beauty.

TRUTH. But see (my heavenly sister and true stranger in this sea-like, restless, raging world), see here what fires and swords are come to part us! Well; our meetings in the heavens shall not thus be interrupted, our kisses thus distracted, and our eyes and cheeks thus wet, unwiped. For me, though censured, threatened, persecuted, I must profess, while heaven and earth lasts, that no one tenent that either London, England, or the world doth harbor, is so heretical, blasphemous, seditious, and dangerous to the corporal, to the spiritual, to the present, to the eternal good of all men, as the bloody tenent (however washed and whited) I say, as is the bloody tenent of persecution for cause of conscience.

A WARNING TO ENDICOTT.

[*Letter to Governor Endicott. From "The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody."* 1652.]

THE Maker and Searcher of our hearts knows with what bitterness I write, as with bitterness of soul I have heard such language as this to proceed from yourself and others, who formerly have fled from (with crying out against) persecutors! "You will say this is your conscience; you will say you are persecuted, and you are persecuted for your conscience. No; you are Conventiclers, heretics, blasphemers, seducers. You deserve to be hanged; rather than one shall be wanting to hang him I will hang him myself. I am resolved not to leave an heretic in the country." . . . . Oh, sir, you cannot forget what language and dialect this is, whether not the same unsavory

and ungodly, blasphemous and bloody, which the Gardiners and Bonners both former and later used to all that bowed not to the state golden image of what conscience soever they were. And indeed, sir, if the Most High be pleased to awaken you to render unto his holy majesty his due praises, in your truly broken-hearted confessions and supplications, you will then proclaim to all the world, that what profession soever you made of the Lamb, yet these expressions could not proceed from the dragon's mouth.

Oh remember, and the most holy Lord bring it to your remembrance, that you have now a great price in your hand, to bring great glory to his holy name, great rejoicing to so gracious a Redeemer (in whom you profess is all your healing and salvation), great rejoicing to the holy Spirit of all true consolation, whom yet so long you who have grieved and sadded, great rejoicing to those blessed spirits (attending upon the Lamb, and all his, and terrible to his persecutors), great rejoicing and instruction to all that love the true Lord Jesus (notwithstanding their wanderings among so many false Christs), mourning and lamenting after him in all parts of the world where his name is sounded. Your talents are great, your fall hath been so; your eminency is great, the glory of the Most High in mercy or justice toward you will be great also.

Oh remember it is a dangerous combat for the potsherds of the earth to fight with their dreadful Potter. It is a dismal battle for poor naked feet to kick against the pricks; it is a dreadful voice from the King of kings, and Lord of lords, "Endicott, Endicott, why huntest thou me? why imprisonest thou me? why finest, why so bloodily whippest, why wouldest thou (did not I hold thy bloody hands) hang and burn me?" Yea, sir, I beseech you remember that it is a dangerous thing to put this to the may be, to the venture or hazard, to the possibility. Is it possible (may you well say) that since I hunt, I hunt not the life of my Saviour, and the blood of the Lamb of God? I have fought against many several sorts of consciences, is it beyond all possibility and hazard, that I have not fought against God, that I have not persecuted Jesus in some of them?

Sir, I must be humbly bold to say, that 'tis impossible for any man or men to maintain their Christ by their sword, and to worship a true Christ! to fight against all consciences opposite to theirs, and not to fight against God in some of them, and to hunt after the precious life of the true Lord Jesus Christ. Oh remember whether your principles and consciences must in time and opportunity force you. 'Tis but worldly policy and compliance with men and times (God's mercy overruling) that holds your hands from murdering of thousands and

ten thousands were your power and command as great as once the bloody Roman emperors was. . . . .

Oh remember once again (as I began) and I humbly desire to remember with you, that every gray hair now on both our heads is a Boanerges, a son of thunder, and a warning piece to prepare us for the weighing of our last anchors, and to be gone from hence, as if we had never been.

OF THE HEAVENLY BODIES.

[*A Key into the Language of America.* 1643.]

WHEN Sun doth rise the Stars do set,
Yet there's no need of Light,
God shines a Sun most glorious,
When Creatures all are Night.

The very Indian Boys can give
To many Stars their name,
And know their Course and therein do
Excel the English tame.

English and Indians none inquire,
Whose hand these Candles hold,
Who gives these Stars their Names, himself
More bright ten thousand-fold.

IN THE VALLEY OF THE SHADOW OF DEATH.

[*An Epistle to Mrs. Williams. From "Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health."* 1652.]

IN the next place, my dear love, let us down together by the steps of holy meditation into the valley of the shadow of death. It is of excellent use to walk often into Golgotha, and to view the rotten skulls of so many innumerable thousands of millions of millions of men and women, like ourselves, gone, gone forever from this life and being, as if they never had life nor being, as the swift ships, as the weaver's shuttle, as an arrow, as the lightning through the air.

It is not unprofitable to remember the faces of such whom we knew, with whom we had sweet acquaintance, sweet society, with whom we have familiarly eaten and lodged, but now grown loathsome, ugly,

terrible, even to their dearest, since they fell into the jaws of death, the King of terrors.

And yet they are but gone before us, in the path all flesh must tread. How then should we make sure, and infinitely much of a Saviour, who delivers us from the power and bitterness of death and grave and hell, who is a resurrection and life unto us, and will raise up and make our bodies glorious, like his glorious body, when He shall shortly appear in glory.

It is further of great and sweet use against the bitterness of death, and against the bitter-sweet delusions of this world daily to think each day our last, the day of our last farewell, the day of the splitting of this vessel, the breaking of this bubble, the quenching of this candle, and of our passage into the land of darkness, never more to behold a spark of light until the heavens be no more.

Those three uncertainties of that most certain blow, to wit, of the time when, the place where, the manner how it shall come upon us, and dash our earthen pitcher all to pieces—I say the consideration of these three should be a threefold cord to bind us fast to an holy watchfulness for our departures, and a spur to quicken us to abundant faithfulness in doing and suffering for the Lord and his Christ. It should draw up our minds into heavenly objects, and loosen us from the vexing vanities of this vain puff of this present sinful life.

Oh how weaned, how sober, how temperate, how mortified should our spirits, our affections, our desires be when we remember that we are but strangers, converse with strange companies, dwell in strange houses, lodge in strange beds and know not whether this day, this night shall be our final change of this strange place for one far stranger, dark and doleful, except enlightened by the death and life of the Son of God!

How contented should we be with any pittance, any allowance of bread, of clothes, of friendship, of respect, etc.!

How thankful unto God, unto man, should we poor strangers be for the least crumb, or drop, or rag vouchsafed unto us, when we remember we are but strangers in an inn, but passengers in a ship; and though we dream of long summer days, yet our very life and being is but a swift short passage from the bank of time to the other side or bank of a doleful eternity!

How patient should our minds and bodies be under the crossing, disappointing hand of our all-powerful Maker, of our most gracious Father, when we remember that this is the short span of our purging and fitting for an eternal glory, and that when we are judged we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world!

How quietly, without the swellings of revenge and wrath, should we

bear the daily injuries, reproaches, persecutings, etc., from the hands of men, who pass away and wither, it may be before night, like grass or as the smoke on the chimney's top, and their love and hatred shall quickly perish!

Yea, how busy, how diligent, how solicitous should we be like strangers upon a strange coast, waiting for a wind or passage, to get dispatched what we have to do, before we hear that final call, "Away, Away, let us be gone from hence!"

John Cotton.

BORN in Derby, England, 1585. DIED in Boston, Mass., 1652.

AN EPITAPH FOR SARA AND ROLAND COTTON.

[*Written in* 1649.]

IN SARAM.

FAREWELL, dear daughter Sara, now thou 'rt gone,
(Whither thou much desirest) to thine home;
"Pray, my dear father, let me now go home!"
Were the last words thou spak'st to me alone.
Go then, sweet Sara, take thy sabbath rest,
With thy great Lord, and all in heaven blest.

IN ROLANDUM.

OUR eldest daughter, and our youngest son,
Within nine days, both have their full race run.
On th' twentieth of th' eleventh, died she,
And on the twenty-ninth day died he.

Both in their lives were lovely and united,
And in their deaths they were not much divided.
Christ gave them both, and he takes both again
To live with him; blest be his holy name.

IN UTRUMQUE.

"SUFFER," saith Christ, "your little ones,
To come forth, me unto,
For of such ones my kingdom is,
Of grace and glory too."
We do not only *suffer* them
But *offer* them to thee;
Now, blessed Lord, let us believe,
Accepted, that they be:

That thou hast took them in thine arms,
And on them put thine hand,
And blessed them with sight of thee,
Wherein our blessings stand.

PSALM-SINGING A GODLY EXERCISE.

[*Singing of Psalms a Gospel-Ordinance.* 1650.]

TO prevent the godly-minded from making melody to the Lord in singing his praises with one accord (I mean with one heart and one voice) Satan hath mightily bestirred himself to breed a discord in the hearts of some by filling their heads with four heads of scruples about the Duty.

1. Touching the Duty itself of singing Psalms with lively voice, whether there be any such worship at all now to be allowed and practised in the days of the New Testament?

2. Touching the matter to be sung, whether Scripture Psalms penned by David, Asaph, Moses, Solomon, Hezekiah, Habakkuk, Zachary, Simeon, Deborah, Mary, Elizabeth, or the like: or songs immediately indited by some personal spiritual gift of some officer or member of the Church?

3. Touching the singers, if vocal singing may be allowed, who must sing?

Whether one for all the rest, the rest only saying Amen, or the whole congregation?

Whether women as well as men, or men alone?

Whether carnal men and Pagans, as well as Church-members and Christians.

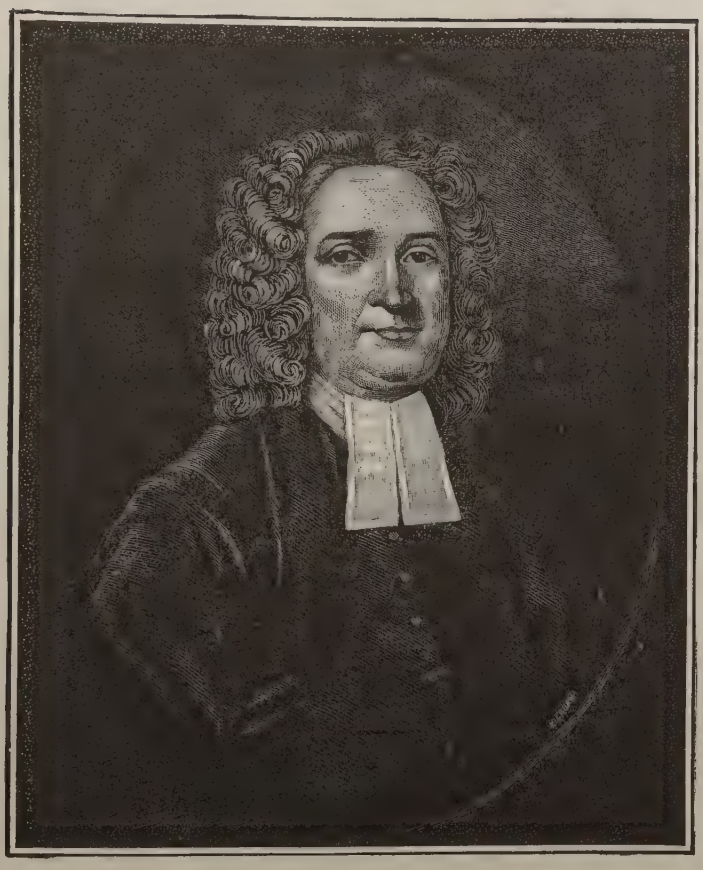
4. Touching the manner of singing, whether the Psalm may be sung, either

In Metre Devised?

In Tunes Invented?

In Order, after the Reading of it?

For the first question, we lay down this conclusion for a doctrine of Truth: "That singing of Psalms with a lively voice is an holy Duty of God's Worship now in the days of the New Testament." When we say, singing with lively voice, we suppose none will so far misconstrue us as to think we exclude singing with the heart. For God is a Spirit; and to worship him with the voice without the spirit, were but lip-labor: which (being rested in) is but lost labor, or at most, profiteth



Yours heartily in the Lord
J Cotton

but little. But this we say, As we are to make melody in our hearts, so with our voices also. In opposition to this there be some Anti-psalmists who do not acknowledge any singing at all with the voice in the New Testament, but only spiritual songs of joy and comfort of the heart in the word of Christ. . . . .

The first proof for the truth is taken from the Commandment of the Lord by Paul, who instructeth and exhorteth the Ephesians, "To speak one to another in Psalms and Hymns and spiritual Songs." And so in Col. iii. 16. "Teaching and admonishing one another in Psalms, Hymns," etc., which cannot be done without a lively voice. And so in I. Cor. xiv. 15, 16. The Apostle commandeth the Church of Corinth "that such as sing in the Church, should not only sing in the Spirit, but with understanding also;" that is, not only with their own understanding (for all that sung with the Spirit did so) but with the understanding of the hearers, that so he that occupied the place of the unlearned might be edified, and say Amen at such giving of thanks. Whence it followeth unavoidably that singing of Psalms is not only a making of melody to the Lord with inward grace in the heart, but also "with lively and audible voice," which is the point in question. . . . .

OBJECTION.

The Apostle to the Ephesians and Colossians doth not say, "Sing one to another in Psalms," but "Speak or preach one to another;" or in other words, "Teach and admonish one another." The Psalms dwelling in their hearts they were to dispense them in a way of teaching and admonishing. But as for singing he maketh no mention of that until he came to teach them the manner of dispensing the words of Christ unto God in the end of the verse. And then indeed he teacheth them to sing in the Spirit, making melody with grace in the heart unto God.

ANSWER.

Such as tremble at the Word (as the framer of this objection professeth himself to do), they should rather bow their judgments and practice to Scripture and language, than bow the sense of Scripture to their own conceptions against the language of Scripture. It is one thing, to speak one to another in Psalms, and Hymns and spiritual Songs, as is done in singing, another thing to preach and teach one another out of Psalms, and Hymns and spiritual Songs. It is true they were to "Teach and admonish one another" out of the Psalms, and the scope of Paul will reach that. But if Paul had only meant that, to wit, that they should teach and preach one to another out of the Psalms, he would not have said, "Speak ye one to another in Psalms," or "with Psalms:" but

"out of the Psalms," or "from the Psalms;" for such is the language of the Holy Ghost in expressing such a duty. . . . .

OBJECTION.

1. If that speaking of the Ephesians one to another in Psalms did not hold forth their expounding and preaching in Psalms one to another, but only the bare reading or singing the letter of the Psalms, this were such a service wherein there is nothing of Christ held forth externally. I speak not of the matter of the Psalms (which is full of Christ as other Scriptures), but of the outward matter of dispensing it. There is nothing held forth in the singing of it after the usual manner but what Nature and Art may attain unto. There is no exercise of any spiritual gift held forth in it as is in all other administrations which Christ hath ordained.

2. Besides, as such a singing is not a gift of Christ so neither doth it tend to the glory of Christ. The Church is not edified by it: else a Pagan singing with us might edify the Church.

3. From both these it appeareth that such singing of Psalms tendeth to the dishonor of Christ, seeing it holdeth forth externally no more than what a carnal man (a man out of Christ), yea, a Pagan might express.

ANSWER.

1. Singing of Psalms holdeth forth as much of Christ externally as reading of the Word or as the hearing of it read or preached or as the falling down upon our knees in prayer and saying Amen in the end of it. For though the Word when it is publicly read ought also to be opened after the reading, yet the very reading of it is itself an ordinance, and is not without a blessing to the faithful reader or hearer of it, no more than other ordinances. Or else there would be some ordinances of God like unto human ceremonies, empty and beggarly.

2. Moral duties, even in Pagans, may edify the Church, as Abimelech's reproof of Abraham and Sarah.

3. Singing of Psalms is accompanied and blessed of God (by his grace) with many gracious effects, above Nature or Art: As 1. It allayeth the passions of melancholy and choler, yea, and scattereth the furious temptations of evil spirits. Whence also it helpeth to assuage enmity, and to restore friendship and favor, as in Saul to David. It was not the sound of David's harp that could have this power, either over the evil spirit or over the sinful passions of Saul himself, if the sound of the harp had not been quickened and enlived, as it were, by a spiritual song, and by the Spirit of God breathing therein.

2. Singing of a spiritual song prepareth to prophecy by ministering

the spirit. "Whilst the Minstrel played, the hand of the Lord" (that is, his Spirit) "came upon Elisha." The Minstrel's playing if it had not been accompanied with a spiritual song, it could not have conveyed such a spiritual blessing. In I. Sam. x. 5, 6, they could not be said (as there they be) "to have prophesied with Harps and Viols," unless they had sung some holy songs, together with their playing on instruments. For prophecy is an utterance only of the Word of God and of the things of God contained in it; which instruments without voice cannot do. Nor had their playing with instruments been a means of conveying the Spirit to Saul, had not their voices concurred and sung with their instruments.

3. Singing of Psalms honoreth God with our glory, Psal. cviii. 1, and Psal. lvii. 7, 8. Where David's glory being distinguished not only from his harp, but from his heart, it cannot be fitly understood of any other member, but his tongue, by which he was wont in singing to glorify God.

OBJECTION.

These gracious effects and fruits of singing Psalms, do plead as much for singing and playing with instruments, as for singing with voices.

ANSWER.

This last effect of singing to the glory of God with our glory is peculiar only to singing with our tongues.

Suppose it were true that these effects of singing Psalms did plead as much for singing and playing with instruments, as singing with voices; yet evident it is that singing with voices had the preëminence, as that which uttering the Word of God did chiefly utter the Spirit of God breathing in it. And withal evident likewise it is that it is no impeachment to an ordinance that the outward dispensing of it may be performed by Nature and Art; but notwithstanding that it may be accompanied of God with a spiritual blessing.

Singing with instruments was typical, and so a ceremonial worship and therefore is ceased. But singing with heart and voice is a moral worship such as is written in the hearts of all men by Nature. . . . .

Or suppose singing with instruments were not typical, but only an external solemnity of worship, fitted to the solace of the outward senses of children under age (such as the Israelites were under the Old Testament) yet now in the grown age of the heirs of the New Testament such external pompous solemnities are ceased and no external worship reserved but such as holdeth forth simplicity and gravity; nor is any voice now to be heard in the Church of Christ but such as is significant and edifying by signification, which the voice of instruments is not.

It is an honor to Christ and to his grace, not only when we hold forth spiritual gifts, but also when we perform Christian duties. And duties performed in Faith (without which prayer itself is not accepted) they go not without a spiritual blessing, though Nature and Art might perform the same for the outward work. The trailing of the weapons of the Israelites and their military march, both in silence and shouting, about the walls of Jericho was no greater work externally than carnal men and Pagans might have performed as well as Israelites; but this being done by Israelites in faith and obedience to God's command, it was mighty through God to cast down the high and strong walls of Jericho. And the Apostle, looking at this and the like precedents, setteth forth Faith as that which is prevalent and effectual in both Testaments, howsoever the work or worship be external. In like manner is it with the reading of the Word and the hearing of it, as also the silent joining in prayer and concluding it with Amen; though all these be such duties as Nature and Art may perform the outward work of them; yet when the people of God do perform the same in the faith of Christ, and in the obedience of God's command they find a gracious blessing of God. Yea, carnal and profane persons and Pagans though they cannot expect the like blessing from their empty outside performances yet they sometimes taste more sweetness and enlargement therein than flesh and blood could imagine. Saul joining with the prophets in their holy melody found another Spirit coming on him which also argueth (by the way) that the joining of profane and carnal hypocrites in such spiritual songs, doth not evacuate the blessing of God to his people, but rather reach forth some spiritual blessing (though common) to such carnal hypocrites. . . . .

The second proof is taken from the example of Christ himself and of his saints and disciples in the New Testament. Christ himself with his disciples sung a Psalm or an Hymn together, in the end of the administration of the Lord's Supper, Matt. xxvi. 30. And Paul and Silas are said to have "sung a Psalm in the Prison," so as the "Prisoners heard them," Acts xvi. 25. Now if in singing they had only spiritually rejoiced and not expressed their joy and their song in audible and lively voice the prisoners could not have heard them. The stranger doth not know nor meddle with the spiritual joy of the heart.

OBJECTION.

The place in Matt. xxvi. 30, may as well be translated "They praised God" as "They sung an Hymn."

ANSWER.

Though the meaning be they praised God, yet the word implieth they praised God with an Hymn; for it is improper in that language

to translate the word to praise (whether God or man), but either with a Song, or with a Poem. It is more probable, than any reason can waive, that Christ and his disciples did shut up the Lord's Supper with singing one of their Hebrew Psalms; as the Jews were wont to shut up their celebration of the Passover (as their own records tell us) with singing Psalm iii. with the five other Psalms next following together. But all that I now intend is to show that Christ and his disciples sang together, and therefore with the voice as well as the heart.

OBJECTION.

They might be said to sing together if one alone sang and the rest said Amen, in the close: as men may be said to pray together, where one alone speaketh and the rest consent.

ANSWER.

True; but then one at least speaketh with an audible and lively voice though the rest do not. And that's enough to clear the point in hand, that singing in the New Testament consisteth not only in making melody with grace in the heart, but also in singing to the Lord with lively voice.

If the disciples did not join in singing that Hymn but only by silent consent, they might as well be said to have taken the bread and blessed it and broken it and distributed it (and so the wine), for all this Christ did with their silent consent. But what Christ did alone is expressly recorded as done by himself; when it cometh to the singing of the Psalm that is recorded as done by them in the plural number. "When they had sung an Hymn, they departed into the Mount of Olives:" They that departed into the Mount of Olives, they sung the Psalm. Now it was not Christ alone but the whole eleven disciples with him that departed into the Mount of Olives. And therefore it was Christ with his disciples that sung the Psalm together.

OBJECTION.

Against the proof from Acts xvi. 25. It is not said (say some) that Paul and Silas sung the Psalms of David or Asaph, much less with metre and tunes devised by men. Had they so done, the prisoners that heard them might have sung for the outward dispensation such a song of praise to God, as well as they.

ANSWER.

We do not allege this example of theirs (as hath been often said in like case before) to prove they sang any Psalm of David, though

it stand with good reason that they, joining together in singing, did rather sing a Psalm (or Hymn) known to them both, than any new song devised by either of them. But what Psalms are to be sung is another question, which (by the help of Christ) we shall speak to in the sequel. Neither do we allege their example to prove they sang in a devised metre or tune. For themselves being Hebrews, it is likely they sang the Hebrew songs in the tunes of the Sanctuary, but that also is another question, of which we are to speak in his place, when we come to it. All that we gather from this place now, is, no more than the words do plainly hold forth, that they sung an Hymn to God, not only with inward melody of grace in their hearts, but also with outward melody of the voice; for else the prisoners could not have heard them.

ON THE COMPOSING AND SINGING OF PSALMS WITH A LIVELY VOICE.

[*From the Same.*]

THE question now is whether in the days of the New Testament we are to sing the praises of God with a loud voice or noise, and for this we allege, beside the text in Isaiah, the prophecies of David who foretelleth and exhorteth all lands (at least the Churches and people of God in all lands) "To make a joyful noise unto the Lord, to make a joyful noise unto him with Psalms, to come before his presence with singing."

"Yea but this bindeth us no more to make such a manner of loud noise, as our form of singing is, than to make such a loud noise, as was made in David's days, 'with ten stringed instruments;' for so the Lord was to be praised."

ANSWER.

So the Lord was to be praised? Praised "with ten stringed instruments." When was he so to be praised? In David's days? True: And therefore it was the duty of all the people in any land that became proselytes to the Church of Israel in the days of David and during all the time of the Temple worship to come before the Lord, not only with the loud noise of singing Psalms, but of playing with instruments. But after the days, not only of David, but of the Temple and that worship be passed, in the day when our Jehovah (the Lord Jesus) hath entered into his rest, in the day of our Lord, when he commandeth us not to harden our hearts, but to hear his voice,

to fall down and worship before him in prayer (both which are to be performed every Lord's day), he then commandeth us "to come and sing unto the Lord, to make a joyful noise to the rock of our salvation, and to make a joyful noise unto him with Psalms." Here is now no mention of making a joyful noise with instruments, but "with Psalms." And therefore the making a joyful noise "with Psalms" doth still continue, even on our Lord's days, when making a joyful noise "with instruments" continueth not, but is laid down in silence, save only so far as it is kept alive in the antitype, the affections of our hearts (our Præcordia) making melody with the songs and professions of our lips, and with the gracious and peaceable conversation of our lives.

"Then you acknowledge it to be the duty of such as are called to the knowledge of the Truth, to come before the Lord, not with sorrow and sadness, and with a dejected spirit, but with singing."

What singing do you mean? If you mean only the gracious rejoicing of the heart, that indeed, though it be requisite to avoid hypocrisy, yet it is not complete to reach the full extent of the duty, the duty of making a "joyful noise with Psalms." Our chief Singer (of whom you speak) when he set the Lord and his own death and resurrection before his face (which he was to undergo for our sakes) he was not only glad in his heart, but his glory also (that is his tongue) rejoiced in "singing a Psalm" at his last Supper (Psal. xvi. 8, 9, with Matt. xxvi. 30). And therefore it will be a discord from the practice of our chief Singer, and so a dishonor to him if our hearts sing with joy, but our glory (to wit, our tongues) be mute with silence. Say not then, as you do: "We are no more bound to make a loud noise with our voices, than the trees are to clap their hands (as Isaiah prophesieth) or than the new Converts were to come with external singing of Psalms." For in so saying you will not avoid the authority of the Commandment nor the necessity of that duty of singing. For when God redeemed his people out of the captivity of Babel, not only their hearts (the hearts of them who were returning to Zion) were filled with rejoicing, but even their tongues also with singing. And though the trees cannot be said in proper speech to clap their hands (for they have no hands to clap), yet common sense will easily tell you that there is a metaphor either in clapping of hands, or in the trees. If trees be taken properly, then clapping of hands is put (by a metaphor) for the flourishing fruitfulness of the trees of the field, which (by the blessing of God) is wont to follow the prosperity of the Church in such abundance that their boughs and branches shall clap and dash themselves and their fruit one upon another, whereby (as by hands) they reach forth refreshing and food to the children of the Church.

But if trees be put by a metaphor for trees of righteousness (as the Saints are so called, Isai. lxi. 3) then they shall "clap their hands, and shout for joy, and sing aloud" (expressing external signs of comfort) "to behold and consider the wonderful goodness of the Lord" to themselves and their brethren. And so in the same verse, Isai. lv. 12, when the "mountains and hills" are said to break forth before the Saints "into singing," if there be not a metaphor in "singing" then "mountains and hills" are put by a metaphor for Princes and men of high degree which shall give example to others in holy rejoicing and particularly in singing praises to the Lord. So that these texts in Isaiah which you thought might excuse you from singing with the voice, which David exhorted to be done with a loud voice, they will not exempt you at all from this duty but rather bind you the stronger to it. And therefore look as when David saith: "I cried to the Lord with my voice," a man shall detract from his meaning that shall say he cried only to God with his heart. So when David exhorteth the Gentile Churches "to make a joyful noise unto God with Psalms" you do detract in like sort from his meaning when you make his meaning to be, not that we should sing unto God with our voices but that we should only make melody to him with grace in our hearts. Such detracting from the Word is alike disallowed and accursed of God as is adding to the Word. . . . .

OBJECTION.

But if the Apostle had intended to commend to the Churches the singing of the "Psalms and Hymns and spiritual Songs" of David and Asaph, what need was there for him to exhort either the Ephesians "to be filled with the Spirit," or the Colossians "to have the word of Christ dwell richly in them" for such a service? For any small measure of the Spirit and of the Word will suffice to sing the Psalms of David and Asaph in their words and in the metre and tunes accustomed. But to invent new spiritual Songs fit to teach and admonish the Church would require a full measure of the Spirit and a rich treasure of the Word to dwell in us. And therefore Paul biddeth the Ephesians "to be filled with the Spirit" in singing the spiritual Songs of the New Testament, as drunkards are filled with wine, and in the strength and spirits of their wine invent and sing their wanton Sonnets.

ANSWER.

Paul did exhort them "to be filled with the Spirit" as drunkards be with wine, not that they might invent and sing spiritual Songs as drunkards do wanton Sonnets; for neither do drunkards filled with wine usually invent Sonnets, but sing such as they learned before when they

were sober; nor doth the Apostle speak of inventing Songs at all, either wanton Songs by drunkards, or spiritual Songs by the faithful; but only to be filled with the Spirit as drunkards be with wine that so they might avoid the riotous and excessive mirth of drunkards and employ and improve their holy mirth and joy to the singing "Psalms and Hymns and spiritual Songs," for their own mutual edification and consolation and for holy thanksgiving and praise unto the Lord.

Though it do not require such a full measure "of the Spirit" nor rich portion of the Word "dwelling in us" to sing a Psalm invented and penned to our hands yet a full and rich measure of the Word and Spirit will be needful to perform all those duties which the Apostle in those texts calleth for. For the Apostle calleth to the improvement as of the whole word of Christ unto the teaching and admonishing of one another, so of the Psalms, not only unto those two heads, but also besides those unto a further third end, to wit, unto the singing of them unto God's praise. Now to be able to improve the whole word of God to these two spiritual ends, and the Psalms to all those three spiritual ends, doth require a full and rich measure both of Spirit and Word to dwell in us.

It will require a full and rich measure both of Word and Spirit "to dwell in us" to direct and appoint a fit Psalm out of the Book of Psalms suitable to the present occasions of singing to God's praise, and to the instruction and admonition of the Church according to the present estate of their affections, or afflictions, their consolation, or conversation in hand.

It will require a fuller and richer measure "of the Word and Spirit to dwell in us" than a carnal heart would imagine even to utter a Song with such grace in the heart as might make melody to the Lord. It requires a good measure of the indwelling Spirit and Word of God to pray in the Spirit, much more to sing in the Spirit, wherein our senses delighted with the melody are apt to steal away our hearts from spiritual fervency. Deborah found her heart dull to be awakened so much as to utter the song which she had prepared by the Spirit for her and Barak to sing together. "Awake, Awake," saith she, "Awake, Awake, Deborah, utter a song!" That fourfold ingemination: "Awake, Awake, Awake, Awake, utter a song!" argueth in the best of God's servants a deep drowsiness of spirit when we should come to utter a spiritual Song spiritually, like as that fourfold ingemination to the Church of Jerusalem, to "Return, Return, Return, Return!" Cant. vi. 13, argueth a deep and strong averseness of the Spirit of the Jews unto Conversion and returning to the Lord. . . . .

Say not these writings of the Apostles and Evangelists, of David and the Prophets, do not speak to the edification of the Church, but as they

are expounded and applied by the spiritual gifts of the Ministers and people of God in each age. For the very reading of them is an Ordinance of God, and no Ordinance of God is empty and beggarly and destitute of the Spirit which is the variety of men's traditions and may not be imputed to any of God's Ordinances.

Neither ought you to say that in singing the Psalms of David there is no more personal gift manifested, than there is in reading a stinted form of prayer.

For in reading a stinted form of prayer there is no gift of the Spirit at all manifested, but rather as I conceive, a manifest breach of the second Commandment of God, which is a grieving of the Spirit. But in singing of the Psalms of David there is a gift of the Spirit manifested, even the gift of obedience to the command of the Apostle. And that is the personal gift of him that singeth.

And secondly, all the treasures of the gift of the Spirit breathing in the Psalms of David are likewise manifested in the reverent and holy singing of them. You might more truly have said there is no more personal gift of the Spirit manifested in singing the Psalms of David than in reading the Psalms of David because either or both those duties are alike acts of obedience to God's Commandment. But if you had so said, your objection had answered itself.

OBJECTION.

Many of God's people now have gifts to compose spiritual Songs as well as carnal Poets to make carnal Sonnets or as drunkards that make Songs of God's people. Now every one that hath a gift is to administer it by Christ's Command. And if any for want of experience of such a gift in themselves should question it they may consider the promise of pouring out the Spirit in a more plentiful measure now in the days of the New Testament than in the Old.

ANSWER.

Though many of God's people have gifts to compose spiritual Songs, as well as carnal Poets carnal Sonnets and Drunkards profane Sonnets; yet that will not argue that the spiritual Songs which many of God's people have gifts to compose are fit to be sung in the public holy Assemblies of the Saints, no more than the carnal and profane Sonnets of drunken Poets are fit to be sung in civil Assemblies. Let drunken, carnal Poets sing their carnal Sonnets in their taverns and ale-houses and such of God's people as have received a gift to compose a spiritual Song fit for their private solace sing it in their private houses. But every spiritual Song fit for private solace is not fit to be sung in the sol-

emn Assemblies of the Church for public edification, no more than it is fit for every private Christian who hath a gift to compose a spiritual prayer, to utter and pour forth the same in the public Congregation of the Church.

CONCERNING THE SINGERS: WHETHER WOMEN, PAGANS, AND PROFANE AND CARNAL PERSONS.

[*From the Same.*]

THE third question about singing of Psalms concerneth the Singers. For though vocal singing be approved and also the singing of David's Psalms, yet still it remaineth to some a question who must sing them. And here a threefold scruple ariseth. 1. Whether one be to sing for all the rest, the rest joining only in spirit and saying Amen; or the whole Congregation? 2. Whether women as well as men; or men alone? 3. Whether carnal men and Pagans may be permitted to sing with us or Christians alone and Church-Members?

Touching the first of these scruples; It is out of doubt 1. That a Christian man, for his own private solace and edification, may sing a Psalm alone by himself; as Asaph had his Songs by night. It is granted that he who had a spiritual and extraordinary Gift of enditing a Psalm might sing it himself and the rest of the Church join with him in Spirit saying Amen: though in the Old Testament he that endited the Psalm gave it to the Master of Song, to be sung publicly by others as well as himself. . . . . .

OBJECTION.

If the whole Church should sing together then all the members were Teachers. For the Apostle biddeth us to Teach and Admonish one another in Psalms. But the same Apostle denieth all to be Teachers.

ANSWER.

Though the Apostle bid us to Teach and Admonish one another in Psalms yet he doth not say that we should teach one another by singing Psalms together. But he there holdeth forth a twofold use and improvement of the whole word of God dwelling richly in us, and a threefold use and improvement of the Psalms. The whole word of God dwelling richly in us is to be improved to the Teaching and admonishing of one another; but the Psalms are to be improved, not only to both these ends (as all the rest of the Word beside) but to a

threefold end also, even to the Singing of Praises to the Lord. Now in this third end all the Congregation may join in improving the Psalms thereunto, though not in the Public teaching or Admonishing of the Church by them, yet in setting forth the Praises, the Counsels, the works of God declared in them. . . . .

The second scruple about Singers is "Whether women may sing as well as men." For in this point there be some that deal with us as Pharaoh dealt with the Israelites, who though he was at first utterly unwilling that any of them should go to sacrifice to the Lord in the Wilderness yet being at length convinced that they must go, then he was content the Men should go but not the Women. So here, some that were altogether against singing of Psalms at all with a lively voice, yet being convinced that it is a moral worship of God warranted in Scripture, then if there must be a Singing one alone must sing, not all (or if all) the Men only and not the Women.

And their reason is. "1. Because it is not permitted to a woman to speak in the Church (I. Cor. xiii. 34.) How then shall they sing? 2. Much less it is permitted to them to prophesy in the Church (I. Tim. ii. 11, 12.) And singing of Psalms is a kind of prophesying."

One answer may at once remove both these scruples and withal clear the truth. It is apparent by the scope and context of both those Scriptures that a woman is not permitted to speak in the Church in two cases: 1. By way of teaching, whether in expounding or applying Scripture. For this the Apostle accounteth an act of authority which is unlawful for a woman to usurp over the man, II. Tim. ii. 13. And besides the woman is more subject to error than a man, *ver.* 14. and therefore might soon prove a seducer if she became a teacher.

2. It is not permitted to a woman to speak in the Church by way of propounding questions though under pretence of desire to learn for her own satisfaction; but rather it is required she should ask her husband at home.

For under pretence of questioning for learning sake, she might so propound her question as to teach her teachers; or if not so, yet to open a door to some of her own weak and erroneous apprehensions, or at least soon exceed the bounds of womanly modesty.

Nevertheless in two other cases, it is clear a woman is allowed to speak in the Church: 1. In way of subjection when she is to give account of her offence. . . . .

2. In way of singing forth the praises of the Lord together with the rest of the Congregation. For it is evident the Apostle layeth no greater restraint upon the women for silence in the Church than the Law had put upon them before. For so himself speaketh in the place alleged: "It is not permitted to the women to speak, but to be under

subjection, as also saith the Law." The Apostle then requireth the same subjection in the woman which the Law had put upon them—no more. Now it is certain the Law, yea, the Law-giver Moses, did permit Miriam and the women that went out after her to sing forth the praises of the Lord, as well as the men, and to answer the men in their song of thanksgiving: "Sing ye to the Lord for he hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the Sea." Which may be a ground sufficient to justify the lawful practice of women in singing together with men the praises of the Lord. And accordingly the ancient practice of women in the Primitive Churches to sing the public praises of the Lord we read recorded in the Ecclesiastical History, Socrates second Book, Chapter 18 of the Greek copy, and Chapter 16 of the Latin, Theodoret third Book, Chapter 17. . . .

It hath been showed above that prophecy is taken two ways in Scripture: 1. More properly for preaching the Word, that is expounding and applying Scripture to edification.

2. More generally for speaking or publishing the holy things of God, to the glory of God. In the former of these ways, it is not for Pagans, or profane persons, ordinarily and allowably to prophesy in Christ's spiritual temple, which is his Church. But in the latter way, it is not unlawful as to say "Amen" to the public prayers of the Church, and thereby to express their joining in prayer (which is one act of prophecy); so to join with them in singing Psalms, which it hath been showed above is a duty common to them with the Church, as well to join with them in hearing the Word. Wherein whether they edify the Church or no, certain it is, it tendeth to the glory of God, that God's praises should be set forth by all the sons of men. And it is a further glory to God that such Pagans and profane persons should sing the word of God to their own conviction and confusion of face. And from both some edification and comfort redoundeth to the Church to see the wicked convinced and God's Name to be glorified. For it is an honor to God and a comfort to his Church that our God is not as their God, our enemies being judges and witnesses.

OBJECTION.

The godly Jews would not suffer the Samaritans to build the Temple with them though they offered themselves. And if singing be prophesying in any sense, and any way tending to the comfort or edification of the Church, why should we suffer profane persons to sing with us?

ANSWER.

That the godly Jews did reject the Samaritans from building with them, it was not out of moral consideration, as if it were unlawful for

heathens to contribute their assistance to the worship or ordinances of God; but out of a ceremonial respect because no heathens or unclean persons might be allowed to come into the Temple of the Lord. But by the death of Christ the Partition wall of Ceremonies is broken down; and we may allow heathens and profane persons to come into our holy assemblies, which they would not admit. Certain it is the godly Jews themselves did receive liberal contributions and oblations from the Kings of Persia towards the building and maintenance of the Temple, which was a moral acknowledgment of the honor due to the God of Israel, as well by Gentiles as Jews. If therefore the Jews would accept acknowledgment of moral homage and service from heathens and profane persons to the God of Israel why may not Christians accept from Pagans and profane persons their acknowledgment of moral homage and service to our God in singing forth his praises amongst us?

OBJECTION.

Such carnal and profane people are not worthy to take the Name and Praises of God in their mouths; nor are they able to make melody to the Lord by singing to him "with grace in their hearts," as is required, Col. iii. 16.

ANSWER.

If we speak of the worthiness of desert, John Baptist was not worthy to loose the latchet of Christ's shoe, much less to sing forth his glorious praise. But if we speak of the worthiness of fitness, though it be true their unclean lips are not fit to take the holy Word of God into their mouths; yet the holy Word of God is fit to come into their minds and mouths also, to convince and reprove them of their Apostasy from God and rebellion against him. And howsoever they be unfit and unworthy to take God's Name and Praise into their mouths; yet surely the Lord is worthy of all praise and glory, blessing and thanksgiving from them and all the creatures which he hath made.

It is true, carnal and profane persons are not able to make melody and sing to the Lord with grace in their hearts; yet that defect doth no more excuse carnal persons from singing than it doth excuse them from prayer, which they cannot perform acceptably to God without a spirit of grace and faith. To pray (and so to sing) without faith is a sin; but not pray at all is a greater sin. The one is Hypocrisy, the other Atheism.

OBJECTION.

Though the Scribes and Pharisees joined in the Temple-songs upon the words of David in the worldly Sanctuary; yet the melody made by such carnal and clean mouths was far more beautiful and glorious than

ours in the assemblies made with a multitude of all manner of singers upon the same words of David and Asaph. For although they that sang in the Temple in those days were carnal, yet they were appointed to sing and were choice singers endued with choice (though common) singing gifts, which made the service most beautiful, as men call beauty. But the melody of our assembly compared with theirs hath no outward beauty in it. So that if their melody were a type of ours, then the type is more glorious than the antitype, which is a dishonor to Christ.

ANSWER.

It is no dishonor at all to Christ that the type should be far more beautiful and glorious to the outward man than the antitype. Solomon was a type of Christ and the Temple of Solomon was a type of his body; and both Solomon himself and his Temple were far more beautiful and glorious than Christ himself to the outward man. Yet this was no dishonor to Christ whose beauty and glory was so divine and heavenly in the inner man that all their outward beauty and glory were but dim and dark shadows to it. . . . . .

Though their melody might be more beautiful and glorious to the outward appearance as being more artificial and more musical; yet seeing the Spirit of Grace is more abundantly poured out in the New Testament than in the Old, if the holy singers sing with more life and grace of the Spirit, our melody is the more beautiful and glorious before the Lord and his spiritual saints, though theirs was more beautiful and glorious in the outward sense.

Whether the Scribes and the Pharisees were any of them Musicians of the Temple endued with choice gifts and appointed to that office (as you say) though we do not know it, yet neither will we deny it. But this we dare say, that if they were appointed to sing, so now not any choice order of men, but all the sons of men are commanded to sing as well as to pray, as hath been showed above.

OBJECTION.

Where many sing together (as in a great mixt assembly) many sing they know not what; and they that do know what they sing, cannot but see that many of the Psalms which they do sing, are not suitable to their own condition. And how then can they sing such Psalms as songs of their own?

ANSWER.

The ignorance of men in discerning the true matter or the right manner of a duty doth not excuse them from the performance of the duty; we speak of such moral duties as the moral Law of God and

the Law of Nature requireth to be done. What if a man know not what nor how to pray? Yet that will not excuse him either from praying himself, or from joining with others that are better acquainted with prayer than himself. So it is here; what if many a man know not what nor how to sing to God's Praise? Yet that will not excuse him, either from singing himself or joining with others that have more spiritual skill in that kind than himself.

It is an ignorance of a man's self and of the ways of God to think that any Psalm is unsuitable to his own condition. For every Psalm setteth forth either the attributes and works of God and his Christ, and this yieldeth me matter of holy reverence, blessing and praise. Or else it describeth the estate and ways of the Church and People of God, and this affecteth me with compassion, instruction or imitation. Or else it deciphereth the estate and ways of the wicked, and this holdeth forth to me a word of admonition. Or else it doth lively express mine own affections and afflictions, temptations and comforts, and then it furnisheth me with fit matter and words to present mine own condition before the Lord. But whatsoever the matter of the Psalm concerning God or his Christ, the godly or the wicked, myself or others, the good or evil estate of one or other, it ever ministereth fit matter and occasion to me of singing forth the Praises of the Lord, since the Name of God is to be blessed in all, whether it go well or ill with ourselves or others.

AN EXPOSITION OF HYPOCRITES.

[*The New Covenant.* 1654.]

ALL the men in the world are divided into two ranks, godly or ungodly, righteous or wicked; of wicked men two sorts: some are notoriously wicked, others are Hypocrites; of Hypocrites two sorts (and you shall find them in the Church of God): some are washed Swine, others are Goats.

The Swine are those of whom our Saviour Christ saith: "That they return unto their wallowing in the mire;" like unto these are such men who at the hearing of some sermons have been stomach-sick of their sins, and have rejected their wicked courses; but yet the swine's heart remaineth in them, as a Swine when he cometh where the puddle is will readily lie down in it, so will these men wallow in the puddle of uncleanness when their conscience is not pricked for the present; but these are a grosser kind of Hypocrites.

There is another sort that go far beyond these, and they are Goats, so called, Matt. xxv. 32, 33, and these are clean beasts such as chew the cud, meditate upon Ordinances, and they divide the hoof; they live both in a general and particular calling, and will not be idle. They are also fit for sacrifice; what then is wanting? Truly they are not sheep all this while, they are but Goats, yet a Goat doth loathe that which a Swine will readily break into. But where then do they fall short of the nature of sheep? A difference there is, which standeth principally in these particulars:—

1. The Goat is of a Capricious nature, and affecteth Eminency; his gait also is stately. Prov. xxx. 30. Agur reckoneth the he-goat among the four things that are comely in going. And they are full of Ambition; they cannot abide swamps and holes, but will be climbing upon the tops of mountains; there is not that plain, lowly, sheepish frame that attendeth unto the voice of the Shepherd, to be led up and down in fresh pastures; they attend upon their ends and will outshoot God in his own Bow, and therefore when they have done many things for Christ he will say unto them: "Depart from me, ye workers of iniquity." More Eminency they did affect than they were guided unto. Thus it was with Jehu, who in his zeal for God thought to promote himself, and herein he will not be persuaded of his sin, and therefore going into crooked ways he cometh at length to cleave unto the sins of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin; yet notwithstanding you may receive a Goat into Church-fellowship for all his capricious nature, and he will be a clean creature, and of much good use. The five foolish (Matt. xxv. 2), were all of them Virgins, all of them abhorring Idolatry, and all go forth to meet the Bridegroom, and yet they are foolish and never shall you make them wise, to be all for Christ, only hearing and obeying his voice.

2. They are of a Rankish nature, all of them, specially the old Goats will have an unsavory relish, far from that pleasant sweetness that is in a sheep; and herein Hypocrites are greatly different from the sheep of Christ as the Prophet speaketh, Ezek. xxxiv. 21, and they mar the pastures with their feet, and will be at length muddling the fair waters of the Sanctuary also; and in your best sanctification they fall far short of a sheep-like frame of spirit, diligently to hear the voice of the Shepherd; this will not be found in the sanctification of the best Hypocrite under Heaven, they may go far, and yet fall away, and this is no Arminianism, but if you search the Scriptures diligently, you will find these things to be true.

IN PRAISE OF MASTER STONE.

[*To my Reverend Dear Brother, Mr. Samuel Stone, Teacher of the Church at Hartford.* 1652.]

HOW well, dear Brother, art thou called Stone?
As sometimes Christ did Simon Cephas own.
A Stone for solid firmness fit to rear
A part in Zion's wall, and it upbear.
Like Stone of Bohan, bounds fit to describe
'Twixt Church and Church, as that 'twixt tribe and tribe.
Like Samuel's Stone, erst Eben-Ezer hight,
To tell the Lord hath helped us with his might.
Like Stone in David's sling, the head to wound
Of that huge Giant-Church, so far renowned,
Hight the Church Catholic œcumenical,
Or at the lowest compass National;
Yet Politic Visible, and of such a fashion
As may or rule a world or rule a nation.
Which though it be cried up unto the Skies
By Philistines and Israelites likewise,
Yet seems to me to be too near akin
Unto the Kingdom of the Man of sin.
In frame, and state, and constitution,
Like to the first beast in the Revelation
Which was as large as Roman empire wide,
And ruled Rome, and all the world beside.
Go on, good Brother, gird thy sword with might,
Fight the Lord's battles, plead his Church's right.
To Brother Hooker thou art next akin,
By office-right thou must his pledge redeem.
Take thou the double portion of his spirit,
Run on his race, and then his crown inherit.
Now is the time when Church is militant,
Time hast'neth fast when it shall be triumphant.

Samuel Stone.

BORN in Hertford, England. DIED at Hartford, Conn., 1663.

WHY SOCRATES IS NOT PLATO, NOR PLATO SOCRATES.

[*A Congregational Church is a Catholic Visible Church.* 1652.]

SOCRATES and Plato are distinguished one from another by their proper and essential forms. As a man and a lion differ in their common form, so Socrates and Plato in their proper form. All oppo-

sition is firstly from the form; hereby a thing is that which it is, and is therefore by this distinguished from all other things. All essential distinction and opposition is from the forms of things; they differ not only accidentally, but essentially one from the other, and are distinguished one from another by their essential forms.

The numerical difference between Socrates and Plato is an argument of their specifical distinction; it includeth and implieth an essential difference between things, being distinguished by their proper, individual, essential forms. It is true that our intellectuals are so wounded by the apostasy of the first man that it is exceeding hard for us to find out the forms of things; we are forced many times to describe the forms of things by their accidents, as we are constrained to describe the elements by their proper qualities arising from their forms; yet every one of them hath a proper form. The existence of every thing is from all the causes; nothing can exist and be that which it is without its proper form. And the difference of the proper form is no less than the difference of the common form but rather greater. Look how much greater the similitude and agreement is between singulars in regard of their common forms—so much greater is the difference of their proper form. The difference and opposition of contraries is the greatest and strongest, and yet they communicate in the same *genus:* these are more opposite one to another than things that are not under the same *genus:* white and black are more opposite than white and bitter, &c. *Gravia bella fratrum.*

To differ so numerically is to differ formally; to differ in number is to differ in form; for number is an affection or proper adjunct following the essence. Socrates and Plato have two distinct forms; hence they differ in essence; hence they have two distinct essences and beings; hence they are two; one cannot be the other; they cannot be both one and the same, hence they differ numerically one from the other. Where there is one humanity and essential form of man, there is one essence of man, and one man; and where there are two humanities and essential, proper, and individual forms of man, there are two men; hence they differ numerically, and one is not the other, or the same with the other. Socrates is not Plato, but is numerically different from him. Socrates is one, and Plato is another, as London is one city and York another.

The difference of number is nothing but the difference of the proper and individual form, and to differ in number is to differ in form. Two men have two different forms, two lions have two different forms. If Socrates and Plato, or any other individual men differing in number, should not differ in essence and form, they should differ only accidentally one from the other, as one man differs from himself, or as Socrates in

his old age differs from Socrates in his youth, being the same man and differing only in accidents, not in essence. Socrates should be Plato, and Plato Socrates, and when Alexander rides Bucephalus, Aristotle sits in the same saddle, and it were impossible not to set the saddle upon the right horse, for every horse is the same essentially; and he that stealeth one horse, he stealeth all the horses in the world, because the essence of the one is the same with the essence of the other. There is a difference, indeed, in accidents, but none in essence; there being, according to this account, no essential or substantial difference between them.

Lastly:—hence there is, upon the same account, no essential and substantial man in the world, but only Ideal; for all generals subsist in individuals, and individuals subsist only in themselves. If, therefore, individuals differ not essentially one from another, but only accidentally, there is no substantial and essential man subsisting by himself, because individual men only subsist in themselves. If, therefore, no individual, proper, essential, human form, there is no individual, essential man subsisting, and therefore no individual, substantial man in the world. Every individual man is an accidental man, having no proper, substantial individual form or essence. He that hath no substantial proper form, hath no substantial proper essence, and therefore cannot be a substantial, individual man. And hence there is no substantial, individual man in the world, but only ideal and common; and Socrates and Plato should differ essentially no more from one another than Doctor Martin and Doctor Luther. But the truth is, they have not one and the same essence, but differ in their essential form one from another. For an accidental form cannot be the prime and principal essential Cause of a substance.

James Noyes.

Born in Wiltshire, England, 1608. Died at Newbury, Mass., 1656.

THE POWER OF MAGISTRATES IN THE CHURCH.

[*The Temple Measured, or a Brief Survey of the Temple Mystical.* 1647.]

THE acts of magistracy are not only civil laws, precepts, punishments, rewards; but also spiritual laws, precepts, prayers, blessing, instructions, admonitions. These spiritual acts do denominate magistratical power to be spiritual power though not ecclesiastical. Church

power is spiritual generically in respect of acts which are spiritual in common, but by way of specialty it is spiritual, as it is ecclesiastical. Magistratical power is both civil and spiritual, yet not ecclesiastical; or civil as it is opposed to ecclesiastical power, not as opposed to spiritual. The next ends of magistratical acts are spiritual, and acts are distinguished by their ends or immediate objects. The spiritual good of men is both intended and acquired in magistratical acts as primarily as the temporal good of men. A magistrate doth instruct, pray, etc., to the end he might confer some spiritual good, and the act itself doth as naturally and immediately produce such an effect as if it were the act of an ecclesiastical person; and such an act is supposed to be the act of a magistrate as he is a magistrate, not only as he is a Christian. And if the magistrate be profane and should not intend any spiritual good (as it was said of one, that he was *bonus Rex,* but *malus homo*) it is sufficient that the act itself doth.

The spiritual good of men and the glory of God are primary ends of the constitution of magistracy in nature. A throne of magistracy is erected (and ought to be in the intention of men) as directly for religion as for civil peace. Though a Prince hath not all the means to make a good man which a Priest hath, yet he hath some, and is to improve them for the making of his subjects good men spiritually as well as civilly; and he that is *integrè bonus civis est bonus vir,* in respect of all virtues in both tables. Else why is it the duty of magistrates to instruct, pray, provide by laws, etc., for the preservation and promotion of religion? Such ends were primary ends of magistracy in Adam, only we must remember that axiom, *Finem legis non cadere sub legem.*

The Priesthood itself is naturally a branch of magistracy; it remained in the Patriarchs till God severed one from the other; and God did not give all spiritual power to Aaron when he distinguished the Priesthood; much remained still in Moses. The œcumenical power of a master of a family is not ecclesiastical, yet he hath spiritual power to teach, pray, bless, command as he is a *Pater-familias.* Else a magistrate as a magistrate, must subordinate the first table to the second, the glory of God to the temporal good of men, God to man, religion to civility. A magistrate when he prays, blesseth or commandeth all to seek the God of Israel, as he his *Custos utriusque tabulæ,* is not supposed to use any of these means in the first place for the temporal prosperity of the Commonwealth. Must a magistrate as a magistrate pray only for corn, wine and oil? or may he serve God only for corn, wine and oil, and bless only with the dew of Heaven and fatness of the earth? A physician, indeed, as a physician doth only heal and intend to heal the natural man, because he hath only natural mediums, but a magistrate hath spiritual mediums, as he is a magistrate. A

magistrate as a man may make a temporal being his first and last and only end, but as a magistrate he intends both temporals and spirituals. A Christian as a man, may be for the world, but as a Christian he is for the Lord. A magistrate's office is spiritual, though the magistrate's person be profane and heathenish.

Nathaniel Ward.

BORN in Suffolk, England, 1570. DIED in Essex, England, 1653.

ON THE FRIVOLITIES OF FASHION.

[*The Simple Cobbler of Aggawam.* 1647.]

SHOULD I not keep promise in speaking a little to Women's fashions, they would take it unkindly. I was loath to pester better matter with such stuff; I rather thought it meet to let them stand by themselves, like the *Quæ Genus* in the grammar, being deficients, or redundants, not to be brought under any rule: I shall therefore make bold for this once, to borrow a little of their loose-tongued Liberty, and misspend a word or two upon their long-waisted, but short-skirted Patience: a little use of my stirrup will do no harm.

Ridentem dicere verum, quid prohibet?

> Gray Gravity itself can well beteem,
> That Language be adapted to the Theme.
> He that to Parrots speaks, must parrotise:
> He that instructs a fool, may act th' unwise.

It is known more than enough, that I am neither Niggard, nor Cynic, to the due bravery of the true gentry. I honor the woman that can honor herself with her attire; a good text always deserves a fair margin; I am not much offended if I see a trim far trimmer than she that wears it. In a word, whatever Christianity or Civility will allow, I can afford with London measure: but when I hear a nugiperous Gentledame inquire what dress the Queen is in this week: what the nudiustertian fashion of the Court; with egg to be in it in all haste, whatever it be; I look at her as the very gizzard of a trifle, the product of a quarter of a cipher, the epitome of Nothing, fitter to be kicked, if she were of a kickable substance, than either honored or humored.

To speak moderately, I truly confess it is beyond the ken of my understanding to conceive how those women should have any true grace, or valuable virtue, that have so little wit, as to disfigure themselves with such exotic garbs, as not only dismantles their native lovely lustre, but transclouts them into gantbar-geese, ill-shapen-shotten shell-fish, Egyptian Hieroglyphics, or at the best into French flurts of the pastery, which a proper English woman should scorn with her heels. It is no marvel they wear drailes on the hinder part of their heads, having nothing as it seems in the forepart, but a few squirrels' brains to help them frisk from one ill-favored fashion to another.

> These whimm' Crown'd shees, these fashion-fancying wits,
> Are empty thin brain'd shells, and fiddling Kits.

the very troublers and impoverishers of mankind. I can hardly forbear to commend to the world a saying of a Lady living some time with the Queen of Bohemia; I know not where she found it, but it is pity it should be lost.

> The world is full of care, much like unto a bubble,
> Women and care, and care and Women, and Women and care and trouble.

The Verses are even enough for such odd pegma's. I can make myself sick at any time, with comparing the dazzling splendor wherewith our gentlewomen were embellished in some former habits, with the gut-foundered goosedom, wherewith they are now surcingled and debauched. We have about five or six of them in our Colony: if I see any of them accidentally, I cannot cleanse my fancy of them for a month after. I have been a solitary Widower almost twelve years, purposed lately to make a step over to my native country for a yoke-fellow: but when I consider how women there have tripe-wifed themselves with their cladments, I have no heart to the voyage, lest their nauseous shapes and the sea, should work too sorely upon my stomach. I speak sadly; methinks it should break the hearts of English men, to see so many goodly English women imprisoned in French Cages, peering out of their hood holes for some men of mercy to help them with a little wit, and nobody relieves them.

It is a more common than convenient saying, that nine tailors make a man: it were well if nineteen could make a woman to her mind. If tailors were men indeed, well furnished but with mere moral principles, they would disdain to be led about like Apes, by such mimic Marmosets. It is a most unworthy thing for men that have bones in them, to spend their lives in making fiddle-cases for futilous women's fancies; which are the very pettitoes of infirmity, the giblets of perquisquilian

toys. I am so charitable to think, that most of that mystery would work the cheerfuller while they live, if they might be well discharged of the tiring slavery of mistiring women. It is no little labor to be continually putting up English women, into outlandish casks; who if they be not shifted anew, once in a few months, grow too sour for their husbands. What this trade will answer for themselves when God shall take measure of tailors' consciences is beyond my skill to imagine. There was a time when,

> The joining of the Red Rose with the White,
> Did set our State into a Damask plight.

But now our roses are turned to *flore de lices*, our carnations to tulips, our gillyflowers to daisies, our city dames, to an indenominable quæmalry of overturcased things. He that makes Coats for the Moon, had need take measures every noon: and he that makes for women, as often, to keep them from lunacy.

I have often heard divers ladies vent loud feminine complaints of the wearisome varieties and chargeable changes of fashions: I marvel themselves prefer not a Bill of redress. I would Essex Ladies would lead the Chore, for the honor of their county and persons; or rather the thrice honorable Ladies of the Court, whom it best beseems: who may well presume of a *Le Roy le veult* from our sober King, a *Les Seigneurs ont assentus* from our prudent Peers, and the like *Assentus*, from our considerate, I dare not say Wife-worn Commons; who I believe had much rather pass one such Bill, than pay so many tailor's bills as they are forced to do.

Most dear and unparalleled Ladies, be pleased to attempt it: as you have the precellency of the women of the world for beauty and feature; so assume the honor to give, and not take law from any, in matter of attire. If ye can transact so fair a motion among yourselves unanimously, I dare say, they that most renite, will least repent. What greater honor can your Honors desire, than to build a Promontory precedent to all foreign Ladies, to deserve so eminently at the hands of all the English gentry present and to come: and to confute the opinion of all the wise men in the world; who never thought it possible for women to do so good a work.

If any man think I have spoken rather merrily than seriously he is much mistaken, I have written what I write with all the indignation I can, and no more than I ought. I confess I veered my tongue to this kind of language *de industria* though unwillingly, supposing those I speak to are uncapable of grave and rational arguments.

I desire all ladies and gentlewomen to understand that all this while I intend not such as through necessary modesty to avoid morose singu-

larity, follow fashions slowly, a flight shot or two off, showing by their moderation, that they rather draw countermont with their hearts, than put on by their examples.

I point my pen only against the light-heeled beagles that lead the chase so fast, that they run all civility out of breath, against these Ape-headed Pullets, which invent Antique fool-fangles, merely for fashion and novelty sake.

In a word, if I begin once to declaim against fashions, let men and women look well about them, there is somewhat in the business; I confess to the world, I never had grace enough to be strict in that kind; and of late years, I have found syrup of Pride very wholesome in a due dose, which makes me keep such store of that drug by me, that if any body comes to me for a question-full or two about fashions, they never complain of me for giving them hard measure, or under weight.

But I address myself to those who can both hear and mend all if they please: I seriously fear, if the Pious Parliament do not find time to state fashions, as ancient Parliaments have done in part, God will hardly find a time to state religion or peace. They are the surquedryes of pride, the wantonness of idleness, provoking sins, the certain prodromies of assured judgment, Zeph. i. 7, 8.

It is beyond all account how many gentlemen's and citizens' estates are deplumed by their feather-headed Wives, what useful supplies the pannage of England would afford other countries, what rich returns to itself, if it were not sliced out into male and female fripperies: and what a multitude of misemployed hands might be better improved in some more manly manufactures for the public weal. It is not easily credible, what may be said of the Preterpluralities of tailors in London: I have heard an honest man say, that not long since there were numbered between Temple-bar and Charing-Cross, eight thousand of that trade; let it be conjectured by that proportion how many there are in and about London, and in all England they will appear to be very numerous. If the Parliament would please to mend women, which their husbands dare not do, there need not so many men to make and mend as there are. I hope the present doleful estate of the realm will persuade more strongly to some considerate course herein than I now can.

Knew I how to bring it in, I would speak a word to long Hair, whereof I will say no more but this: if God proves not such a Barber to it as he threatens, unless it be amended, Isai. vii. 20, before the Peace of the State and Church be well settled, then let my Prophecy be scorned, as a sound mind scorns the riot of that sin, and more it needs not. If those who are termed Rattleheads and Impuritans, would take up a resolution to begin in moderation of hair, to the just reproach

of those that are called Puritans and Roundheads, I would honor their manliness as much as the others' godliness, so long as I knew what man or honor meant: if neither can find a Barber's shop, let them turn in, to Psal. lxviii. 21, Jer. vii. 29, I. Cor. xi. 14. If it be thought no wisdom in men to distinguish themselves in the field by the Scissors, let it be thought no Injustice in God, not to distinguish them by the sword. I had rather God should know me by my sobriety, than mine enemy not know me by my vanity. He is ill kept, that is kept by his own sin. A short promise is a far safer guard than a long lock: it is an ill distinction which God is loath to look at, and his Angels can not know his Saints by. Though it be not the mark of the Beast, yet it may be the mark of a beast prepared to slaughter. I am sure men use not to wear such manes; I am also sure Soldiers use to wear other Marklets or Notadoes in time of battle.

THE GIFT OF POETRY.

[*From the Same.*]

POETRY's a gift wherein but few excel,
He doth very ill, that doth not passing well.

But he doth passing well, that doth his best,
And he doth best, that passeth all the rest.

A LESSON ON PRACTICAL RELIGION.

[*From the Same.*]

WHEN States are so reformed that they conform such as are profligate into good civility; civil men, into religious morality; when Churches are so constituted, that Faith is ordained pastor, Truth teacher, Holiness and Righteousness ruling elders; Wisdom and Charity deacons; Knowledge, love, hope, zeal, heavenly-mindedness, meekness, patience, watchfulness, humility, diligence, sobriety, modesty, chastity, constancy, prudence, contentation, innocency, sincerity, etc., admitted members, and all their opposites excluded: then there will be peace of country and conscience.

Did the Servants of Christ know what it is to live in Reformed Churches with unreformed spirits, under strict order with loose hearts;

how forms of Religion breed but forms of Godliness; how men by Church-discipline learn their Church-postures, and there rest:—they would pray as hard for purity of heart, as purity of ordinances. If we mock God in these, He will mock us; either with defeat of our hopes, or which is worse, when we have what we so much desire, we shall be so much the worse for it. It was a well salted speech, uttered by an English Christian of a Reformed Church in the Netherlands: "We have the good Orders here, but you have the good Christians in England." He that prizes not Old England graces, as much as New-England ordinances, had need go to some other market before he comes hither. In a word, he that is not pastor, teacher, ruler, deacon and brother to himself, and looks not at Christ above all, it matters not a farthing whether he be Presbyterian or Independent; he may be a zealot in bearing witness to which he likes best, and yet an Iscariot to both, in the witness of his own conscience.

I have upon strict observation seen so much power of Godliness and spiritual-mindedness in English Christians, living merely upon sermons and private duties, hardly come by, when the Gospel was little more than symptomatical to the State; such epidemical and lethal formality in other disciplinated Churches, that I profess in the hearing of God, my heart hath mourned, and mine eyes wept in secret, to consider what will become of multitudes of my dear countrymen when they shall enjoy what they now covet. Not that good ordinances breed ill consciences, but ill consciences grow stark naught under good ordinances; insomuch that might I wish an hypocrite the most perilous place but Hell, I should wish him a membership in a strict Reformed Church: and might I wish a sincere servant of God the greatest grief earth can afford, I should wish him to live with a pure heart, in a Church impurely reformed; yet through the improvement of God's Spirit, that grief may sanctify him for God's service and presence, as much as the means he would have, but cannot.

I speak this the rather to prevent, what in me lies, the imprudent rummaging that is like to be in England, from villages to towns, from towns to cities, for Church's sake, to the undoing of societies, friendships, kindreds, families, heritages, callings, yea, the wise Providence of God in disposing men's habitations, now in the very infancy of Reformation, by forgetting that a little leaven may season a large lump, and it is much better to do good than receive. It were a most uncharitable and unserviceable part, for good men to desert their own congregations, where many may glorify God in the day of his Visitation, for their presence and assistance. If a Christian would pick out a way to thrive in grace, let him study to administer grace to them that want; or to make sure a blessing upon his family, let him labor to multiply

the family of Christ, and believe, that he which soweth liberally, shall reap abundantly; and he that spareth more than is need from them that have more need, shall surely come to poverty: yea, let me say that he who forsakes the means of grace for Christ and his Church's sake, shall meet with a better bargain, namely, grace itself. . . . .

In matter of Reformation, this would be remembered, that in premonitory judgments, God will take good words and sincere intents; but in peremptory, nothing but real performances.

A WORD TO ENGLAND.

[*From the Same.*]

GO on brave Englishmen, in the Name of God, go on prosperously, because of truth and righteousness. Ye that have the cause of Religion, the life of your Kingdom and of all the good that is in it in your hands: Go on undauntedly. As you are called and chosen, so be faithful. Ye fight the battles of the Lord, be neither desidiose nor perfidious. You serve the King of Kings, who styles you his heavenly Regiments, consider well, what impregnable fighting it is in heaven, where the Lord of Hosts is your General, his Angels your Colonels, the Stars your Fellow-soldiers, his Saints your Orators, his Promises your Victuallers, his Truth your Trenches; where Drums are Harps, Trumpets, joyful sounds; your Ensigns Christ's Banners; where your weapons and armor are spiritual, therefore irresistible, therefore impierceable; where Sun and Wind cannot disadvantage you, you are above them; where Hell itself cannot hurt you, where your Swords are furbished and sharpened by him that made their Metal, where your wounds are bound up with the oil of a good Cause, where your blood runs into the Veins of Christ, where sudden death is present Martyrdom and Life; your Funerals Resurrections, your honor Glory; where your widows and babes are received into perpetual Pensions; your Names listed among David's Worthies; where your greatest losses are greatest gains; and where you leave the troubles of War, to lie down in beds of eternal rest.

What good will it do you, dear Countrymen, to live without lives, to enjoy England without the God of England, your Kingdom without a Parliament, your Parliament without power, your Liberties without stability, your Laws without justice, your honors without virtue, your Beings without well-being, your Wives without honesty, your Children without morality, your Servants without civility, your Lands without

propriety, your Goods without immunity, the Gospel without salvation, your Churches without ministry, your Ministers without piety, and all you have or can have, with more tears and bitterness of heart, than all you have and shall have will sweeten or wipe away?

Go on therefore renowned Gentlemen, fall on resolvedly, till your hands cleave to your swords, your swords to your enemies' hearts, your hearts to victory, your victories to triumph, your triumphs to the everlasting Praise of him that hath given you Spirits to offer yourselves willingly, and to jeopard your lives in high perils, for his Name and Service sake.

And we your brethren, though we necessarily abide beyond Jordan, and remain on the American Sea-coasts, will send up armies of prayers to the Throne of Grace, that the God of Power and Goodness, would encourage your hearts, cover your heads, strengthen your arms, pardon your sins, save your souls, and bless your families, in the day of Battle. We will also pray that the same Lord of Hosts would discover the counsels, defeat the enterprises, deride the hopes, disdain the insolencies, and wound the hairy scalps of your obstinate enemies, and yet pardon all that are unwillingly misled. We will likewise help you believe that God will be seen on the Mount, that it is all one with him to save by many or few, and that He doth but humble and try you for the present, that He may do you good at the latter end.

A WORD OF IRELAND.

[*From the Same.*]

Not of the Nation universally, nor of any man in it, that hath so much as one hair of Christianity or Humanity growing on his Head or Beard, but only of the truculent Cutthroats, and such as shall take up Arms in their Defence.

THESE Irish anciently called Anthropophagi, man-eaters, have a tradition among them, that when the Devil showed our Saviour all the Kingdoms of the Earth and their glory, that he would not show him Ireland, but reserved it for himself; it is probably true, for he hath kept it ever since for his own peculiar; the old Fox foresaw it would eclipse the glory of all the rest. He thought it wisdom to keep the Land for a Boggards for his unclean spirits employed in this Hemisphere, and the people, to do his son and heir, I mean the Pope, that service for which Louis the Eleventh kept his Barber Oliver, which makes them so blood-thirsty. They are the very Offal of men, dregs of mankind,

reproach of Christendom, the Bots that crawl on the Beast's tail, I wonder Rome itself is not ashamed of them.

I beg upon my hands and knees that the expedition against them may be undertaken while the hearts and hands of our soldiery are hot, to whom I will be bold to say briefly: Happy is he that shall reward them as they have served us, and cursed be he that shall do that work of the Lord negligently. Cursed be he that holdeth back his sword from blood: yea, cursed be he that maketh not his sword stark drunk with Irish blood, that doth not recompense them double for their hellish treachery to the English, that maketh them not heaps upon heaps, and their country a dwelling place for Dragons, an Astonishment to Nations. Let not that eye look for pity, nor that hand to be spared, that pities or spares them, and let him be accursed, that curseth not them bitterly.

SIX HOBNAILS.

[*From the Same.*]

I PRAY let me drive in half a dozen plain honest Country Hobnails, such as the Martyrs were wont to wear; to make my work hold the surer; and I have done.

There lives cannot be good,
  There, faith cannot be sure,
Where truth cannot be quiet,
  Nor ordinances pure.

No King can king it right,
  Nor rightly sway his rod;
Who truly loves not Christ,
  And truly fears not God.

He can not rule a land,
  As lands should ruled been,
That lets himself be rul'd
  By a ruling Roman Queen.

No earthly man can be
  True subject to this State;
Who makes the Pope his Christ,
  An heretic his mate.

There Peace will go to War,
  And Silence make a noise:
Where upper things will not
  With nether equipoise.

The upper World shall rule,
While Stars will run their race:
The nether World obey,
While people keep their place.

THE CLENCH.

If any of these come out
So long's the World do last
Then credit not a word
Of what is said and past.

IN PRAISE OF MISTRESS BRADSTREET.

[*Prefixed to the Collection of Her Poems, "The Tenth Muse."* 1650.]

MERCURY show'd Apollo, Bartas' book,
Minerva this, and wish'd him well to look,
And tell uprightly, which did which excel:
He view'd and view'd, and vow'd he could not tell.
They bid him hemisphere his mouldy nose,
With's crack'd leering glasses, for it would pose
The best brains he had in's old pudding-pan,
Sex weigh'd, which best, the woman or the man?
He peer'd, and por'd, and glar'd, and said for wore,
I'm even as wise now, as I was before.
They both 'gan laugh, and said, it was no mar'l
The auth'ress was a right Du Bartas girl.
Good sooth, quoth the old Don, tell me ye so,
I muse whither at length these girls will go.
It half revives my chill frost-bitten blood,
To see a woman once do aught that's good;
And chode by Chaucer's boots and Homer's furs,
Let men look to't, lest women wear the spurs.

The Cambridge Platform.

DRAWN up and adopted by the New England Synod in 1648.

OF THE NATURE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN GENERAL.

[*A Platform of Church Discipline.* 1649.]

CHAPTER II.—1. The catholic church is the whole company of those that are elected, redeemed, and in time effectually called

from the state of sin and death unto a state of grace and salvation in Jesus Christ.

2. This church is either triumphant or militant. Triumphant, the number of them who are glorified in heaven; militant, the number of them who are conflicting with their enemies upon earth.

3. This militant church is to be considered as invisible and visible. (II. Tim. ii. 19; Rev. ii. 17; I. Cor. vi. 17; Eph. iii. 17; Rom. i. 8; I. Thess. i. 8; Isa. ii. 2; I. Tim. vi. 12.) Invisible, in respect to their relation, wherein they stand to Christ as a body unto the head, being united unto him by the Spirit of God and faith in their hearts. Visible, in respect of the profession of their faith, in their persons, and in particular churches. And so there may be acknowledged an universal visible church.

4. The members of the militant visible church, considered either as not yet in church order, or walking according to the church order of the gospel. (Acts xix. 1; Col. ii. 5; Matt. xviii. 17; I. Cor. v. 12.) In order, and so besides the spiritual union and communion common to all believers, they enjoy moreover an union and communion ecclesiastical, political. So we deny an universal visible church.

5. The state of the members of the militant visible church, walking in order, was either before the law (Gen. xviii. 19; Exod. xix. 6), economical, that is, in families; or under the law, national; or since the coming of Christ, only congregational (the term *independent*, we approve not): therefore neither national, provincial, nor classical.

6. A congregational church is by the institution of Christ a part of the militant visible church, consisting of a company of saints by calling, united into one body by an holy covenant, for the public worship of God, and the mutual edification of one another in the fellowship of the Lord Jesus. (I. Cor. xiv. 23, 36, and i. 2, and xii. 27; Exod. xix. 5, 6; Deut. xxix. 1, and 9 to 15; Acts ii. 42; I. Cor. xiv. 26.)

OF RULING ELDERS.

[*From the Same.*]

CHAPTER VII.—1. The ruling elder's office is distinct from the office of pastor and teacher (Rom. xii. 7, 8, 9; I. Tim. v. 17; I. Cor. xii. 28; Heb. xiii. 17; I. Tim. v. 17); the ruling elders are not so called to exclude the pastors and teachers from ruling, because ruling and governing is common to these with the other; whereas attending to teach and preach the word is peculiar unto the former.

2. The ruling elder's work is to join with the pastor and teacher in those acts of spiritual rule, which are distinct from the ministry of the word and sacraments committed to them (I. Tim. v. 17; II. Chron. xxiii. 19; Rev. xxi. 12; I. Tim. iv. 14; Matt. xviii. 17; II. Cor. ii. 7, 8; Acts ii. 6; Acts xxi. 18. 22, 23). Of which sort these be as followeth: 1, To open and shut the doors of God's house, by the admission of members approved by the church; by ordination of officers chosen by the church, and by excommunication of notorious and obstinate offenders renounced by the church, and by restoring of penitents forgiven by the church. 2, To call the church together when there is occasion (Acts vi. 2, 3; and xiii. 15), and seasonably to dismiss them again. 3, To prepare matters in private, that in public they may be carried to an end with less trouble, and more speedy dispatch. (II. Cor. viii. 19; Heb. xiii. 7, 17; II. Thess. ii. 10, 11, 12.) 4, To moderate the carriage of all matters in the church assembled, as to propound matters to the church. To order the season of speech and silence, and to pronounce sentence according to the mind of Christ, with the consent of the church. 5, To be guides and leaders to the church in all matters whatsoever pertaining to church-administrations and actions. 6, To see that none in the church live inordinately, out of rank and place without a calling, or idly in their calling. (Acts xx. 28. 32; I. Thess. v. 12; Jam. v. 14; Acts xx. 20.) 7, To prevent and heal such offences in life or in doctrine as might corrupt the church. 8, To feed the flock of God with a word of admonition. 9, And, as they shall be sent for, to visit and pray over their sick brethren. 10, And at other times, as opportunity shall serve thereunto.

OF EXCOMMUNICATION AND OTHER CENSURES.

[*From the Same.*]

CHAPTER XIV.—1. The censures of the church are appointed by Christ for the preventing, removing and healing of offences in the church (I. Tim. v. 20; Jude 19; Deut. xiii. 11; I. Cor. v. 6; Rom. ii. 24; Rev. ii. 14, 15, 16. 20); for the reclaiming and gaining of offending brethren; for the deterring others from the like offences; for purging out the leaven which may infect the whole lump; for vindicating the honor of Christ and of his church, and the holy profession of the gospel; and for preventing of the wrath of God, that may justly fall upon the church, if they should suffer his covenant and the seals thereof to be profaned by notorious and obstinate offenders.

2. If an offence be private (Matt. v. 23, 24), (one brother offending another), the offender is to go and acknowledge his repentance for it unto his offended brother, who is then to forgive him; but if the offender neglect or refuse to do it, the brother offended is to go, and convince and admonish him of it, between themselves privately: if therefore the offender be brought to repent of his offence, the admonisher has won his brother: but if the offender hear not his brother, the brother of the offended is to take with him one or two more (verse 16), that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established (whether the word of admonition, if the offender receive it; or the word of complaint, if he refuse it), for if he refuse it (verse 17), the offended brother is by the mouth of the elders to tell the church, and if he hear the church, and declare the same by penitent confession, he is recovered and gained. And if the church discern him to be willing to hear, yet not fully convinced of his offence, as in case of heresy, they are to dispense to him a public admonition; which, declaring the offender to lie under the public offence of the church, doth thereby withhold or suspend him from the holy fellowship of the Lord's Supper, till his offence be removed by penitent confession. If he still continue obstinate, they are to cast him out by excommunication.

3. But if the offence be more public at first, and of a more heinous and criminal nature (I. Cor. v. 4. 8, 11), to wit, such as are condemned by the light of nature; then the church, without such gradual proceeding, is to cast out the offender from their holy communion, for the further mortifying of his sin, and the healing of his soul in the day of the Lord Jesus.

4. In dealing with an offender, great care is to be taken that we be neither over-strict or rigorous, nor too indulgent or remiss: our proceeding herein ought to be with a spirit of meekness, considering ourselves, lest we also be tempted (Gal. vi. 1), and that the best of us have need of much forgiveness from the Lord. (Matt. xviii. 34, 35.) Yet the winning and healing of the offender's soul being the end of these endeavors (Ezek. xiii. 10), we must not daub with untempered mortar, nor heal the wounds of our brethren slightly. On some, have compassion; others, save with fear.

5. While the offender remains excommunicate (Matt. xviii. 17), the church is to refrain from all member-like communion with him in spiritual things (I. Cor. v. 11), and also from all familiar communion with him in civil things (II. Thess. iii. 6. 14), farther than the necessity of natural or domestical or civil relations do require; and are therefore to forbear to eat and drink with him, that he may be ashamed.

6. Excommunication being a spiritual punishment, it doth not prej-

udice the excommunicate in, or deprive him of his civil rights, and therefore toucheth not princes or magistrates in respect of their civil dignity or authority (I. Cor. xiv. 24, 25); and the excommunicate being but as a publican and a heathen (II. Thess. iii. 14), heathens being lawfully permitted to hear the word in church-assemblies, we acknowledge therefore the like liberty of hearing the word may be permitted to persons excommunicate that is permitted unto heathen. And because we are not without hope of his recovery, we are not to account him as an enemy, but to admonish him as a brother.

7. If the Lord sanctify the censure to the offender, so as by the grace of Christ, he doth testify his repentance with humble confession of his sin, and judging of himself, giving glory unto God (II. Cor. ii. 7, 8), the church is then to forgive him, and to comfort him, and to restore him to the wonted brotherly communion, which formerly he enjoyed with them.

8. The suffering of profane or scandalous livers to continue in fellowship, and partake in the sacraments (Rev. ii. 14, 15. 20), is doubtless a great sin in those that have power in their hands to redress it, and do it not. Nevertheless, insomuch as Christ, and his apostles in their times, and the prophets and other godly men in theirs (Matt. xxiii. 3; Acts iii. 1), did lawfully partake of the Lord's commanded ordinances in the Jewish church, and neither taught nor practised separation from the same, though unworthy ones were permitted therein: and inasmuch as the faithful in the church of Corinth, wherein were many unworthy persons and practices (I. Cor. vi. and xv. 12), are never commanded to absent themselves from the sacraments, because of the same; therefore the godly, in like cases, are not to separate.

9. As separation from such a church wherein profane and scandalous persons are tolerated, is not presently necessary; so for the members thereof, otherwise unworthy, hereupon to abstain from communicating with such a church in the participation of the sacraments, is unlawful. (II. Chron. xxx. 18; Gen. xviii. 25.) For as it were unreasonable for an innocent person to be punished for the faults of others, wherein he hath no hand, and whereunto he gave no consent; so is it more unreasonable that a godly man should neglect duty, and punish himself, in not coming for his portion in the blessing of the seals, as he ought, because others are suffered to come that ought not; especially considering that himself doth neither consent to their sin, nor to their approaching to the ordinance in their sin, nor to the neglect of others, who should put them away, and do not, but, on the contrary, doth heartily mourn for these things (Ezek. ix. 4), modestly and seasonably stir up others to do their duty. If the church cannot be reformed, they may use their liberty, as is specified. But this all

the godly are bound unto, even every one to his endeavor, according to his power and place, that the unworthy may be duly proceeded against by the church, to whom this matter doth pertain.

Anonymous.

THE NEW ENGLAND PREACHERS.

[*Good News from New England.* 1648.]

ONE unto reading Scriptures men persuades,
One labor bids for food that never fades.
One to redeem their time exhorteth all,
One looking round for wary walking calls.
One he persuades men buy the truth, not sell,
One would men should in moderateness excel.
One for renewed repentance daily strives,
One's for a conscience clear in all men's lives.
One he exhorts all men God's word to hear,
One doth beseech to lend obedient ear.
One he desires evil's appearance shun,
One with diligence would all should be done.
One shows their woe that will not God believe,
One doth beseech God's Spirit they'll not grieve.
One wishes none to deep despair do run,
One bids beware none to presumption come.
One wills that all at murmuring take heed,
One shows that strife and envy should not breed.
One shows the hatred God to pride doth bear,
One covetousness cries down with hellish fear.
One to lukewarmness wishes none do grow,
One none for fear forsake the truth they know.

Thomas Dudley.

BORN in Northampton, England, 1574. DIED at Andover, Mass., 1653.

A NEW ENGLAND GENTLEMAN'S EPITAPH.

[*Found after his Death, and preserved in Morton's "New England's Memorial."* 1669.]

DIM eyes, deaf ears, cold stomach show
My dissolution is in view;
Eleven times seven near lived have I,
And now God calls, I willing die:

My shuttle's shot, my race is run,
My sun is set, my deed is done;
My span is measur'd, tale is told,
My flower is faded and grown old,
My dream is vanish'd, shadow's fled,
My soul with Christ, my body dead;
Farewell dear wife, children and friends,
Hate heresy, make blessed ends;
Bear poverty, live with good men,
So shall we meet with joy again.

Let men of God in courts and churches watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch;
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
To poison all with heresy and vice.
If men be left, and otherwise combine,
My epitaph's, *I dy'd no libertine.*

John Winthrop.

BORN in Suffolk, England, 1588. DIED in Boston, Mass., 1649.

A NIGHT IN THE FOREST.

[*The History of New England from* 1630 *to* 1649.]

THE governor, being at his farm house at Mistick, walked out after supper, and took a piece in his hand, supposing he might see a wolf (for they came daily about the house, and killed swine and calves, etc.); and, being about half a mile off, it grew suddenly dark, so as, in coming home, he mistook his path, and went till he came to a little house of Sagamore John, which stood empty. There he stayed, and having a piece of match in his pocket (for he always carried about him match and a compass, and in summer time snakeweed), he made a good fire near the house, and lay down upon some old mats, which he found there, and so spent the night, sometimes walking by the fire, sometimes singing psalms, and sometimes getting wood, but could not sleep. It was (through God's mercy) a warm night; but a little before day it began to rain, and, having no cloak, he made shift by a long pole to climb up into the house. In the morning, there came thither an Indian squaw, but perceiving her before she had opened the door, he barred her out; yet she stayed there a great while essaying to get in, and at last she went away, and he returned safe home, his servants having been much perplexed for him, and having walked about, and shot off pieces, and hallooed in the night, but he heard them not.

THE RECONCILIATION OF WINTHROP AND DUDLEY.

[*From the Same.*]

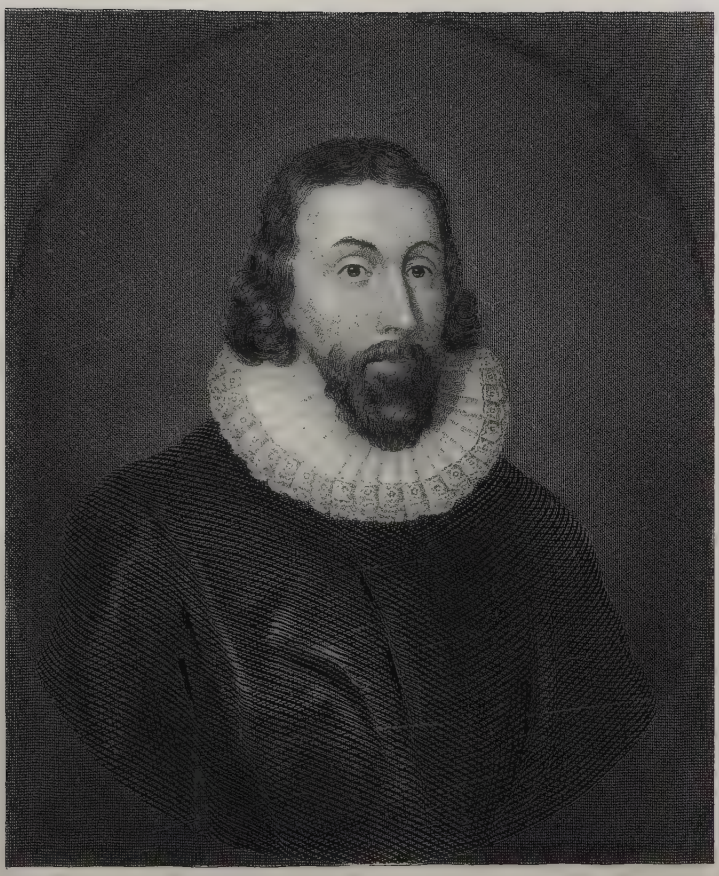
SOME differences fell out still, now and then, between the governor and the deputy, which yet were soon healed. It had been ordered in court, that all hands should help to the finishing of the fort at Boston, and all the towns in the bay had gone once over, and most the second time; but those of Newtown being warned, the deputy would not suffer them to come, neither did acquaint the governor with the cause, which was, for that Salem and Sagus had not brought in money for their parts. The governor, hearing of it, wrote friendly to him, showing him that the intent of the court was, that the work should be done by those in the bay, and that, after, the others should pay a proportionable sum for the house, etc., which must be done by money; and therefore desired him that he would send in his neighbors. Upon this, Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hooker came to the governor to treat with him about it, and brought a letter from the deputy full of bitterness and resolution not to send till Salem, etc.

The governor told them it should rest till the court, and withal gave the letter to Mr. Hooker with this speech: "I am not willing to keep such an occasion of provocation by me." And soon after he wrote to the deputy (who had before desired to buy a fat hog or two of him, being somewhat short of provisions) to desire him to send for one (which he would have sent him, if he had known when his occasion had been to have made use of it), and to accept it as a testimony of his good-will; and, lest he should make any scruple of it, he made Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hooker (who both sojourned in his house) partakers with him. Upon this the deputy returned this answer: "Your overcoming yourself hath overcome me. Mr. Haynes, Mr. Hooker, and myself, do most kindly accept your good-will; but we desire, without offence, to refuse your offer, and that I may only trade with you for two hogs;" and so very lovingly concluded.—The court being two days after, ordered, that Newtown should do their work as others had done, and then Salem, etc., should pay for three days at eighteen pence a man.

HOW THE FATHERS DISCIPLINED GOVERNOR VANE.

[*From the Same.*]

THE governor, receiving letters from his friends in England, which necessarily required his presence there, imparted the same to the



From an original Portrait in the Senate Chamber of Massachusetts.

Jo: Winthrop Gov.

council and some others; and, being thereupon resolved of his return into England, called a court of deputies, to the end he might have free leave of the country, etc. They, being assembled in court, and himself declaring the necessity of his departure, and those of the council affirming the reasons to be very urgent, though not fit to be imparted to the whole court, they desired respite to consider thereof till the morning; when one of the assistants using some pathetical passages of the loss of such a governor in a time of such danger as did hang over us, from the Indians and French, the governor brake forth into tears, and professed, that howsoever the causes propounded for his departure were such as did concern the utter ruin of his outward estate, yet he would rather have hazarded all, than have gone from them at this time, if something else had not pressed him more, viz., the inevitable danger he saw of God's judgments to come upon us for these differences and dissensions, which he saw amongst us, and the scandalous imputations brought upon himself, as if he should be the cause of all; and therefore he thought it best for him to give place for a time, etc. Upon this the court concluded that it would not be fit to give way to his departure upon these grounds. Whereupon he recalled himself, and professed, that the reasons concerning his own estate were sufficient to his own satisfaction for his departure, and therefore desired the court he might have leave to go; as for the other passage, it slipped him out of his passion, and not out of judgment. Upon this the court consented, silently, to his departure. Then the question was about supply of his place. Some were of opinion, that it should be executed by the deputy; but this scruple being cast in, that if the deputy should die, then the government would be vacant, and none have power to call any court, or to preside therein, etc., it was agreed to call a court of elections, for a new governor and deputy, in case the present deputy should be chose governor; and an order was made (in regard of the season) that such as would might send their votes by proxy, in papers sealed up and delivered to the deputies. And so this court was adjourned four days, and two days after the court of elections was to assemble. These things thus passed, divers of the congregation of Boston met together, and agreed that they did not apprehend the necessity of the governor's departure upon the reasons alleged, and sent some of them to declare the same to the court; whereupon the governor expressed himself to be an obedient child to the church, and therefore, notwithstanding the license of the court, yet, without the leave of the church, he durst not go away.

Whereupon a great part of the court and country, who understood hereof, declared their purpose to continue him still in his place, and therefore, so soon as the day of election came, and the country were

assembled, it was thought the best way for avoiding trouble, etc., not to proceed to election, but to adjourn the court to the great general court in May. And so the court of deputies, etc., continued still (for the other court was not called).

At this court the elders of the churches were called, to advise with them about discovering and pacifying the differences among the churches in point of opinion. The governor having declared the occasion to them, Mr. Dudley desired, that men would be free and open, etc. Another of the magistrates spake, that it would much further the end they came for, if men would freely declare what they held different from others, as himself would freely do, in what point soever he should be opposed. The governor said, that he would be content to do the like, but that he understood the ministers were about it in a church way, etc., which he spake upon this occasion: the ministers had met, a little before, and had drawn into heads all the points, wherein they suspected Mr. Cotton did differ from them, and had propounded them to him, and pressed him to a direct answer, affirmative or negative, to every one; which he had promised, and taken time for.

This meeting being spoke of in the court the day before, the governor took great offence at it, as being without his privity, etc., which this day Mr. Peter told him as plainly of (with all due reverence), and how it had sadded the ministers' spirits, that he should be jealous of their meetings, or seem to restrain their liberty, etc. The governor excused his speech, as sudden and upon a mistake. Mr. Peter told him also, that before he came, within less than two years since, the churches were in peace, etc. The governor answered, that the light of the gospel brings a sword, and the children of the bond-woman would persecute those of the free-woman. Mr. Peter also besought him humbly to consider his youth, and short experience in the things of God, and to beware of peremptory conclusions, which he perceived him to be very apt unto.

A PURITAN SCHOOL-MASTER.

[*From the Same.*]

AT the general court at Boston, one Mr. Nathaniel Eaton, brother to the merchant at Quilipiack, was convented and censured. The occasion was this: He was a school-master, and had many scholars, the sons of gentlemen and others of best note in the country, and had entertained one Nathaniel Briscoe, a gentleman born, to be his usher, and

to do some other things for him, which might not be unfit for a scholar. He had not been with him above three days but he fell out with him for a very small occasion, and, with reproachful terms, discharged him, and turned him out of his doors; but, it being then about eight of the clock after the Sabbath, he told him he should stay till next morning, and, some words growing between them, he struck him and pulled him into his house. Briscoe defended himself, and closed with him, and, being parted, he came in and went up to his chamber to lodge there. Mr. Eaton sent for the constable, who advised him first to admonish him, etc., and if he could not, by the power of a master, reform him, then he should complain to the magistrate. But he caused his man to fetch him a cudgel, which was a walnut tree plant, big enough to have killed a horse, and a yard in length, and, taking his two men with him, he went up to Briscoe, and caused his men to hold him till he had given him two hundred stripes about the head and shoulders, etc., and so kept him under blows (with some two or three short intermissions) about the space of two hours, about which time Mr. Shepherd and some others of the town came in at the outcry, and so he gave over. In this distress Briscoe gate out his knife, and struck at the man that held him, but hurt him not. He also fell to prayer (supposing he should have been murdered), and then Mr. Eaton beat him for taking the name of God in vain.

After this Mr. Eaton and Mr. Shepherd (who knew not then of these passages) came to the governor and some other of the magistrates, complaining of Briscoe for his insolent speeches, and for crying out murder and drawing his knife, and desired that he might be enjoined to a public acknowledgment, etc. The magistrates answered, that they must first hear him speak, and then they would do as they should see cause.

Mr. Eaton was displeased at this, and went away discontented, etc., and, being after called into the court to make answer to the information, which had been given by some who knew the truth of the case, and also to answer for his neglect and cruelty, and other ill usage towards his scholars, one of the elders (not suspecting such miscarriages by him) came to the governor, and showed himself much grieved, that he should be publicly produced, alleging, that it would derogate from his authority and reverence among his scholars, etc. But the cause went on notwithstanding, and he was called, and these things laid to his charge in the open court. His answers were full of pride and disdain, telling the magistrates, that they should not need to do any thing herein, for he was intended to leave his employment. And being asked, why he used such cruelty to Briscoe his usher, and to other his scholars (for it was testified by another of his ushers and divers of his scholars,

that he would give them between twenty and thirty stripes at a time, and would not leave till they had confessed what he required), his answer was, that he had this rule, that he would not give over correcting till he had subdued the party to his will.

Being also questioned about the ill and scant diet of his boarders (for, though their friends gave large allowance, yet their diet was ordinarily nothing but porridge and pudding, and that very homely), he put it off to his wife. So the court dismissed him at present, and commanded him to attend again the next day, when, being called, he was commanded to the lower end of the table (where all offenders do usually stand), and, being openly convict of all the former offences, by the oaths of four or five witnesses, he yet continued to justify himself; so, it being near night, he was committed to the marshal till the next day. When the court was set in the morning, many of the elders came into the court (it being then private for matter of consultation), and declared how, the evening before, they had taken pains with him, to convince him of his faults; yet, for divers hours, he had still stood to his justification; but, in the end, he was convinced, and had freely and fully acknowledged his sin, and that with tears; so as they did hope he had truly repented, and therefore desired of the court that he might be pardoned, and continued in his employment, alleging such further reasons as they thought fit.

After the elders were departed, the court consulted about it, and sent for him, and there, in the open court, before a great assembly, he made a very solid, wise, eloquent, and serious (seeming) confession, condemning himself in all the particulars, etc. Whereupon, being put aside, the court consulted privately about his sentence, and, though many were taken with his confession, and none but had a charitable opinion of it; yet, because of the scandal of religion, and offence which would be given to such as might intend to send their children hither, they all agreed to censure him, and put him from that employment. So, being called in, the governor, after a short preface, etc., declared the sentence of the court to this effect, viz., that he should give Briscoe £30, be fined 100 marks, and debarred teaching of children within our jurisdiction. A pause being made, and expectation that (according to his former confession) he would have given glory to God, and acknowledged the justice and clemency of the court, the governor giving him occasion, by asking him if he had aught to say, he turned away with a discontented look, saying, "If sentence be passed, then it is to no end to speak." Yet the court remitted his fine to £20, and willed Briscoe to take but £20.

The church at Cambridge, taking notice of these proceedings, intended to deal with him. The pastor moved the governor, if they

might, without offence to the court, examine other witnesses. His answer was, that the court would leave them to their own liberty; but he saw not to what end they should do it, seeing there had been five already upon oath, and those whom they should examine should speak without oath, and it was an ordinance of God, that by the mouths of two or three witnesses every matter should be established. But he soon discovered himself; for, ere the church could come to deal with him, he fled to Pascataquack, and, being pursued and apprehended by the governor there, he again acknowledged his great sin in flying, etc., and promised (as he was a Christian man) he would return with the messengers. But, because his things he carried with him were aboard a bark there, bound to Virginia, he desired leave to go fetch them, which they assented unto, and went with him (three of them) aboard with him. So he took his truss and came away with them in the boat; but, being come to the shore, and two of them going out of the boat, he caused the boatmen to put off the boat, and because the third man would not go out, he turned him into the water, where he had been drowned, if he had not saved himself by swimming. So he returned to the bark, and presently they set sail and went out of the harbor.

Being thus gone, his creditors began to complain; and thereupon it was found, that he was run in debt about £1000, and had taken up most of this money upon bills he had charged into England upon his brother's agents, and others whom he had no such relation to. So his estate was seized, and put into commissioners' hands, to be divided among his creditors, allowing somewhat for the present maintenance of his wife and children. And, being thus gone, the church proceeded and cast him out. He had been sometimes initiated among the Jesuits, and, coming into England, his friends drew him from them, but, it was very probable, he now intended to return to them again, being at this time about thirty years of age, and upwards.

THE PENITENCE OF CAPTAIN UNDERHILL.

[*From the Same.*]

CAPTAIN UNDERHILL being brought, by the blessing of God in this church's censure of excommunication, to remorse for his foul sins, obtained, by means of the elders, and others of the church of Boston, a safe conduct under the hand of the governor and one of the council to repair to the church. He came at the time of the court

of assistants, and upon the lecture day, after sermon, the pastor called him forth and declared the occasion, and then gave him leave to speak: and indeed it was a spectacle which caused many weeping eyes, though it afforded matter of much rejoicing to behold the power of the Lord Jesus in his own ordinances, when they are dispensed in his own way, holding forth the authority of his regal sceptre in the simplicity of the gospel. He came in his worst clothes (being accustomed to take great pride in his bravery and neatness) without a band, in a foul linen cap pulled close to his eyes; and standing upon a form, he did, with many deep sighs and abundance of tears, lay open his wicked course, his adultery, his hypocrisy, his persecution of God's people here, and especially his pride (as the root of all, which caused God to give him over to his other sinful courses) and contempt of the magistrates. He justified God and the church and the court in all that had been inflicted on him. He declared what power Satan had of him since the casting out of the church; how his presumptuous laying hold of mercy and pardon, before God gave it, did then fail him when the terrors of God came upon him, so as he could have no rest, nor could see any issue but utter despair, which had put him divers times upon resolutions of destroying himself, had not the Lord in mercy prevented him, even when his sword was ready to have done the execution. Many fearful temptations he met with beside, and in all these his heart shut up in hardness and impenitency as the bond-slave of Satan, till the Lord, after a long time and great afflictions, had broken his heart, and brought him to humble himself before him night and day with prayers and tears till his strength was wasted; and indeed he appeared as a man worn out with sorrow, and yet he could find no peace, therefore he was now come to seek it in this ordinance of God.

He spake well, save that his blubbering, etc., interrupted him, and all along he discovered a broken and melting heart, and gave good exhortations to take heed of such vanities and beginnings of evil as had occasioned his fall; and in the end he earnestly and humbly besought the church to have compassion of him, and to deliver him out of the hands of Satan. So accordingly he was received into the church again; and after he came into the court (for the general court began soon after) and made confession of his sin against them, etc., and desired pardon, which the court freely granted him, so far as concerned their private judgment.

A PURITAN OPINION OF LITERARY WOMEN.

[*From the Same.*]

MR. HOPKINS, the governor of Hartford upon Connecticut, came to Boston, and brought his wife with him (a godly young woman, and of special parts), who was fallen into a sad infirmity, the loss of her understanding and reason, which had been growing upon her divers years, by occasion of her giving herself wholly to reading and writing, and had written many books. Her husband, being very loving and tender of her, was loath to grieve her; but he saw his error, when it was too late. For if she had attended her household affairs, and such things as belong to women, and not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in such things as are proper for men, whose minds are stronger, etc., she had kept her wits, and might have improved them usefully and honorably in the place God had set her.

He brought her to Boston, and left her with her brother, one Mr. Yale, a merchant, to try what means might be had here for her. But no help could be had.

A PUNISHMENT OF PARENTAL LOVE.

[*From the Same.*]

GOD will be sanctified in them that come near him. Two others were the children of one of the church of Boston. While their parents were at the lecture, the boy (being about seven years of age), having a small staff in his hand, ran down upon the ice towards a boat he saw, and the ice breaking, he fell in, but his staff kept him up, till his sister, about fourteen years old, ran down to save her brother (though there were four men at hand, and called to her not to go, being themselves hasting to save him) and so drowned herself and him also, being past recovery ere the men could come at them, and could easily reach ground with their feet. The parents had no more sons, and confessed they had been too indulgent towards him, and had set their hearts overmuch upon him.

This puts me in mind of another child very strangely drowned a little before winter. The parents were also members of the church of Boston. The father had undertaken to maintain the mill-dam, and being at work upon it (with some help he had hired), in the afternoon of the last day of the week, night came upon them before they had

finished what they intended, and his conscience began to put him in mind of the Lord's day, and he was troubled, yet went on and wrought an hour within night. The next day, after evening exercise, and after they had supped, the mother put two children to bed in the room where themselves did lie, and they went out to visit a neighbor. When they returned, they continued about an hour in the room, and missed not the child, but then the mother going to the bed, and not finding her youngest child (a daughter about five years of age), after much search she found it drowned in a well in her cellar; which was very observable, as by a special hand of God, that the child should go out of that room into another in the dark, and then fall down at a trap-door, or go down the stairs, and so into the well in the farther end of the cellar, the top of the well and the water being even with the ground. But the father, freely in the open congregation, did acknowledge it the righteous hand of God for his profaning his holy day against the checks of his own conscience.

THE MANNER OF MASTER ELIOT'S TEACHING.

[*From the Same.*]

MENTION was made before of some beginning to instruct the Indians, etc., Mr. John Eliot, teacher of the church of Roxbury, found such encouragement, as he took great pains to get their language, and in a few months could speak of the things of God to their understanding; and God prospered his endeavors, so as he kept a constant lecture to them in two places, one week at the wigwam of one Wabon, a new sachem near Watertown mill, and the other the next week in the wigwam of Cutshamekin near Dorchester mill. And for the furtherance of the work of God, divers of the English resorted to his lecture, and the governor and other of the magistrates and elders sometimes; and the Indians began to repair thither from other parts.

His manner of proceeding was thus: he would persuade one of the other elders or some magistrate to begin the exercise with prayer in English; then he took a text, and read it first in the Indian language, and after in English; then he preached to them in Indian about an hour (but first I should have spoke of the catechising their children, who were soon brought to answer him some short questions, whereupon he gave each of them an apple or a cake); then he demanded of some of the chiefs, if they understood him; if they answered, yea, then he

asked of them if they had any questions to propound. And they had usually two or three or more questions, which he did resolve.

At one time (when the governor was there and about two hundred people, Indian and English, in one wigwam of Cutshamekin's) an old man asked him, if God would receive such an old man as he was; to whom he answered by opening the parable of the workmen that were hired into the vineyard; and when he had opened it, he asked the old man, if he did believe it, who answered he did, and was ready to weep. A second question was, what was the reason, that when all Englishmen did know God, yet some of them were poor. His answer was, 1. that God knows it is better for his children to be good than to be rich; he knows withal, that if some of them had riches, they would abuse them, and wax proud and wanton, etc., therefore he gives them no more riches than may be needful for them, that they may be kept from pride, etc., to depend upon him, 2. he would hereby have men know, that he hath better blessings to bestow upon good men than riches, etc., and that their best portion is in heaven, etc. . . . .

The Indians were usually very attentive, and kept their children so quiet as caused no disturbance. Some of them began to be seriously affected, and to understand the things of God, and they were generally ready to reform whatsoever they were told to be against the word of God, as their sorcery (which they call powwowing), their whoredoms, etc., idleness, etc. The Indians grew very inquisitive after knowledge both in things divine and also human, so as one of them, meeting with an honest plain Englishman, would needs know of him, what were the first beginnings (which we call principles) of a commonwealth. The Englishman, being far short in the knowledge of such matters, yet ashamed that an Indian should find an Englishman ignorant of any thing, bethought himself what answer to give him, at last resolved upon this, viz., that the first principle of a commonwealth was salt, for (saith he) by means of salt we can keep our flesh and fish, to have it ready when we need it, whereas you lose much for want of it, and are sometimes ready to starve. A second principle is iron, for thereby we fell trees, build houses, till our land, etc. A third is, ships, by which we carry forth such commodities as we have to spare, and fetch in such as we need, as cloth, wine, etc. Alas! (saith the Indian) then I fear, we shall never be a commonwealth, for we can neither make salt, nor iron, nor ships.

OF LIBERTY AND AUTHORITY.

[*Winthrop's Address in the Assembly of* 1645, *as set down in the History of New England.*]

I AM unwilling to stay you from your urgent affairs, yet give me leave (upon this special occasion) to speak a little more to this assembly. It may be of some good use, to inform and rectify the judgments of some of the people, and may prevent such distempers as have arisen amongst us. The great questions that have troubled the country, are about the authority of the magistrates and the liberty of the people. It is yourselves who have called us to this office, and being called by you, we have our authority from God, in way of an ordinance, such as hath the image of God eminently stamped upon it, the contempt and violation whereof hath been vindicated with examples of divine vengeance. I entreat you to consider, that when you choose magistrates, you take them from among yourselves, men subject to like passions as you are. Therefore when you see infirmities in us, you should reflect upon your own, and that would make you bear the more with us, and not be severe censurers of the failings of your magistrates, when you have continual experience of the like infirmities in yourselves and others. We account him a good servant, who breaks not his covenant. The covenant beween you and us is the oath you have taken of us, which is to this purpose, that we shall govern you and judge your causes by the rules of God's laws and our own, according to our best skill. When you agree with a workman to build you a ship or house, etc., he undertakes as well for his skill as for his faithfulness, for it is his profession, and you pay him for both. But when you call one to be a magistrate, he doth not profess nor undertake to have sufficient skill for that office, nor can you furnish him with gifts, etc., therefore you must run the hazard of his skill and ability. But if he fail in faithfulness, which by his oath he is bound unto, that he must answer for. If it fall out that the case be clear to common apprehension, and the rule clear also, if he transgress here, the error is not in the skill, but in the evil of the will: it must be required of him. But if the case be doubtful, or the rule doubtful, to men of such understanding and parts as your magistrates are, if your magistrates should err here, yourselves must bear it.

For the other point concerning liberty, I observe a great mistake in the country about that. There is a twofold liberty, natural (I mean as our nature is now corrupt) and civil or federal. The first is common to man with beasts and other creatures. By this, man, as he stands in relation to man simply, hath liberty to do what he lists; it is a liberty to evil as well as to good. This liberty is incompatible

and inconsistent with authority, and cannot endure the least restraint of the most just authority. The exercise and maintaining of this liberty makes men grow more evil, and in time to be worse than brute beasts: *omnes sumus licentia deteriores.* This is that great enemy of truth and peace, that wild beast, which all the ordinances of God are bent against, to restrain and subdue it. The other kind of liberty I call civil or federal, it may also be termed moral, in reference to the covenant between God and man, in the moral law, and the politic covenants and constitutions, amongst men themselves. This liberty is the proper end and object of authority, and cannot subsist without it; and it is a liberty to that only which is good, just, and honest. This liberty you are to stand for, with the hazard (not only of your goods, but) of your lives, if need be. Whatsoever crosseth this, is not authority, but a distemper thereof.

This liberty is maintained and exercised in a way of subjection to authority; it is of the same kind of liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. The woman's own choice makes such a man her husband; yet being so chosen, he is her lord, and she is to be subject to him, yet in a way of liberty, not of bondage; and a true wife accounts her subjection her honor and freedom, and would not think her condition safe and free, but in her subjection to her husband's authority. Such is the liberty of the church under the authority of Christ, her king and husband; his yoke is so easy and sweet to her as a bride's ornaments; and if through frowardness or wantonness, etc., she shake it off, at any time, she is at no rest in her spirit, until she take it up again; and whether her lord smiles upon her, and embraceth her in his arms, or whether he frowns, or rebukes, or smites her, she apprehends the sweetness of his love in all, and is refreshed, supported, and instructed by every such dispensation of his authority over her. On the other side, ye know who they are that complain of this yoke and say, let us break their bands, etc., we will not have this man to rule over us. Even so, brethren, it will be between you and your magistrates. If you stand for your natural corrupt liberties, and will do what is good in your own eyes, you will not endure the least weight of authority, but will murmur, and oppose, and be always striving to shake off that yoke; but if you will be satisfied to enjoy such civil and lawful liberties, such as Christ allows you, then will you quietly and cheerfully submit unto that authority which is set over you, in all the administrations of it, for your good. Wherein, if we fail at any time, we hope we shall be willing (by God's assistance) to hearken to good advice from any of you, or in any other way of God; so shall your liberties be preserved, in upholding the honor and power of authority amongst you.

A MODEL OF CHRISTIAN CHARITY.

[*Written on board the "Arbella," on the Atlantic Ocean.* 1630.]

GOD ALMIGHTY in his most holy and wise providence, hath so disposed of the condition of mankind, as in all times some must be rich, some poor, some high and eminent in power and dignity; others mean and in submission.

THE REASON HEREOF.

1 *Reas.* First to hold conformity with the rest of his world, being delighted to show forth the glory of his wisdom in the variety and difference of the creatures, and the glory of his power in ordering all these differences for the preservation and good of the whole; and the glory of his greatness, that as it is the glory of princes to have many officers, so this great king will have many stewards, counting himself more honored in dispensing his gifts to man by man, than if he did it by his own immediate hands.

2 *Reas.* Secondly, that he might have the more occasion to manifest the work of his Spirit: first upon the wicked in moderating and restraining them: so that the rich and mighty should not eat up the poor nor the poor and despised rise up against and shake off their yoke. Secondly, In the regenerate, in exercising his graces in them, as in the great ones, their love, mercy, gentleness, temperance, etc., in the poor and inferior sort, their faith, patience, obedience, etc.

3 *Reas.* Thirdly, that every man might have need of others, and from hence they might be all knit more nearly together in the Bonds of brotherly affection. From hence it appears plainly that no man is made more honorable than another, or more wealthy, etc., out of any particular and singular respect to himself, but for the glory of his Creator and the common good of the creature, man. . . . .

All men being thus (by divine providence) ranked into two sorts, rich and poor; under the first are comprehended all such as are able to live comfortably by their own means duly improved; and all others are poor according to the former distribution. There are two rules whereby we are to walk one towards another: Justice and Mercy. These are always distinguished in their act and in their object, yet may they both concur in the same subject in each respect; as sometimes there may be an occasion of showing mercy to a rich man in some sudden danger or distress, and also doing of mere justice to a poor man in regard of some particular contract, etc. There is likewise a double law by which we are regulated in our conversation towards another, in both the former respects, the law of nature and the law of grace, or

the moral law or the law of the gospel; to omit the rule of justice as not properly belonging to this purpose otherwise than it may fall into consideration in some particular cases. By the first of these laws man as he was enabled so withal is commanded to love his neighbor as himself. Upon this ground stands all the precepts of the moral law, which concerns our dealings with men. . . . .

Herein are four things to be propounded: First, the persons; secondly, the work; thirdly, the end; fourthly, the means. First, for the persons. We are a company professing ourselves fellow-members of Christ, in which respect only, though we were absent from each other many miles, and had our employments as far distant, yet we ought to account ourselves knit together by this bond of love, and live in the exercise of it, if we would have comfort of our being in Christ. This was notorious in the practice of the Christians in former times; as is testified of the Waldenses, from the mouth of one of the adversaries, Æneas Sylvius, "*mutuo ament pere antequam norunt,*" they use to love any of their own religion even before they were acquainted with them. Secondly, for the work we have in hand. It is by a mutual consent, through a special overvaluing providence and a more than an ordinary approbation of the Churches of Christ, to seek out a place of cohabitation and Consortship under a due form of Government both civil and ecclesiastical. In such cases as this, the care of the public must oversway all private respects, by which, not only conscience, but mere civil policy, doth bind us. For it is a true rule that particular estates cannot subsist in the ruin of the public.

Thirdly, the end is to improve our lives to do more service to the Lord; the comfort and increase of the body of Christ, whereof we are members; that ourselves and posterity may be the better preserved from the common corruptions of this evil world, to serve the Lord and work out our salvation under the power and purity of his holy ordinances. Fourthly, for the means whereby this must be effected. They are twofold, a conformity with the work and end we aim at. These we see are extraordinary, therefore we must not content ourselves with usual ordinary means. Whatsoever we did, or ought to have done, when we lived in England, the same must we do, and more also, where we go. That which the most in their churches maintain as truth in profession only, we must bring into familiar and constant practice; as in this duty of love, we must love brotherly without dissimulation, we must love one another with a pure heart fervently. We must bear one another's burdens. We must not look only on our own things, but also on the things of our brethren. Neither must we think that the Lord will bear with such failings at our hands as he doth from those among whom we have lived; and that for these three Reasons: First,

in regard of the more near bond of marriage between him and us, wherein he hath taken us to be his, after a most strict and peculiar manner, which will make them the more jealous of our love and obedience. So he tells the people of Israel, "You only have I known of all the families of the Earth, therefore will I punish you for your Transgressions." Secondly, because the Lord will be sanctified in them that come near him. We know that there were many that corrupted the service of the Lord; some setting up altars before his own; others offering both strange fire and strange sacrifices also; yet there came no fire from heaven, or other sudden judgment upon them, as did upon Nadab and Abihu, who yet we may think did not sin presumptuously. Thirdly, when God gives a special commission he looks to have it strictly observed in every article. When he gave Saul a commission to destroy Amalek, He indented with him upon certain articles, and because he failed in one of the least, and that upon a fair pretence, it lost him the kingdom, which should have been his reward, if he had observed his commission.

Thus stands the cause between God and us. We are entered into Covenant with him for this work. We have taken out a commission. The Lord hath given us leave to draw our own articles. We have professed to enterprise these and those accounts, upon these and those ends. We have hereupon besought him of favor and blessing. Now if the Lord shall please to hear us, and bring us in peace to the place we desire, then hath He ratified this covenant and sealed our Commission, and will expect a strict performance of the articles contained in it; but if we shall neglect the observation of these articles which are the ends we have propounded, and, dissembling with our God, shall fall to embrace this present world and prosecute our carnal intentions, seeking great things for ourselves and our posterity, the Lord will surely break out in wrath against us; be revenged of such a [sinful] people and make us know the price of the breach of such a covenant.

Now the only way to avoid this shipwreck, and to provide for our posterity, is to follow the counsel of Micah, to do justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God. For this end, we must be knit together, in this work, as one man. We must entertain each other in brotherly affection. We must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluities, for the supply of others' necessities. We must uphold a familiar commerce together in all meekness, gentleness, patience and liberality. We must delight in each other; make others' conditions our own; rejoice together, mourn together, labor and suffer together, always having before our eyes our commission and community in the work, as members of the same body. So shall we keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. The Lord will be our God, and

delight to dwell among us, as his own people, and will command a blessing upon us in all our ways. So that we shall see much more of his wisdom, power, goodness and truth, than formerly we have been acquainted with. We shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies; when he shall make us a praise and glory that men shall say of succeeding plantations, "The Lord make it likely that of New England." For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us. So that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause him to withdraw his present help from us, we shall be made a story and a byword through the world. We shall open the mouths of enemies to speak evil of the ways of God, and all professors for God's sake. We shall shame the faces of many of God's worthy servants, and cause their prayers to be turned into curses upon us till we be consumed out of the good land whither we are agoing.

I shall shut up this discourse with that exhortation of Moses, that faithful servant of the Lord, in his last farewell to Israel (Deut. xxx.): Beloved, there is now set before us life and good, Death and evil, in that we are commanded this day to love the Lord our God, and to love one another, to walk in his ways and to keep his Commandments and his Ordinance and his laws, and the articles of our Covenant with him, that we may live and be multiplied, and that the Lord our God may bless us in the land whither we go to possess it. But if our hearts shall turn away, so that we will not obey, but shall be seduced, and worship and serve other gods, our pleasure and profits, and serve them; it is propounded unto us this day, we shall surely perish out of the good land whither we pass over this vast sea to possess it;

Therefore let us choose life
that we, and our seed
may live, by obeying His
voice and cleaving to Him,
for He is our life and
our prosperity.

A PREPARATION FOR PARTING.

[*Written from London to Mrs. Winthrop.*]

MY DEAR WIFE, I praise God, we came safe to London, and continue in health, and found all well here. Thus it pleaseth

the Lord to follow us with his blessings, that we might love him again. I find here so much to do, as I doubt I shall not come down these three weeks; but, thou mayest be sure, I will stay no longer than my occasions shall enforce me.

I must now begin to prepare thee for our long parting, which grows very near. I know not how to deal with thee by arguments; for if thou wert as wise and patient as ever woman was, yet it must needs be a great trial to thee, and the greater, because I am so dear to thee. That which I must chiefly look at in thee, for a ground of contentment, is thy godliness. If now the Lord be thy God, thou must show it by trusting in him, and resigning thyself quietly to his good pleasure. If now Christ be thy Husband, thou must show what sure and sweet intercourse is between him and thy soul, when it shall be no hard thing for thee to part with an earthly, mortal, infirm husband for his sake. The enlargement of thy comfort in the communion of the love and sweet familiarity of thy most holy, heavenly, and undefiled Lord and Husband, will abundantly recompense whatsoever want or inconvenience may come by the absence of the other. The best course is to turn all our reasons and discourse into prayers; for he only can help, who is Lord of sea and land, and hath sole power of life and death.

It is now near eleven of the clock, and I shall write again erelong (if God will). The good Lord bless thee and all thy company. My broth. and sister salute you all. Commend my hearty love to my good sister F. and all the rest. Tell her I wrote to Mr. Dummer so soon as I came to town; and, if I can, I will speak with him, before John go down. So I kiss my sweet wife, and rest

Thy frail, yet faithful husband,

January 31, 1629. Jo. WINTHROP.

A FAREWELL FROM THE "ARBELLA."

[*Written to Mrs. Winthrop from aboard Ship, off Yarmouth, April* 3, 1630.]

MY LOVE, MY JOY, MY FAITHFUL ONE, I suppose thou didst not expect to have any more letters from me till the return of our ships; but so is the good pleasure of God, that the wind should not serve yet to carry us hence. He will do all things in his own time, and that shall be for the best in the end. We acknowledge it a great mercy to us, that we went not out to sea on Monday, when the wind was fair for one day; for we had been exposed, ever since, to sore

tempests and contrary winds. I praise God, we are all in good health, and want nothing. For myself, I was never at more liberty of body and mind these many years. The Lord make me thankful and wise to improve his blessings for the furtherance of his own work. I desire to resign myself wholly to his gracious disposing. Oh that I had an heart so to do, and to trust perfectly in him for his assistance in all our ways. We find him still going along with us. He hath brought in the heart of the master of our ship to afford us all good respect, and to join with us in every good action. Yesterday he caused his seamen to keep a fast with us, wherein the Lord assisted us and our minister very comfortably; and when five of the clock came, I had respite to remember thee (it being Friday), and to parley with thee, and to meet thee in spirit before the Lord. . . . . .

I am uncertain whether I shall have opportunity to send these to thee; for, if the wind turn, we shall soon be gone. Therefore I will not write much. I know it will be sufficient for thy present comfort, to hear of our welfare; and this is the third letter I have written to thee, since I came to Hampton, in requital of those two I received from thee, which I do often read with much delight, apprehending so much love and sweet affection in them, as I am never satisfied with reading, nor can read them without tears; but whether they proceed from joy, sorrow, or desire, or from that consent of affection which I always hold with thee, I cannot conceive. Ah, my dear heart, I ever held thee in high esteem, as thy love and goodness hath well deserved; but (if it be possible) I shall yet prize thy virtue at a greater rate, and long more to enjoy thy sweet society than ever before. I am sure thou art not short of me in this desire. Let us pray hard, and pray in faith, and our God, in his good time, will accomplish our desire. Oh, how loath am I to bid thee farewell! but, since it must be, farewell, my sweet love, farewell. Farewell, my dear children and family. The Lord bless you all, and grant me to see your faces once again. Come, (my dear), take him and let him rest in thine arms, who will ever remain, Thy faithful husband,

Jo. WINTHROP.

Commend my love to all our friends at Castleins, Mr. Leigh and his wife, my neighbor Cole and his wife, and all the rest of our good friends and neighbors, and our good friends at Maplested, when you see them, and those our worthy and kind friends at Assington, etc. My brother Arthur hath carried himself very soberly since he came on shipboard, and so hath Mr. Brand's son, and my cousin Ro. Sampson. I hope their friends shall hear well of them.

To my very loving Wife, MRS. WINTHROP, *the elder, at Groton, in Suffolk, d'd.*

Margaret Winthrop.

Third wife of John Winthrop.

A PURITAN WIFE TO HER HUSBAND.

[*Written about* 1627.]

MOST DEAR AND LOVING HUSBAND, I cannot express my love to you, as I desire, in these poor, lifeless lines; but I do heartily wish you did see my heart, how true and faithful it is to you, and how much I do desire to be always with you, to enjoy the sweet comfort of your presence, and those helps from you in spiritual and temporal duties, which I am so unfit to perform without you. It makes me to see the want of you, and wish myself with you. But I desire we may be guided by God in all our ways, who is able to direct us for the best; and so I will wait upon him with patience, who is all-sufficient for me.

I shall not need to write much to you at this time. My brother Gostling can tell you any thing by word of mouth. I praise God, we are all here in health, as you left us, and are glad to hear the same of you and all the rest of our friends at London. My mother and myself remember our best love to you, and all the rest. Our children remember their duty to you. And thus, desiring to be remembered in your prayers, I bid my good husband good-night. Little Samuel thinks it is time for me to go to bed; and so I beseech the Lord to keep you in safety, and us all here. Farewell, my sweet husband.

Your obedient wife,

MARGARET WINTHROP.

THE TRUST OF A GODLY WOMAN.

[*Mrs. Winthrop to her Husband.*]

DEAR IN MY THOUGHTS, I blush to think how much I have neglected the opportunity of presenting my love to you. Sad thoughts possess my spirits, and I cannot repulse them; which makes me unfit for any thing, wondering what the Lord means by all these troubles among us. Sure I am, that all shall work to the best to them that love God, or rather are loved of him. I know he will bring light out of obscurity, and make his righteousness shine forth as clear as the noonday. Yet I find in myself an adverse spirit, and a trem-

bling heart, not so willing to submit to the will of God as I desire. There is a time to plant, and a time to pull up that which is planted, which I could desire might not be yet. But the Lord knoweth what is best, and his will be done. But I will write no more. Hoping to see thee to-morrow, my best affections being commended to yourself, the rest of our friends at Newton, I commit thee to God.

Your loving wife,

MARGARET WINTHROP.

Sad BOSTON, 1637.

To her honored Husband, these be delivered.

Anne Bradstreet.

BORN in Northampton, England, 1612–13. DIED at Andover, Mass., 1672.

OF THE FOUR AGES OF MAN.

[*The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung Up in America.* 1650.]

LO, now four other act upon the stage,
Childhood and Youth, the Manly and Old age:
The first son unto phlegm, grandchild to water,
Unstable, supple, cold and moist 's his nature.
The second, frolic, claims his pedigree
From blood and air, for hot and moist is he.
The third of fire and choler is compos'd,
Vindicative and quarrelsome dispos'd.
The last of earth and heavy melancholy,
Solid, hating all lightness and all folly.
Childhood was cloth'd in white and green to show
His spring was intermixed with some snow:
Upon his head nature a garland set
Of Primrose, Daisy and the Violet.
Such cold mean flowers the spring puts forth betime,
Before the sun hath thoroughly heat the clime.
His hobby striding did not ride but run,
And in his hand an hour-glass new begun,
In danger every moment of a fall,
And when 't is broke then ends his life and all:
But if he hold till it have run its last,
Then may he live out threescore years or past.
Next Youth came up in gorgeous attire
(As that fond age doth most of all desire),
His suit of crimson and his scarf of green,
His pride in 's countenance was quickly seen;
Garland of roses, pinks and gillyflowers
Seemed on 's head to grow bedew'd with showers.

His face as fresh as is Aurora fair,
When blushing she first 'gins to light the air.
No wooden horse, but one of mettle tried,
He seems to fly or swim, and not to ride.
Then prancing on the stage, about he wheels,
But as he went death waited at his heels.
The next came up in a much graver sort,
As one that cared for a good report,
His sword by 's side, and choler in his eyes,
But neither us'd as yet, for he was wise;
Of Autumn's fruits a basket on his arm,
His golden god in 's purse, which was his charm.
And last of all to act upon this stage
Leaning upon his staff came up Old Age,
Under his arm a sheaf of wheat he bore,
An harvest of the best, what needs he more?
In 's other hand a glass ev'n almost run,
Thus writ about: "This out, then am I done."

A LOVE-LETTER TO HER HUSBAND.

[*Several Poems compiled with great Variety of Wit and Learning.* 1678.]

PHŒBUS make haste, the day 's too long, begone,
The silent night 's the fittest time for moan;
But stay this once, unto my suit give ear,
And tell my griefs in either Hemisphere:
(And if the whirling of thy wheels do n't drown'd
The woful accents of my doleful sound),
If in thy swift career thou canst make stay,
I crave this boon, this errand by the way:
Commend me to the man more lov'd than life,
Show him the sorrows of his widow'd wife,
My dumpish thoughts, my groans, my brackish tears,
My sobs, my longing hopes, my doubting fears,
And, if he love, how can he there abide?
My interest 's more than all the world beside.
He that can tell the stars or Ocean sand,
Or all the grass that in the meads do stand,
The leaves in th' woods, the hail or drops of rain,
Or in a cornfield number every grain,
Or every mote that in the sunshine hops,
May count my sighs and number all my drops.
Tell him, the countless steps that thou dost trace,
That once a day thy spouse thou mayst embrace;
And when thou canst not treat by loving mouth,
Thy rays afar, salute her from the south.
But for one month I see no day (poor soul)
Like those far situate under the pole,

Which day by day long wait for thy arise,
O how they joy when thou dost light the skies.
O Phœbus, hadst thou but thus long from thine
Restrain'd the beams of thy beloved shine,
At thy return, if so thou couldst or durst,
Behold a Chaos blacker than the first.
Tell him here's worse than a confused matter,
His little world's a fathom under water,
Naught but the fervor of his ardent beams
Hath power to dry the torrent of these streams.
Tell him I would say more, but cannot well,
Opressed minds abrupted tales do tell.
Now post with double speed, mark what I say,
By all our loves conjure him not to stay.

MEDITATIONS DIVINE AND MORAL.

[*Printed in* 1867, *from a MS. left by the Author.*]

A SHIP that bears much sail, and little ballast, is easily overset; and that man, whose head hath great abilities, and his heart little or no grace, is in danger of foundering.

The finest bread has the least bran; the purest honey, the least wax; and the sincerest Christian, the least self-love.

Sweet words are like honey; a little may refresh, but too much gluts the stomach.

Divers children have their different natures: some are like flesh which nothing but salt will keep from putrefaction; some again like tender fruits that are best preserved with sugar. Those parents are wise that can fit their nurture according to their nature.

Authority without wisdom is like a heavy axe without an edge, fitter to bruise than polish.

The reason why Christians are so loath to exchange this world for a better, is because they have more sense than faith: they see what they enjoy, they do but hope for that which is to come.

Dim eyes are the concomitants of old age; and short-sightedness, in those that are the eyes of a Republic, foretells a declining State.

Wickedness comes to its height by degrees. He that dares say of a less sin, Is it not a little one? will erelong say of a greater, Tush, God regards it not.

Fire hath its force abated by water, not by wind; and anger must be allayed by cold words and not by blustering threats.

The gifts that God bestows on the sons of men, are not only abused,

but most commonly employed for a clean contrary end than that which they were given for; as health, wealth, and honor, which might be so many steps to draw men to God in consideration of his bounty towards them, but have driven them the further from him, that they are ready to say, We are lords, we will come no more at thee. If outward blessings be not as wings to help us mount upwards, they will certainly prove clogs and weights that will pull us lower downward.

CONTEMPLATIONS.

[*Several Poems compiled with great Variety of Wit and Learning.* 1678.]

SOME time now past in the Autumnal Tide,
When Phœbus wanted but one hour to bed,
The trees all richly clad, yet void of pride,
Were gilded o'er by his rich golden head.
Their leaves and fruits seem'd painted, but was true
Of green, of red, of yellow, mixed hue,
Rapt were my senses at this delectable view.

I wist not what to wish, yet sure, thought I,
If so much excellence abide below,
How excellent is He that dwells on high!
Whose power and beauty by his works we know;
Sure he is goodness, wisdom, glory, light,
That hath this underworld so richly dight:
More Heaven than Earth was here, no winter and no night.

Then on a stately oak I cast mine eye,
Whose ruffling top the clouds seem'd to aspire;
How long since thou wast in thine infancy?
Thy strength, and stature, more thy years admire;
Hath hundred winters past since thou wast born,
Or thousand since thou breakest thy shell of horn?
If so, all these as naught Eternity doth scorn.

Then higher on the glistering Sun I gaz'd,
Whose beams was shaded by the leafy tree;
The more I look'd, the more I grew amaz'd,
And softly said, what glory 's like to thee?
Soul of this world, this Universe's eye,
No wonder, some made thee a Deity:
Had I not better known (alas), the same had I.

Thou as a bridegroom from thy chamber rushes,
And, as a strong man, joys to run a race;
The morn doth usher thee, with smiles and blushes,
The Earth reflects her glances in thy face.

Birds, insects, animals with vegetive,
Thy heart from death and dulness doth revive:
And in the darksome womb of fruitful nature dive.

Thy swift annual, and diurnal course,
  Thy daily straight, and yearly oblique path,
Thy pleasing fervor, and thy scorching force,
  All mortals here the feeling knowledge hath.
Thy presence makes it day, thy absence night,
Quaternal Seasons caused by thy might:
Hail creature, full of sweetness, beauty and delight.

Art thou so full of glory, that no eye
  Hath strength, thy shining rays once to behold?
And is thy splendid throne erect so high,
  As to approach it, can no earthly mould?
How full of glory then must thy Creator be,
Who gave this bright light lustre unto thee!
Admir'd, ador'd forever, be that Majesty.
. . . . . .

I heard the merry grasshopper then sing,
  The black-clad cricket bear a second part,
They kept one tune, and played on the same string,
  Seeming to glory in their little art.
Shall creatures abject thus their voices raise?
And in their kind resound their Maker's praise:
Whilst I, as mute, can warble forth no higher lays.
. . . . . .

When I behold the heavens as in their prime,
  And then the earth (though old) still clad in green,
The stones and trees, insensible of time,
  Nor age nor wrinkle on their front are seen;
If winter come, and greenness then do fade,
A Spring returns, and they more youthful made;
But Man grows old, lies down, remains where once he's laid.

By birth more noble than those creatures all,
  Yet seems by nature and by custom curs'd,
No sooner born, but grief and care makes fall
  That state obliterate he had at first:
Nor youth, nor strength, nor wisdom spring again,
Nor habitations long their names retain,
But in oblivion to the final day remain.
. . . . . .

O Time, the fatal wrack of mortal things,
  That draws oblivion's curtains over kings,
Their sumptuous monuments, men know them not,
  Their names without a record are forgot,
Their parts, their ports, their pomp's all laid in th' dust,
Nor wit nor gold, nor buildings 'scape time's rust;
But he whose name is grav'd in the white stone
Shall last and shine when all of these are gone.

Captain Edward Johnson.

BORN in Kent, England, about 1600. DIED at Woburn, Mass., 1672.

A LEAVE-TAKING AT SOUTHAMPTON.

[*Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England.* 1654.]

AND now behold the several Regiments of these Soldiers of Christ, as they are shipped for his service in the Western World, part thereof being come to the Town and Port of Southampton in England, where they were to be shipped, that they might prosecute this design to the full. One ship called the "Eagle," they wholly purchase, and many more they hire, filling them with the seed of man and beast to sow this yet untilled wilderness withal, making sale of such land as they possess, to the great admiration of their Friends and Acquaintance, who thus expostulate with them, "What, will not the large income of your yearly revenue content you, which in all reason cannot choose but be more advantageous both to you and yours, than all that rocky wilderness, whither you are going, to run the hazard of your life? Have you not here your tables filled with great variety of food, your coffers filled with coin, your houses beautifully built and filled with all rich furniture?" Or otherwise, "Have you not such a gainful trade as none the like in the town where you live? Are you not enriched daily? Are not your Children very well provided for as they come to years? Nay, may you not here as pithily practise the two chief Duties of a Christian (if Christ give strength), namely Mortification and Sanctification, as in any place of the World? What helps can you have there that you must not carry from hence?"

With bold resolvedness these stout Soldiers of Christ reply; as Death, the King of terror with all his dreadful attendance inhuman and barbarous, tortures doubled and trebled by all the infernal furies have appeared but light and momentary to the Soldiers of Christ Jesus, so also the pleasure, profits and honors of this World, set forth in their most glorious splendor and magnitude by the alluring Lady of Delight, proffering pleasant embraces, cannot entice with her syren songs such Soldiers of Christ, whose aims are elevated by him many millions above that brave Warrior Ulysses.

Now seeing all can be said will but barely set forth the immovable resolutions that Christ continued in these men, pass on and attend with tears, if thou hast any, the following discourse, while these Men, Women and Children are taking their last farewell of their Native Country, Kindred, Friends and Acquaintance, while the ships attend them. Many

make choice of some solitary place to echo out their bowel-breaking affections in bidding their Friends farewell. "Dear friends," says one, "as near as my own soul doth thy love lodge in my breast, with thought of the heart-burning ravishments, that thy heavenly speeches have wrought; my melting soul is poured out at present with these words." Both of them had their farther speech strangled from the depth of their inward dolor, with breast-breaking sobs, till leaning their heads each on other's shoulders, they let fall the salt-dropping dews of vehement affection, striving to exceed one another, much like the departure of David and Jonathan. Having a little eased their hearts with the still streams of Tears, they recovered speech again. "Ah! my much honored friend, hath Christ given thee so great a charge as to be Leader of his People into that far remote and vast wilderness? I, oh, and alas thou must die there and never shall I see thy face in the flesh again! Wert thou called to so great a task as to pass the precious Ocean, and hazard thy person in Battle against thousands of Malignant Enemies there? There were hopes of thy return with triumph, but now after two, three, or four months spent with daily expectation of swallowing waves, and cruel Pirates, you are to be landed among barbarous Indians, famous for nothing but cruelty, where you are like to spend your days in a famishing condition for a long space."

Scarce had he uttered this, but presently he locks his friend fast in his arms. Holding each other thus for some space of time, they weep again. But, as Paul to his beloved flock, the other replies: "What do you, weeping and breaking my heart? I am now prest for the service of our Lord Christ, to rebuild the most glorious edifice of Mount Sion in a wilderness, and as John Baptist, I must cry 'prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight,' for behold he is coming again, he is coming to destroy Antichrist. . . . Then my dear friend unfold thy hands, for thou and I have much work to do—I and all Christian Soldiers the World throughout." Then hand in hand they lead each other to the sandy banks of the brinish Ocean, when clenching their hands fast, they unloose not till enforced to wipe their watery eyes, whose constant streams forced a watery path upon their cheeks, which to hide from the eyes of others they shun society for a time, but being called by occasion, whose bald back-part none can lay hold on, they thrust in among the throng now ready to take ship, where they beheld the like affections with their own among divers Relations. Husbands and Wives with mutual consent are now purposed to part for a time nine hundred Leagues asunder, since some providence at present will not suffer them to go together, they resolve their tender affections shall not hinder this work of Christ. The new married and betrothed man, exempt by the Law of God from war, now will not

claim their privilege, but being constrained by the Love of Christ, lock up their natural affections for a time, till the Lord shall be pleased to give them a meeting in this Western World, sweetly mixing it with spiritual love. In the meantime many Fathers now take their young Samuels, and give them to this service of Christ all their Lives. Brethren, Sisters, Uncles, Nephews, Nieces, together with all kindred of blood that binds the bowels of affection in a true Lover's knot, can now take their last farewell, each of other, although natural affection will still claim her right, and manifest herself to be in the body by looking out at the windows in a mournful manner among this company. Thus disposed doth many Reverend and godly Pastors of Christ present themselves, some in a seaman's habit, and their scattered sheep coming as a poor Convoy loftily take their leave of them as followeth, "What doleful days are these, when the best choice our orthodox ministers can make is to take up a perpetual banishment from their native soil, together with their Wives and Children; we their poor sheep they may not feed, but by stoledred should they abide here. Lord Christ, here they are at thy command, they go; this is the door thou hast opened upon our earnest request, and we hope it shall never be shut; for England's sake they are going from England to pray without ceasing for England, O England! Thou shalt find New England prayers prevailing with their God for thee, but now woe alas, what great hardship must these our endeared Pastors endure for a long season!"

With these words they lift up their voices and wept, adding many drops of salt liquor to the ebbing Ocean.

THE COURAGE OF THE MOTHERS IN ISRAEL.

[*From the Same.*]

THOSE honored persons who were now in place of Government, having the propagation of the Churches of Christ in their eye, labored by all means to make room for Inhabitants, knowing well that where the dead carcass is, thither will the Eagles resort. But herein they were much opposed by certain persons, whose greedy desire for land much hindered the work for a time, as indeed all such persons do at this very day—and let such take notice how these were cured of this distemper. Some were taken away by death, and then to be sure they had land enough, others fearing poverty and famishment, supposing the present scarcity would never be turned into plenty, removed themselves

away, and so never beheld the great good the Lord hath done for his people.

But the valiant of the Lord waited with patience, and in the miss of beer supplied themselves with water, even the most honored, as well as others, contentedly rejoicing in a Cup of cold water, blessing the Lord that had given them the taste of that living water, and that they had not the water that slacks the thirst of their natural bodies, given them by measure, but might drink to the full; as also in the absence of bread they feasted themselves with fish. The Women once a day, as the tide gave way, resorted to the mussels, and clambanks, which are a fish as big as horse-mussels, where they daily gathered their families' food with much heavenly discourse of the provisions Christ had formerly made for many thousands of his followers in the wilderness. Quoth one, "My Husband hath travelled as far as Plymouth (which is near forty miles), and hath with great toil brought a little corn home with him, and before that is spent the Lord will assuredly provide." Quoth the other, "Our last peck of meal is now in the oven at home a-baking, and many of our godly Neighbors have quite spent all, and we owe one loaf of that little we have." Then spake a third, "My Husband hath ventured himself among the Indians for corn, and can get none, as also our honored Governor hath distributed his so far, that a day or two more will put an end to his store, and all the rest, and yet methinks our Children are as cheerful, fat, and lusty with feeding upon those mussels, clambanks and other fish, as they were in England with their fill of bread, which makes me cheerful in the Lord's providing for us, being further confirmed by the exhortation of our Pastor to trust the Lord with providing for us; whose is the earth and the fulness thereof."

And as they were encouraging one another in Christ's careful providing for them, they lift up their eyes and saw two ships coming in, and presently this news came to their ears, that they were come from Jacland full of victuals. Now their poor hearts were not so much refreshed in regard of the food they saw they were like to have, as their souls rejoiced in that Christ would now manifest himself to be the Commissary-General of this his Army, and that he should honor them so far as to be poor sutlers for his camp. They soon up with their mussels, and hie them home to stay their hungry stomachs. After this manner did Christ many times graciously provide for this his people, even at the last cast.

THE ESCAPE OF SHEPARD AND NORTON.

[*From the Same.*]

NOW, my loving Reader, let me lead thee by the hand to our native land, although it was not intended to speak in particulars of any of these people's departure from thence, purposing a general relation should serve the turn, yet come with me and behold the wondrous work of Christ in preserving two of his most valiant Soldiers, namely Mr. John Norton, and that soul ravishing Minister, Mr. Thomas Shepard, who came this year to Yarmouth to ship themselves for New England, where the people of God resorted privately unto them to hear them preach. During the time of their abode the enemies of Christ's kingdom were not wanting to use all means possible to entrap them, in which perilous condition they remained about two months, waiting for the ship's readiness. In which time some persons eagerly hunting for Mr. Thomas Shepard began to plot (for apprehending of him) with a Boy of sixteen or seventeen years of age, who lived in the house where he lodged, to open the door for them at a certain hour in the night.

But the Lord Christ, who is the Shepherd of Israel, kept a most sure watch over his endeared servants, for thus it befell: the sweet words of grace falling from the lips of this Reverend and godly Mr. Thomas Shepard in the hearing of the Boy (the Lord's working withal), he was persuaded this was an holy man of God, and therefore with many troubled thoughts began to relate his former practice, although he had a great sum of money promised him, only to let them in at the hour and time appointed; but the Boy, the more near the time came, grew more pensive and sad, insomuch that his Master taking notice thereof began to question him about the cause of his heaviness, who, being unwilling to reveal the matter, held off from confessing a long time, till by urgent and insinuating search of his godly Master, with tears he tells that on such a night he had agreed to let in men to apprehend the godly Preacher. The good man of the house forthwith gave notice thereof unto them, who with the help of some well-affected persons was conveyed away by boat through a back lane. The men at the time appointed came to the house, where finding not the door open (when they lifted up the latch) as they expected, they thrust their staves under it to lift it from the hooks, but being followed by some persons whom the good man of the house had appointed for that end; yet were they bolstered out in this their wicked act by those who set them on work. Notwithstanding, they were greatly ashamed when they missed of their end.

But the Lord Christ, intending to make his New England Soldiers

the very wonder of this age, brought them into greater straits, that this Wonder-working Providence might the more appear in their deliverance, for coming a-shipboard, and hoisting sail to accomplish their voyage, in little time after they were tossed and sore beaten with a contrary wind, to the loss of the ship's upper work, with which loss and great peril they were driven back again, the Lord Christ intending to confirm their faith in showing them, that although they were brought back, as it were into the mouth of their enemies, yet He could hide them from the hand of the hunter for the space of six months longer or thereabout, even till the Spring of the year following, at which time (God willing) you shall hear of them again. In the meantime the master and other seamen made a strange construction of the sore storm they met withal, saying their ship was bewitched, and therefore made use of the common charm ignorant people use, nailing two red-hot horseshoes to their main-mast. But assuredly it was the Lord Christ, who hath command both of winds and seas, and now would have his people know He hath delivered, and will deliver from so great a death.

HOW NIMBLE CAPTAIN DAVENPORT SAVED A SOLDIER.

[*From the Same.*]

THE slain or wounded of the English were (through the mercy of Christ) but a few; one of them being shot through the body, near about the breast, regarding it not till of a long time after, which caused the blood to dry and thicken on either end of the arrow so that it could not be drawn forth his body without great difficulty and much pain, yet did he scape his life, and the wound healed.

Thus the Lord was pleased to assist his people in this war and deliver them out of the Indians' hands, who were very lusty proper men of their hands, most of them, as may appear by one passage which I shall here relate. Thus it came to pass: As the Soldiers were upon their march, close by a great thicket, where no eye could penetrate far, as it often falls out in such wearisome ways, where neither men nor beast have beaten out a path; some Soldiers lingering behind their fellows, two Indians watching their opportunity, much like a hungry hawk, when they supposed the last man was come up, who kept a double double double distance in his march, they sudden and swiftly snatched him up in their talons, hoisting him upon their shoulders, ran into the swamp with him. The Soldier, unwilling to be made a Pope by being

borne on men's shoulders, strove with them all he could to free himself from their hands. But, like a careful Commander, one Captain Davenport, then Lieutenant of this company, being diligent in his place to bring up the rear, coming up with them, followed with speed into the swamp after him, having a very severe cutlass tied to his wrist, and being well able to make it bite sore when he set it on, resolving to make it fall foul on the Indians' bones, he soon overtook them, but was prevented by the buckler they held up from hitting them, which was the man they had taken. It was matter of much wonder to see with what dexterity they hurled the poor Soldier about, as if they had been handling a Lacedæmonian shield, so that the nimble Captain Davenport could not, of a long time, fasten one stroke upon them; yet, at last, dyeing their tawny skin into a crimson color, they cast down their prey and hasted through the thickets for their lives. The Soldier thus redeemed, had no such hard usage, but that he is alive, as I suppose, at this very day.

AN ANSWER TO PRAYER.

[*From the Same.*]

HERE again the admirable Providence of the Lord is to be noted, that whereas the Country is naturally subject to drought, even to the withering of their summer's fruits, the Lord was pleased, during these years of scarcity, to bless that small quantity of land they planted with seasonable showers, and that many times to the great admiration of the Heathen. For thus it befell: The extreme parching heat of the sun (by reason of a more constant clearness of the air than usually is in England) began to scorch the herbs and fruits, which was the chiefest means of their livelihood. They beholding the Hand of the Lord stretched out against them, like tender-hearted Children, they fell down on their knees, begging mercy of the Lord for their Saviour's sake, urging this as a chief argument, that the malignant adversary would rejoice in their destruction, and blaspheme the pure Ordinances of Christ, trampling down his Kingly Commands with their own inventions; and in uttering these words, their eyes dropped down many tears, their affections prevailing so strong, that they could not refrain in the Church Assembly. Here admire and be strong in the Grace of Christ, all you that hopefully belong unto him, for as they poured out water before the Lord, so at that very instant, the Lord showered down water on their gardens and fields, which with great industry they had planted, and now

had not the Lord caused it to rain speedily, their hope of food had been lost; but at this these poor worms were so exceedingly taken, that the Lord should show himself so near unto their prayers, that as the drops from Heaven fell thicker and faster, so the tears from their eyes by reason of the sudden mixture of joy and sorrow. And verily they were exceedingly stirred in their affections, being unable to resolve themselves which mercy was greatest, to have a humble begging heart given them of God, or to have their request so suddenly answered.

The Indians hearing hereof, and seeing the sweet rain that fell, were much taken with Englishmen's God, but the Lord seeing his poor people's hearts were too narrow to beg, his bounties exceeds toward them at this time, as indeed he ever hitherto hath done for this Wilderness People, not only giving the full of their requests, but beyond all their thoughts, as witness his great work in England of late, in which the prayers of God's people in New England have had a great stroke. These people now rising from their knees to receive the rich mercies of Christ, in the refreshed fruits of the Earth; behold the Sea also bringing in whole ship-loads of mercies, more being filled with fresh forces for furthering this wonderful work of Christ. And indeed this year came in many precious ones, whom Christ in his grace hath made much use of in these his Churches and Commonwealth, insomuch that these people were even almost over-balanced with the great income of their present possessed mercies. Yet they address themselves to the sea-shore, where they courteously welcome the famous servant of Christ, grave, godly and judicious Hooker, and the honored servant of Christ, Mr. John Haynes, as also the Reverend and much desired Mr. John Cotton, and the Rhetorical Mr. Stone, with divers others of the sincere servants of Christ, coming with their young, and with their old, and with their whole substance, to do him service in this desert wilderness. Thus this poor people having now tasted liberally of the salvation of the Lord every way, they deem it high time to take up the cup of thankfulness, and pay their vows to the most high God, by whom they were holpen to this purpose of heart, and accordingly set apart the 16th day of October (which they call the eighth month, not out of any peevish humor of singularity, as some are ready to censure them with, but of purpose to prevent the Heathenish and Popish observation of days, months and years, that they may be forgotten among the people of the Lord). This day was solemnly kept by all the seven Churches, rejoicing in the Lord, and rendering thanks for all their benefits.

OF JOHN WINTHROP, ESQ.

[*From the Same.*]

THIS year, 1631, John Winthrop, Esq., was chosen Governor, pickt out for the work by the provident hand of the Most High, and enabled with gifts accordingly; then all the folk of Christ, who have seen his face and been partaker of the same, remember him in this following Meeter.

Why leavest thou, John, thy station, in Suffolk, thy own soil?
Christ will have thee a pillar be, for's people thou must toil.
He chang'd thy heart, then take his part 'gainst prelates proud invading
His Kingly throne, set up alone, in wilderness there shading
His little flocks from Prelates' knocks. Twice ten years rul'd thou hast,
With civil sword at Christ's word, and eleven times been trast,
By name and note, with people's vote, their Governor to be;
Thy means hast spent, 't was therefore lent, to raise this work by thee.
Well arm'd and strong with sword among Christ's armies marcheth he,
Doth valiant praise, and weak one raise, with kind benignity.
To lead the van, 'gainst Babylon, doth worthy Winthrop call;
Thy Progeny shall battle try, when Prelacy shall fall.
With fluent tongue thy pen doth run, in learned Latin phrase,
To Swedes, French, Dutch, thy Neighbors, which thy lady rhetoric praise.
Thy bounty feeds Christ's servants' needs, in wilderness of wants;
To Indians thou Christ's Gospel now 'mongst heathen people plants.
Yet thou poor dust, now dead and must to rottenness be brought,
Till Christ restore thee glorious, more than can of dust be thought.

OF THE REVEREND MR. HIGGINSON.

[*From the Same.*]

WHEREFORE they elected and ordained one Mr. Higginson to be Teacher of this first Church of Christ, set up in those parts, a man endued with grace, apt to teach, and mighty in the Scriptures, learned in the tongues, able to convince gainsayers, aptly applying the Word to his hearers, who departed this life not long after, of whom it may be said:

What golden gain made Higginson remove
From fertile soil to wilderness of rocks?
'T was Christ's rich pearl stir'd up thee toil to love,
For him to feed in wilderness his flocks.
First Teacher he, here, Sheep and Lambs together;
First crown'd shall be he, in the Heavens, of all
Christ's Pastors here, but yet Christ's folk had rather
Him here retain; blest he whom Christ hath call'd.

THE FIRST PROMOTION OF LEARNING IN NEW ENGLAND.

[*From the Same.*]

TOWARD the latter end of this Summer came over the learned, reverend, and judicious Mr. Henry Dunster, before whose coming the Lord was pleased to provide a Patron for erecting a College, as you have formerly heard, his provident hand being now no less powerful in pointing out with his unerring finger a president abundantly fitted, this his servant, and sent him over for to manage the work. And as in all the other passages of this history the Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour hath appeared, so more especially in this work, the Fountains of learning being in a great measure stopped in our native Country at this time, so that the sweet waters of Shilo's streams must ordinarily pass into the Churches through the stinking channel of prelatical pride, beside all the filth that the fountains themselves were daily encumbered withal, insomuch that the Lord turned aside often from them, and refused the breathings of his blessed Spirit among them, which caused Satan (in these latter days of his transformation into an Angel of light) to make it a means to persuade people from the use of learning altogether, that so in the next generation they might be destitute of such helps as the Lord hath been pleased hitherto to make use of, as chief means for the conversion of his people and building them up in the holy faith, as also for breaking down the Kingdom of Antichrist. And verily had not the Lord been pleased to furnish New England with means for the attainment of learning, the work would have been carried on very heavily, and the hearts of godly parents would have vanished away with heaviness for their poor children, whom they must have left in a desolate wilderness, destitute of the means of grace.

It being a work (in the apprehension of all, whose capacity could reach to the great sums of money, the edifice of a mean College would cost) past the reach of a poor Pilgrim people, who had expended the greatest part of their estates on a long voyage, travelling into foreign Countries, being unprofitable to any that have undertaken it, although it were but with their necessary attendance, whereas this people were forced to travel with wives, children, and servants; besides they considered the treble charge of building in this new populated desert, in regard of all kind of workmanship, knowing likewise, that young Students could make but a poor progress in learning, by looking on the bare walls of their chambers, and that Diogenes would have the better of them by far, in making use of a Tun to lodge in; not being ignorant also, that many people in this age are out of

conceit with learning, and that although they were not among a people who counted ignorance the mother of devotion, yet were the greater part of the people wholly devoted to the plough (but to speak uprightly, hunger is sharp, and the head will retain little learning, if the heart be not refreshed in some competent measure with food, although the gross vapors of a glutted stomach are the bane of a bright understanding, and brings barrenness to the brain). But how to have both go on together, as yet they know not. Amidst all these difficulties, it was thought meet learning should plead for itself, and (as many other men of good rank and quality in this barren desert) plod out a way to live. Hereupon all those who had tasted the sweet wine of Wisdom's drawing, and fed on the dainties of knowledge, began to set their wits a work, and verily as the whole progress of this work had a farther dependency than on the present eyed means, so at this time chiefly the end being firmly fixed on a sure foundation, namely, the glory of God and good of all his elect people the world throughout, in vindicating the truths of Christ and promoting his glorious Kingdom, who is now taking the heathen for his inheritance and the utmost ends of the earth for his possession, means they know there are, many thousands uneyed of mortal man, which every day's Providence brings forth.

Upon these resolutions, to work they go, and with thankful acknowledgment readily take up all lawful means as they come to hand. For place they fix their eye upon New-Town, which to tell their Posterity whence they came, is now named Cambridge. And withal to make the whole world understand that spiritual learning was the thing they chiefly desired, to sanctify the other and make the whole lump holy, and that learning being set upon its right object might not contend for error instead of truth, they chose this place, being then under the Orthodox and soul-flourishing ministry of Mr. Thomas Shepard, of whom it may be said, without any wrong to others, the Lord by his Ministry hath saved many a hundred soul. The situation of this College is very pleasant, at the end of a spacious plain, more like a bowling-green than a wilderness, near a fair navigable river, environed with many neighboring Towns of note, being so near, that their houses join with her suburbs. The building thought by some to be too gorgeous for a wilderness, and yet too mean in others' apprehensions for a College, it is at present enlarging by purchase of the neighbor houses. It hath the conveniences of a fair Hall, comfortable Studies, and a good Library, given by the liberal hand of some Magistrates and Ministers, with others. The chief gift towards the founding of this College was by Mr. John Harvard, a reverend Minister; the Country, being very weak in their public Treasury, expended about £500

towards it, and for the maintenance thereof, gave the yearly revenue of a Ferry passage between Boston and Charles-Town, the which amounts to about £40 or £50 per annum. The Commissioners of the four united Colonies also taking into consideration of what common concernment this work would be, not only to the whole plantations in general, but also to all our English Nation, they endeavored to stir up all the people in the several Colonies to make a yearly contribution toward it, which by some is observed, but by the most very much neglected. The Government hath endeavored to grant them all the privileges fit for a College, and accordingly the Governor and Magistrates, together with the President of the College for the time being, have a continual care of ordering all matters for the good of the whole.

This College hath brought forth and nurst up very hopeful plants, to the supplying some Churches here, as the gracious and godly Mr. Wilson, son to the grave and zealous servant of Christ, Mr. John Wilson; this young man is Pastor to the Church of Christ at Dorchester; as also Mr. Buckly, son to the reverend Mr. Buckly, of Concord; as also a second son of his, whom our native Country hath now at present help in the Ministry, and the other is over a people of Christ in one of these Colonies, and if I mistake not, England hath I hope not only this young man of New England nurturing up in learning, but many more, as Mr. Sam. and Nathanael Mathers, Mr. Wells, Mr. Downing, Mr. Barnard, Mr. Allin, Mr. Brewster, Mr. William Ames, Mr. Jones. Another of the first-fruits of this College is employed in these Western parts in Mevis, one of the Summer Islands; beside these named, some help hath been had from hence in the study of Physic, as also the godly Mr. Sam. Danforth, who hath not only studied Divinity, but also Astronomy; he put forth many Almanacs, and is now called to the office of a teaching Elder in the Church of Christ at Roxbury, who was one of the fellows of this College. The number of Students is much increased of late, so that the present year, 1651, on the twelfth of the sixth month, ten of them took the degree of Bachelors of Art, among whom the Sea-born son of Mr. John Cotton was one.

THE WAGES OF DISCONTENT.

[*From the Same.*]

TO end this year 1641 the Lord was pleased to send a very sharp Winter, insomuch that the harbor where ships ordinarily Anchor, was frozen over of such a thickness, that it became passable, both for

horses, carts, and oxen, for the space of five weeks. And here the Reader must be minded of the wonder-working providence of Christ for his poor Churches, in altering the very season for their comfort, to the wonder of English and Indians, the Winter and Summer proving more moderate, both for heat and cold, unmasking many by this means, it being a frequent thing with some, that after the novelties of a new land began to be stale with them, and the sweet nourishment of the soul by the presence of Christ in the preaching of his Word, began to dry up through the hot-heady conceit of some new conceived opinion, then they wanted a warmer country, and every North-west wind that blew, they crept into some odd chimney-corner or other, to discourse of the diversity of Climates in the Southern parts, but chiefly of a thing very sweet to the palate of the flesh, called liberty, which they supposed might be very easily attained, could they but once come into a place where all men were chosen to the office of a Magistrate, and all were preachers of the Word, and no hearers; then it would be all Summer and no Winter.

This consultation was to be put in practice speedily, as all headstrong motions are, but the issue proved very sad both to these and others also. For thus it befell: when the time of the year was come that a sea voyage might be undertaken, they having made sale of a better accommodation than any they could afterward attain unto, prepare for the voyage with their wives and children, intending to land them in one of the Summer Islands, called the Isle of Providence. And having wind and seas favoring them, as they supposed, or to speak more proper, the provident hand of the most high God directing it, they were brought so near the shore for convenient landing, that they might have heaved a biscuit-cake on land. Their Pilot wondering he could not see the English colors on the Fort, he began to mistrust the Island was taken, and more especially because they saw not the people appear upon the shores as they usually did when any vessel was a-coming in, but now and then they saw some people afar off wafting to them to come in, till they were even come to an Anchor; and then, by the hoisting up and down the heads of those on shore, they were fully confirmed in it, that the Island was taken, as indeed it was, by the Spaniards, who, as soon as they tacked about to be gone, made shot at them, and being in great fear they made all the sail they could. But before they could get out of shot, the Master of the vessel was slain, the main-sail shot through, and the bark also. The people some of them returned back again for New England, being sore abashed at this providence that befell them, that they would never seek to be governed by liberty again to this very day. Yet others there are were so strongly bent for the heat of liberty, that they endured much pinching penury upon an uninhab-

ited Island, till at length meeting some others like-minded with themselves, they made a voyage to another Island (the chiefest part of their Charter of Freedom was this, That no man upon pain of death should speak against another's Religion), where they continued, till some of them were famished, and others even forced to feed on rats and any other thing they could find to sustain nature, till the provident hand of God brought a ship to the place, which took them off the Island and saved their lives. But upon this the Winter's discourse ceased, and projects for a warmer Country were hushed and done.

A CRY UNTO THE LORD TO STAY HIS HAND.

[*From the Same.*]

Of the wonder-working providences of Christ, wrought for his people among our English Nation, both in our Native country, and also in New England, which should stir us up to mourn for all our miscarriages much the more.

FROM silent night true Register of moans,
From saddest soul consum'd in deepest sin,
[*A*] From heart quite rent with sighs and heavy groans,
My wailing muse her woful work begins,
And to the world brings tunes of sad lament,
Sounding naught else but sorrow's sad relent.

Sorry to see my sorrow's cause augmented,
And yet less sorrowful were my sorrows more,
[*A*] Grief that with grief, is not with grief prevented,
Yet grief it is must ease my grieved sore;
So grief and sorrow, care but how to grieve,
For grief and sorrow must my cares relieve.

The wound fresh bleeding must be stanch'd with tears,
Tears cannot come unless some grief proceed,
[*A*] Grief comes but slack, which doth increase my fears,
Fear, lest for want of help I still shall bleed;
Do what I can to lengthen my life's breath,
If Christ be wanting, I shall bleed to death.

Thou deepest searcher of each secret thought,
Infuse in me thy all-affecting grace,
[*A*] So shall my work to good effect be brought,
While I peruse my ugly sins a space,
Whose staining filth so spotted hath my soul,
That naught can wash, but tears of inward dole.

A The consideration of the wonderful providence of Christ in planting his New England Churches, and with the right hand of his power preserving, protecting, favoring, and feeding them upon his tender knees, together with the ill requital of his all-infinite and undeserved mercies bestowed upon us, hath caused many a soul to lament for the dishonor done to his Name, and fear of his casting off this little handful of his, and the insulting of the enemy, whose sorrow is set forth in these four first staffs of verses.

How soon, my soul, hast thou the Lord forgot,
[*B*] Who thee and thine through troublous Seas hath led,
On earth thy parts should praise him, sudden rot,
Why dost neglect his glorious Kingdom spread?
Thy eyes have seen the Mountains mov'd with's hand,
And sunk in Seas to make his Sion stand.

No wonder then thy works with Eastern wind
[*B*] On Seas are broke, and thy best Seamen slain,
Sith thou thy gain, and not Christ's work dost mind;
Lord, stay thy hand, I see my works are vain.
Our ships they shall thy Gospel forth convey,
And not bring home strange errors here to stay.

Instead of home-oppression, they shall now
Thy Saints abroad relieve, by Sea them send;
No riot shall our Merchantmen allow,
Time in exchange walks, not in Taverns spend.
Godly grief and good purpose comes from thee,
Lord Christ command, and then to work go we.

B The Rod of God toward us in our Maritime affairs manifested, not only to our own shipping, but strangers; as the "Mary Rose" blown up in Charles River, and sunk in a moment, with about thirteen men slain therein. As also one Capt. Chadwick's Pinnace, and about four men slain therein, beside what hath been formerly said touching our own shipping.

Oh thou, my soul, how weak's thy faith become,
With scatter'd seed of man and beast, thou hast
Seen thy great God increase thy little sum,
[*C*] Towns close compact in desert land hath plac'd:
In Wilderness thy table richly spread,
Thy poor therein hath satisfi'd with bread.

While fertile lands with hunger have been pined,
[*C*] Thy harvest hath with heaps on heaps come in;
Oh mourn, that thou no more thy God should'st mind,
His gentle rod to teach thee doth begin;
Then wonder not that swarms of Locust fly,
And that earth's fruits for want of moisture die.

A countless crew of Caterpillars crawl,
To rob the earth of her green mantle quite;
Wolves only wont on lesser beasts to fall,
[*C*] On great ones prey by day, and eke by night;
Thy houses are consum'd with much good store,
By fearful fires, which blustering winds blow o'er.

Lord, stay thy hand, and stop my earthly mind,
Thy Word, not world, shall be our sole delight,
[*C*] Not Meadow ground, but Christ's rich pearl we'll find,
Thy Saints embrace, and not large lands down plight.
Murmur no more will we at yearly pay,
To help uphold our Government each way;

Not strive who least, but who the most shall give,
Rejoice will we, our hearts enlarged are,

[*C*] Those wait on th' Altar, shall on Altar live,
Nor shall our riches their good doctrine mar;
Our pride of parts in thought of clear discerning,
No longer shall disgrace their godly learning.

Our meaner sort that metamorphos'd are
With women's hair, in gold and garments gay,
[*C*] Whose wages large our Commonwealth's work mar,
Their pride they shall with moderation lay;
Cast off their clothes, that men may know their rank,
And women that with outward deckings prank.

C Of the Lord's hand against our Land affairs, as is heretofore expressed; and also in the sudden taking away many men's estates by fire, and chiefly by a most terrible fire which happened in Charles-Town, in the depth of Winter, 1650, by a violent wind blown from one house to another, to the consuming of the fairest houses in the Town. Under the pretence of being unequally rated, many men murmur exceedingly and withdraw their shoulders from the support of Government, to the great discouragement of those that govern, 1651. Pride and excess in apparel is frequent in these days, when the Lord calls his people to humiliation and humble acknowledgment of his great deliverances; and that which is far worse, spiritual pride, to show ourselves to be somebody, often step out of our ranks, and delight in newfangled doctrines.

The world's embrace our longing lust for gain,
[*D*] No longer shall us into corners draw,
Nor our large herds us from God's house detain
From fellowship of Saints, who learn thy Law;
Thy righteous Judgments, Lord, do make me tremble,
Nor word, nor rod, but deep in this dissemble.

Two Masters, Lord, we will professed serve;
How can we, Christ, united be to thee,
[*D*] When from thy Law learn'd we so greatly swerve,
With watery tears unclued we will be.
From creature-comforts, Christ, thou art our stay,
Work will and deed in us, we humbly pray.

D An over-eager desire after the world hath so seized on the spirits of many, that the chief end of our coming hither is forgotten; and notwithstanding all the powerful means used, we stand at a stay, as if the Lord had no farther work for his people to do, but every bird to feather his own nest.

Oh thou, my soul, and every part in me
Lament, the Lord his worthies from the earth
Takes to himself, and makes our earth to be
[*E*] A mourning place left destitute of mirth;
Are these the days wherein that Beast shall fall,
Lord, leave us means, though thou be all in all.

What courage was in Winthrop, it was thine;
Shepard's sweet Sermons from thy blessing came,
[*E*] Our heavenly Hooker thy grace did refine,
And godly Burr receiv'd from thee his frame;
Philips didst thou indue with Scripture light,
And Huet had his arguings strong and right.

Grave Higginson his heavenly truths from thee,
[*E*] Maverick was made an able help to thine;
What Herver had thou gavest, for's people free;
Follow Green full of grace, to work thou didst assign;

Godly GLOVER his rich gifts thou gavest,
Thus thou by means thy flocks from smoiling savest.

But Lord, why dost by death withdraw thy hand
From us, these men and means are sever'd quite;
Stretch forth thy might, Lord Christ do thou command
Their doubled spirit on those left to light;
Forth of their graves call ten times ten again,
That thy dear flocks no damage may sustain.

Can I forget these means that thou hast used,
To quicken up my drowsy drooping soul;
Lord, I forget, and have the same abused,
Which makes me now with grief their deaths condole,
And kiss thy rod, laid on with bowels tender,
By death of mine, makes me their death remember.

Lord, stay thy hand, thy JACOB'S number's small,
Pour out thy wrath on Antichrist's proud Thrones;
Hear thy poor flocks that on thee daily call,
Bottle their tears, and pity their sad groans.
Where shall we go Lord Christ? We turn to thee;
Heal our backslidings, forward press shall we.

Not we, but all thy Saints the world throughout
Shall on thee wait, thy wonders to behold;
Thou King of Saints, the Lord in battle stout
Increase thy armies many thousand-fold.
Oh Nations all, his anger seek to stay,
That doth create him armies every day.

E The Lord's taking away by death many of his most eminent servants from us, shows that either the Lord will raise up another people to himself to do his work, or raise us up by his Rod to a more eager pursuit of his work, even the planting of his Churches the world throughout. The Lord converts and calls forth of their graves men to fight his battles against the enemies of his truth.

John Eliot.

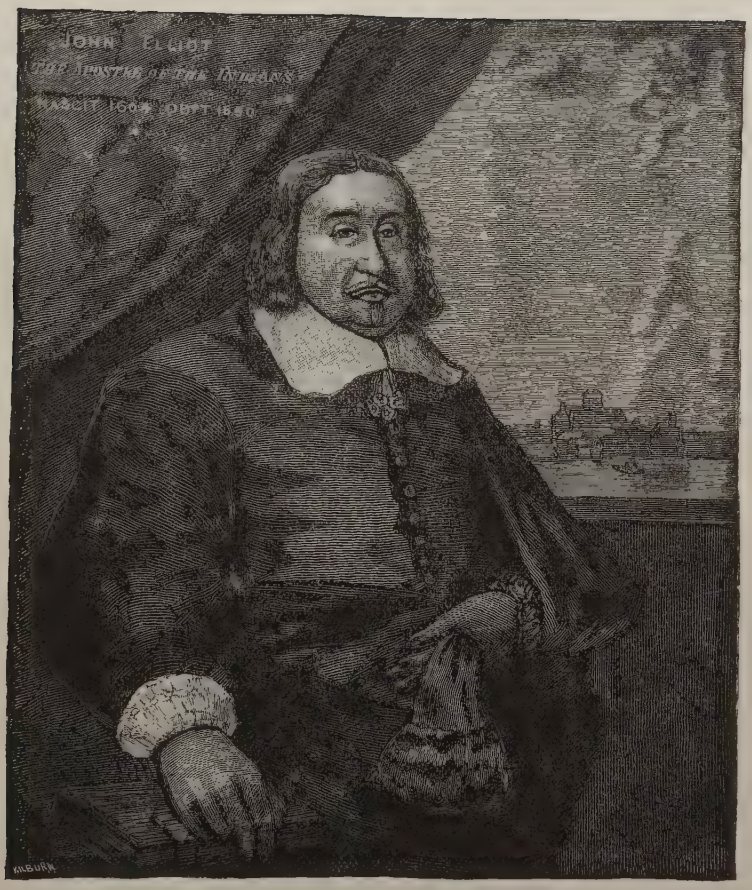
BORN in Essex, England, 1604. DIED at Roxbury, Mass., 1690.

ON ADMONISHING THE INDIANS.

[*A Letter to Thomas Shepard, published in "The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel Breaking Forth Upon the Indians."* 1648.]

IN my exercise among them (as you know) we attend four things, besides prayer unto God for his presence and blessing upon all we do.

First, I catechise the children and youth; wherein some are very



John Eliot
with the consent of the church

ready and expert; they can readily say all the Commandments, so far as I have communicated them, and all other principles about the creation, the fall, the redemption by Christ, etc., wherein also the aged people are pretty expert, by the frequent repetition thereof to the children, and are able to teach it to their children at home, and do so.

Secondly, I preach unto them out of some texts of Scripture, wherein I study all plainness and brevity, unto which many are very attentive.

Thirdly, if there be any occasion, we in the next place go to admonition and censure; unto which they submit themselves reverently, and obediently, and some of them penitently confessing their sins with much plainness, and without shiftings and excuses. I will instance in two or three particulars; this was one case, a man named Wampoowas, being in a passion upon some light occasion, did beat his wife, which was a very great offence among them now (though in former times it was very usual) and they had made a Law against it, and set a fine upon it; whereupon he was publicly brought forth before the Assembly, which was great that day, for our Governor and many other English were then present. The man wholly condemned himself without any excuse: and when he was asked what provocation his wife gave him, he did not in the least measure blame her but himself, and when the quality of the sin was opened, that it was cruelty to his own body, and against God's Commandment, and that passion was a sin, and much aggravated by such effects, yet God was ready to pardon it in Christ, etc., he turned his face to the wall and wept, though with modest endeavor to hide it; and such was the modest, penitent, and melting behavior of the man, that it much affected all to see it in a Barbarian, and all did forgive him, only this remained, that they executed their Law notwithstanding his repentance, and required his fine, to which he willingly submitted, and paid it.

Another case of admonition was this, Cutshamaquin the Sachem having a son of about fourteen or fifteen years old, he had been drunk, and had behaved himself disobediently and rebelliously against his father and mother, for which sin they did blame him, but he despised their admonition. And before I knew of it, I did observe when I catechised him, when he should say the fifth Commandment, he did not freely say, "Honor thy father," but wholly left out "mother," and so he did the Lecture day before, but when this sin of his was produced, he was called forth before the Assembly, and he confessed that what was said against him was true, but he fell to accuse his father of sundry evils, as that he would have killed him in his anger, and that he forced him to drink Sack, and I know not what else: which behavior we greatly disliked, showed him the evil of it, and Mr. Wilson

being present labored much with him, for he understood the English, but all in vain, his heart was hard and hopeless for that time. Therefore using due loving persuasions, we did sharply admonish him of his sin, and required him to answer further the next Lecture day, and so left him; and so stout he was, that when his father offered to pay his fine of ten shillings for his drunkenness according to their Law, he would not accept it at his hand. When the next day was come, and other exercises finished, I called him forth, and he willingly came, but still in the same mind as before. Then we turned to his father, and exhorted him to remove that stumbling-block out of his son's way, by confessing his own sins whereby he had given occasion of hardness of heart to his son; which thing was not sudden to him, for I had formerly in private prepared him thereunto, and he was very willing to hearken to that counsel, because his conscience told him he was blameworthy; and accordingly he did, he confessed his main and principal evils of his own accord: and upon this advantage I took occasion to put him upon confession of sundry other vices which I knew he had in former times been guilty of, and all the Indians knew it likewise; and put it after this manner, Are you now sorry for your drunkenness, filthiness, false dealing, lying, etc., which sins you committed before you knew God? unto all which cases he expressed himself sorrowful, and condemned himself for them: which example of the Sachem was profitable for all the Indians. And when he had thus confessed his sins, we turned again to his son and labored with him, requiring him to confess his sin, and entreat God to forgive him for Christ his sake, and to confess his offence against his father and mother, and entreat them to forgive him, but he still refused; and now the other Indians spake unto him soberly and affectionately, to put him on, and divers spake one after another, and some several times. Mr. Wilson again did much labor with him, and at last he did humble himself, confessed all, and entreated his father to forgive him, and took him by the hand, at which his father burst forth into great weeping. He did the same also to his mother, who wept also, and so did divers others; and many English being present, they fell a-weeping, so that the house was filled with weeping on every side; and then we went to prayer, in all which time Cutshamaquin wept, insomuch that when we had done the board he stood upon was all dropped with his tears.

Another case of admonition was this, a hopeful young man who is my servant, being upon a journey, and drinking Sack at their setting forth, he drank too much, and was disguised; which when I heard I reproved him, and he humbled himself, with confession of his sin, and tears. And the next Lecture day I called him forth before the Assembly, where he did confess his sin with many tears.

Before I leave this point of admonition, if I thought it would not be too tedious to you, I would mention one particular more, where we saw the power of God awing a wicked wretch by this ordinance of admonition. It was George that wicked Indian, who, as you know, at our first beginnings sought to cast aspersions upon Religion, by laying slanderous accusations against godly men, and who asked that captious question, "Who made Sack?" and this fellow having killed a young Cow at your Town, and sold it at the College instead of Moose, covered it with many lies, insomuch as Mr. Dunster was loath he should be directly charged with it when we called him forth, but that we should rather inquire. But when he was called before the Assembly, and charged with it, he had not power to deny it, but presently confessed, only he added one thing which we think was an excuse; thus God hath honored this ordinance among them.

Fourthly, the last exercise, you know, we have among them, is their asking us questions, and very many they have asked, which I have forgotten, but some few that come to my present remembrance I will briefly touch.

One was Wabbakoxet's question, who is reputed an old Powwaw; it was to this purpose, seeing the English had been twenty-seven years (some of them) in this land, why did we never teach them to know God till now? "Had you done it sooner," said he, "we might have known much of God by this time, and much sin might have been prevented, but now some of us are grown old in sin," etc. To whom we answered, that we do repent that we did not long ago, as now we do, yet withal we told them, that they were never willing to hear till now, and that seeing God hath bowed their hearts to be willing to hear, we are desirous to take all the pains we can now to teach them.

Another question was, that of Cutshamaquin, to this purpose, "Before I knew God," said he, "I thought I was well, but since I have known God and sin, I find my heart full of sin, and more sinful than ever it was before, and this hath been a great trouble to me; and at this day my heart is but very little better than it was, and I am afraid it will be as bad again as it was before, and therefore I sometimes wish I might die before I be so bad again as I have been. Now my question is, whether is this a sin or not?" This question could not be learned from the English, nor did it seem a coined feigned thing, but a real matter gathered from the experience of his own heart, and from an inward observation of himself.

Another question was about their children, Whither their little children go when they die, seeing they have not sinned?

Which question gave occasion more fully to teach them original sin, and the damned state of all men. And also, and especially it gave

occasion to teach them the Covenant of God, which He hath made with all his people, and with their children, so that when God chooses a man or a woman to be his servant, He chooses all their children to be so also; which doctrine was exceeding grateful unto them.

PILLS FOR THE SACHEMS.

[*Letter in Tract "The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day."* 1651.]

THIS business of praying to God (for that is their general name of Religion) hath hitherto found opposition only from the Pawwawes and profane spirits; but now the Lord hath exercised us with another and greater opposition; for the Sachems of the Country are generally set against us, and counterwork the Lord by keeping off their men from praying to God as much as they can. And the reason of it is this, They plainly see that Religion will make a great change among them, and cut them off from their former tyranny; for they used to hold their people in an absolute servitude, insomuch as whatever they had, and themselves too were at his command; his language was, as one said, *omne meum;* now they see that Religion teaches otherwise, and puts a bridle upon such usurpations. Besides their former manner was, that if they wanted money, or if they desire any thing from a man, they would take occasion to rage and be in a great anger; which when they did perceive, they would give him all they had to pacify him; for else their way was to suborn some villain (of which they have no lack) to find some opportunity to kill him. This keeps them in great awe of their Sachems, and is one reason why none of them desire any wealth, only from hand to mouth, because they are but servants, and they get it not for themselves. But now if their Sachem so rage, and give sharp and cruel language, instead of seeking his favor with gifts (as formerly) they will admonish him of his sin; tell him that is not the right way to get money; but he must labor, and then he may have money, that is God's command, etc. And as for Tribute, some they are willing to pay, but not as formerly. Now these are great temptations to the Sachems, and they had need of a good measure both of wisdom and grace to swallow this Pill, and it hath set them quite off. And I suppose that hence it is, that (I having requested the Court of Commissioners for a general way to be thought of to instruct all the Indians in all parts, and I told the Indians that I did so, which they would soon spread; and still in my prayers, I

pray for the Monohegens, Narragansets, etc.) the Monohegen Indians were much troubled lest the Court of Commissioners should take some course to teach them to pray to God; and Unkus their Sachem went to Hartford this Court (for there they sate) and expressed to Elder Goodwin his fear of such a thing, and manifested a great unwillingness thereunto; this one of our Commissioners told me at his coming home.

This temptation hath much troubled Cutshamaquin our Sachem, and he was raised in his spirit to such an height, that at a meeting after Lecture, he openly contested with me against our proceeding to make a Town; and plainly told me that all the Sachems in the Country were against it, etc. When he did so carry himself, all the Indians were filled with fear, their countenances grew pale, and most of them slunk away, a few stayed, and I was alone, not any English man with me. But it pleased God (for it was his guidance of me, and assistance) to raise up my spirit, not to passion, but to a bold resolution, telling him it was God's work I was about, and he was with me, and I feared not him, nor all the Sachems in the Country, and I was resolved to go on do what they can, and they nor he should hinder that which I had begun, etc. And it pleased God that his spirit shrunk and fell before me, which when those Indians that tarried saw, they smiled as they durst, out of his sight, and have been much strengthened ever since; and since I understand that in such conflicts their manner is, that they account him that shrinks to be conquered, and the other to conquer; which alas I knew not, nor did I aim at such a matter, but the Lord carried me beyond my thoughts and wont.

After this brunt was over, I took my leave to go home, and Cutshamaquin went a little way with me, and told me that the reason of this trouble was, because the Indians that pray to God, since they have so done, do not pay him tribute as formerly they have done. I answered him that once before when I heard of his complaint that way, I preached on that text, "Give unto Cæsar what is Cæsar's and unto God what is God's;" and also on Rom. xiii.—naming him the matter of the texts (not the places of which he is ignorant). But he said, It's true, I taught them well, but they would not in that point do as I taught them. And further he said, "This thing are all the Sachems sensible of, and therefore set themselves against praying to God." And then I was troubled, lest (if they should be sinfully unjust) they should both hinder and blemish the Gospel and Religion; I did therefore consult with the Magistrates and Mr. Cotton and other Elders; Mr. Cotton's text, by God's providence, the next Lecture gave him occasion to speak to it, which I foreknowing advised some that understood English best, to be there; and partly by what they heard, and by what I had preached to the like purpose, and told them what Mr. Cotton said,

etc., they were troubled, and fell to reckon up what they had done in two years past, a few of them that lived at one of the places I preached unto; I took down the particulars in writing, as followeth. At one time they gave him twenty bushels of corn, at another time more than six bushels; two hunting days they killed him fifteen Deers; they brake up for him two Acres of Land, they made for him a great house or Wigwam, they made twenty rod of fence for him, with a Ditch and two Rails about it, they paid a debt for him of £3 10 s. only some others were contributors in this money; one of them gave him a skin of Beaver of two pound, at his return from building, besides many days' works in planting corn altogether, and some severally; yea they said they would willingly do more if they would govern well by justice, and as the word of God taught them. When I heard all this, I wondered, for this cometh to near £30 and was done by a few, and they thought it not much if he had carried matters better; and yet his complaint was, they do nothing. But the bottom of it lieth here, he formerly had all or what he would; now he hath but what they will; and admonitions also to rule better, and he is provoked by other Sachems, and ill counsel, not to suffer this, and yet doth not know how to help it; hence arise his temptations, in which I do very much pity him. Having all this information what they had done, and how causeless his complaint and discontent was, I thought it a difficult thing to ease his spirit, and yet clear and justify the people, which I was to endeavor the next day of our meeting after the former contestations, therefore I was willing to get somebody with me. And by God's providence, Elder Heath went with me, and when we came there, we found him very full of discontent, sighing, sour looks, etc., but we took no notice of it.

I preached that day out of the fourth of Matthew, the temptations of Christ; and when I came at that temptation, of the Devils showing Christ the kingdoms and glories of the world, thereby to tempt him from the service of God, to the service of the Devil; I did apply it wholly to his case, showing him the Devil was now tempting him, as he tempted Christ; and Satan showeth him all the delights and dignities, and gifts and greatness that he was wont to have in their sinful way; Satan also tells him he shall lose them all if he pray to God, but if he will give over praying to God he shall have them all again; then I showed him how Christ rejected that temptation, and exhorted him to reject it also, for either he must reject the temptation, or else he will reject praying to God; if he should reject praying to God, God would reject him.

After our exercise was ended, we had conference of the matter, and we gave him the best counsel we could (as the Lord was pleased to

assist) and when we had done, Elder Heath his observation of him was, that there was a great change in him, his spirit was very much lightened, and it much appeared both in his countenance and carriage, and he hath carried all things fairly ever since.

A SCANDAL IN THE INDIAN ISRAEL.

[*A Late and Further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel Amongst the Indians in New-England.* 1655.]

THERE fell out a very great discouragement a little before the time, which might have been a scandal unto them, and I doubt not but Satan intended it so; but the Lord improved it to stir up faith and Prayer, and so turned it another way. Thus it was: Three of the unsound sort of such as are among them that pray unto God, who are hemmed in by Relations, and other means, to do that which their hearts love not, and whose Vices Satan improveth to scandalize and reproach the better sort withal; while many, and some good people are too ready to say they are all alike. I say three of them had gotten several quarts of strong water (which sundry out of a greedy desire of a little gain, are too ready to sell unto them, to the offence and grief of the better sort of Indians, and of the godly English too), and with these Liquors, did not only make themselves drunk, but got a child of eleven years of age, the son of Toteswamp, whom his father had sent for a little corn and fish to that place near Watertowne, where they were. Unto this child they first gave two spoonfuls of Strong-water, which was more than his head could bear; and another of them put a bottle, or such like vessel to his mouth, and caused him to drink till he was very drunk; and then one of them domineered, and said, "Now we will see whether your father will punish us for drunkenness (for he is a Ruler among them) seeing you are drunk with us for company;" and in this case lay the child abroad all night. They also fought, and had been several times punished formerly for drunkenness.

When Toteswamp heard of this, it was a great shame and breaking of heart unto him, and he knew not what to do. The rest of the Rulers with him considered of the matter, they found a complication of many sins together.

1. The sin of Drunkenness, and that after many former punishments for the same.

2. A wilful making of the child drunk, and exposing him to danger also.

3. A degree of reproaching the Rulers.
4. Fighting.

Word was brought to me of it, a little before I took horse to go to Natick to keep the Sabbath with them, being about ten days before the appointed Meeting. The tidings sunk my spirit extremely, I did judge it to be the greatest frown of God that ever I met withal in the work, I could read nothing in it but displeasure, I began to doubt about our intended work: I knew not what to do, the blackness of the sins, and the persons reflected on, made my very heart fail me. For one of the offenders (though least in the offence) was he that hath been my interpreter, whom I have used in translating a good part of the Holy Scriptures; and in that respect I saw much of Satan's venom, and in God I saw displeasure. For this and some other acts of Apostasy at this time, I had thoughts of casting him off from that work, yet now the Lord hath found a way to humble him. But his Apostasy at this time was a great trial, and I did lay him by for that day of our examination, I used another in his room. Thus Satan aimed at me in this their miscarrying; and Toteswamp is a principal man in the work, as you shall have occasion to see anon, God willing.

By some occasion our Ruling Elder and I being together, I opened the case unto him, and the Lord guided him to speak some gracious words of encouragement unto me, by which the Lord did relieve my spirit; and so I committed the matter and issue unto the Lord, to do what pleased him, and in so doing my soul was quiet in the Lord. I went on my journey being the sixth day of the week; when I came at Natick, the Rulers had then a Court about it. Soon after I came there, the Rulers came to me with a Question about this matter, they related the whole business unto me, with much trouble and grief.

Then Toteswamp spake to this purpose, "I am greatly grieved about these things, and now God trieth me whether I love Christ or my child best. They say they will try me; but I say God will try me. Christ saith, He that loveth father, or mother, or wife, or child, better than me, is not worthy of me. Christ saith, I must correct my child, if I should refuse to do that, I should not love Christ. God bid Abraham kill his son, Abraham loved God, and therefore he would have done it, had not God withheld him. God saith to me, only punish your child, and how can I love God, if I should refuse to do that?" These things he spake in more words, and much affection, and not with dry eyes. Nor could I refrain from tears to hear him. When it was said, The child was not so guilty of the sin, as those that made him drunk; he said, That he was guilty of sin, in that he feared not sin, and in that he did not believe his counsels that he had often given him, to take heed of evil company; but he had believed Satan and

sinners more than him, therefore he needed to be punished. After other such like discourse, the Rulers left me, and went unto their business, which they were about before I came, which they did bring unto this conclusion and judgment, They judged the three men to sit in the stocks a good space of time, and thence to be brought to the whipping-post, and have each of them twenty lashes. The boy to be put in the stocks a little while, and the next day his father was to whip him in the school, before the children there; all which judgment was executed. When they came to be whipped, the Constable fetched them one after another to the tree (which they make use of instead of a post) where they all received their punishments: which done, the Rulers spake thus, one of them said, "The Punishments for sin are the Commandments of God, and the work of God, and his end was, to do them good, and bring them to repentance." And upon that ground he did in more words exhort them to repentance, and amendment of life. When he had done, another spake unto them to this purpose, "You are taught in Catechism, that the wages of sin are all miseries and calamities in this life, and also death and eternal damnation in hell. Now you feel some smart as the fruit of your sin, and this is to bring you to repentance, that so you may escape the rest." And in more words he exhorted them to repentance. When he had done, another spake to this purpose, "Hear all ye people" (turning himself to the people who stood round about, I think not less than two hundred, small and great) "this is the Commandment of the Lord, that thus it should be done unto sinners; and therefore let all take warning by this, that you commit not such sins, lest you incur these Punishments." And with more words he exhorted the people. Others of the Rulers spake also, but some things spoken I understood not, and some things slipped from me. But these which I have related remained with me.

When I returned to Roxbury, I related these things to our Elder, to whom I had before related the sin, and my grief: who was much affected to hear it, and magnified God. He said also, That their sin was but a transient act, which had no rule, and would vanish. But these judgments were an ordinance of God, and would remain, and do more good every way, than their sin could do hurt, telling me what cause I had to be thankful for such an issue. Which I therefore relate, because the Lord did speak to my heart, in this exigent, by his words.

CHARACTER OF A TRUE CHRISTIAN.

[*From Cotton Mather's "Magnalia."*]

BEHOLD, the ancient and excellent character of a true Christian; 'tis that which Peter calls "holiness in all manner of conversation;" you shall not find a Christian out of the way of godly conversation. For, first, a seventh part of our time is all spent in heaven, when we are duly zealous for, and zealous on the Sabbath of God. Besides, God has written on the head of the Sabbath, REMEMBER, which looks both forwards and backwards, and thus a good part of the week will be spent in sabbatizing. Well, but for the rest of our time! Why, we shall have that spent in heaven, ere we have done. For, secondly, we have many days for both fasting and thanksgiving in our pilgrimage; and here are so many Sabbaths more. Moreover, thirdly, we have our lectures every week; and pious people won't miss them, if they can help it. Furthermore, fourthly, we have our private meetings, wherein we pray, and sing, and repeat sermons, and confer together about the things of God; and being now come thus far, we are in heaven almost every day. But a little farther, fifthly, we perform family duties every day; we have our morning and evening sacrifices, wherein having read the Scriptures to our families, we call upon the name of God, and ever now and then carefully catechise those that are under our charge. Sixthly, we shall also have our daily devotions in our closets; wherein unto supplication before the Lord, we shall add some serious meditation upon his word: a David will be at this work no less than thrice a day. Seventhly, we have likewise many scores of ejaculations in a day; and these we have, like Nehemiah, in whatever place we come into. Eighthly, we have our occasional thoughts and our occasional talks upon spiritual matters; and we have our occasional acts of charity, wherein we do like the inhabitants of heaven every day. Ninthly, in our callings, in our civil callings, we keep up heavenly frames; we buy and sell, and toil; yea, we eat and drink, with some eye both to the command and the honor of God in all.

Behold, I have not now left an inch of time to be carnal; it is all engrossed for heaven. And yet, lest here should not be enough, lastly, we have our spiritual warfare. We are always encountering the enemies of our souls, which continually raises our hearts unto our Helper and Leader in the heavens. Let no man say, "'Tis impossible to live at this rate;" for we have known some live thus; and others that have written of such a life have but spun a web out of their own blessed experiences. New England has example of this life: though, alas! 'tis to be lamented that the distractions of the world, in too many profess-

ors, do becloud the beauty of an heavenly conversation. In fine, our employment lies in heaven. In the morning, if we ask, "Where am I to be to-day?" our souls must answer, "In heaven." In the evening, if we ask, "Where have I been to-day?" our souls may answer, "In heaven." If thou art a believer, thou art no stranger to heaven while thou livest; and when thou diest, heaven will be no strange place to thee; no, thou hast been there a thousand times before.

John Hammond.

BORN in England. A Virginian Colonist, 1634–54; afterward resident in Maryland.

THE VIRTUOUS VIRGINIANS.

[*Leah and Rachel, or the Two Fruitfull Sisters, Virginia and Mary-land.* 1656.]

YET are the Inhabitants generally affable, courteous and very assistant to strangers (for what but plenty makes hospitality and good neighborhood) and no sooner are they settled, but they will be visiting, presenting and advising the stranger how to improve what they have, how to better their way of livelihood.

Justice is there duly and daily administered; hardly can any travel two miles together, but they will find a Justice, which hath power of himself to hear and determine mean differences, to secure and bind over notorious offenders, of which very few are in the country.

In every county are Courts kept, every two months, and oftener if occasion require, in which Courts all things are determined without exceptions; and if any dislike the proceedings of those Courts, they have liberty to appeal to the Quarter Court, which is four times a year; and from thence to the Assembly, which is once or oftener every year. So that I am confident, more speedy justice and with smaller charge is not in any place to be found.

Theft is seldom punished, as being seldom or never committed; for as the Proverb is, "where there are no receivers, there are no thieves;" and although doors are nightly left open (especially in the summer time), hedges hanging full of clothes; plate frequently used amongst all comers and goers (and there is good store of plate in many houses), yet I never heard of any loss ever received either in plate, linen, or any thing else out of their houses all the time I inhabited there.

Indeed I have known some suffer for stealing of hogs (but not since

they have been plentiful), and whereas hog-stealing was once punished with death, it is now made penal, and restitution given very amply to the owner thereof.

Cases of Murder are punished as in England, and juries allowed, as well in criminal causes, as in all other differences between party and party, if they desire it.

Servants' complaints are freely hearkened to, and (if not causelessly made) their Masters are compelled either speedily to amend, or they are removed upon second complaint to another service; and oftentimes not only set free (if the abuse merit it), but ordered to give reparation and damage to their servant.

The country is very full of sober, modest persons, both men and women, and many that truly fear God and follow that perfect rule of our blessed Saviour, to do as they would be done by; and of such a happy inclination is the country, that many who in England have been lewd and idle, there in emulation or imitation (for example moves more than precept) of the industry of those they find there, not only grow ashamed of their former courses, but abhor to hear of them, and in small time wipe off those stains they have formerly been tainted with; yet I cannot but confess, there are people wicked enough (as what country is free) for we know some natures will never be reformed, but these must follow the Friar's rule, *Si non caste, tamen cante;* . . . . there are for each of these, severe and wholesome laws and remedies made, provided and duly put in execution: I can confidently affirm, that since my being in England, which is not yet four months, I have been an eye and ear witness of more deceits and villainies (and such as modesty forbids me to utter) than I either ever saw or heard mention made of in Virginia, in my one and twenty years abode in those parts.

And therefore those that shall blemish Virginia any more, do but like the Dog bark against the Moon, until they be blind and weary; and Virginia is now in that secure growing condition, that like the Moon so barked at, she will pass on her course, maugre all detractors, and a few years will bring it to that glorious happiness, that many of her calumniators will intercede to procure admittance thither, when it will be hard to be attained to; for in small time, little land will be to be taken up; and after awhile none at all; and as the mulberry trees grows up, which are by every one planted, tobacco will be laid by, and we shall wholly fall to making of silk (a Sample of 400 lbs. hath already been sent for England, and approved of), which will require little labor; and therefore shall have little use of servants; besides, children increase and thrive so well there, that they themselves will sufficiently supply the defect of servants, and in small time become a Nation of themselves sufficient to people the country. And this good policy is there

used: As the children there born grow to maturity, and capable (as they are generally very capable and apt) they are still preferred and put into authority, and carry themselves therein civilly and discreetly; and few there are but are able to give some portions with their daughters, more or less, according to their abilities; so that many coming out of England have raised themselves good fortunes there merely by matching with Maidens born in the country. . . . .

The country is not only plentiful but pleasant and profitable, pleasant in regard of the brightness of the weather, the many delightful rivers, on which the inhabitants are settled (every man almost living in sight of a lovely river), the abundance of game, the extraordinary good neighborhood and loving conversation they have one with the other.

Pleasant in their building, which although for most part they are but one story besides the loft, and built of wood, yet contrived so delightful that your ordinary houses in England are not so handsome, for usually the rooms are large, daubed and white-limed, glazed and flowered, and if not glazed windows, shutters which are made very pretty and convenient.

Pleasant in observing their stocks and flocks of Cattle, Hogs, and Poultry, grazing, whisking and skipping in their sights, pleasant in having all things of their own, growing or breeding without drawing the penny to send for this and that, without which, in England they cannot be supplied.

The manner of living and trading there is thus, each man almost lives a freeholder, nothing but the value of 12 d. a year to be paid as rent, for every fifty Acres of land; firing costs nothing; every man plants his own corn and need take no care for bread: if any thing be bought, it is for commodity, exchanged presently, or for a day, payment is usually made but once a year, and for that Bill taken (for accounts are not pleadable).

In summer when fresh meat will not keep (seeing every man kills of his own, and quantities are inconvenient), they lend from one to another, such portions of flesh as they can spare, which is repaid again when the borrower kills his.

If any fall sick, and cannot compass to follow his crop which if not followed, will soon be lost, the adjoining neighbors will either voluntarily or upon a request join together, and work in it by spells, until the honor recovers, and that gratis, so that no man by sickness lose any part of his year's work. Let any travel, it is without charge, and at every house is entertainment as in a hostry, and with hearty welcome are strangers entertained.

In a word, Virginia wants not good victual, wants not good dispositions, and as God hath freely bestowed it, they as freely impart with it, yet are there as well bad natures as good.

The profit of the country is either by their labor, their stocks, or their trades.

By their labors is produced corn and tobacco, and all other growing provisions, and this tobacco however now low-rated, yet a good maintenance may be had out of it (for they have nothing of necessity but clothing to purchase), nor can this mean price of tobacco long hold, for these reasons, first that in England it is prohibited, next that they have attained of late those sorts equal with the best Spanish, thirdly that the sickness in Holland is decreasing, which hath been a great obstruction to the sale of tobacco.

And lastly, that as the mulberry tree grows up, tobacco will be neglected and silk, flax, two staple commodities generally fallen upon.

Of the increase of cattle and hogs, much advantage is made, by selling beef, pork, and bacon, and butter, etc., either to shipping, or to send to the Barbadoes, and other Islands, and he is a very poor man that hath not sometimes provision to put off.

By trading with Indians for Skin, Beaver, Furs and other commodities oftentimes good profits are raised. The Indians are in absolute subjection to the English, so that they both pay tribute to them and receive all their several kings from them, and as one dies they repair to the English for a successor, so that none need doubt it a place of security.

Several ways of advancement there are and employments both for the learned and laborer, recreation for the gentry, traffic for the adventurer, congregations for the ministry (and oh that God would stir up the hearts of more to go over, such as would teach good doctrine, and not paddle in faction, or state matters; they could not want maintenance, they would find an assisting, an embracing, a conforming people).

It is known (such preferment hath this country rewarded the industrious with) that some from being wool-hoppers and of as mean and meaner employment in England have there grown great merchants, and attained to the most eminent advancements the country afforded. . . . . .

Now having briefly set down the present state of Virginia not in fiction, but in reality, I wish the judicious reader to consider what dislike can be had of the country, or upon what grounds it is so infamously injured, I only therein covet to stop those black-mouthed babblers, that not only have and do abuse so noble a plantation, but abuse God's great blessing in adding to England so flourishing a branch, in persuading many souls, rather to follow desperate and miserable courses in England, than to engage in so honorable an undertaking as to travel and inhabit there; but to those I shall (if admonition will not work on their recreant spirits) only say: Let him that is filthy be filthy still.

A STORY OF COLONIAL INGRATITUDE.

[*From the Same.*]

HAVING for nineteen year served Virginia the elder sister, I casting my eye on Mary-land the younger, grew enamored on her beauty, resolving like Jacob when he had first served for Leah, to begin a fresh service for Rachel.

Two year and upward have I enjoyed her company with delight and profit, but was enforced by reason of her unnatural disturbances to leave her weeping for her children and would not be comforted, because they were not; yet will I never totally forsake or be beaten off from her. . . . .

Mary-land is a province not commonly known in England, because the name of Virginia includes or clouds it. It is a country wholly belonging to that honorable Gentleman the Lord of Baltimore, granted him by Patent under the broad Seal of England long since, and at his charge settled, granted for many reasons, and this for one; that Virginia having more land than they could manure or look after in convenient time, first the Dutch came and took from the English much land which they still hold, next the Swede, who entrenched nearer and had not this Patent came and prevented it, Dutch, Swede, French and other strangers had penned up our nation within the bounds of Virginia, whereas now they have now all Mary-land, as it were their own, it being only granted for the use of Brittains and Irish.

It is (not an Island as is reported, but) part of that main adjoining to Virginia, only separated or parted from Virginia by a river of ten miles broad, called Patomack river, the commodities and manner of living as in Virginia, the soil somewhat more temperate (as being more Northerly), many stately and navigable rivers are contained in it, plentifully stored with wholesome springs, a rich and pleasant soil, and so that its extraordinary goodness hath made it rather desired than envied, which hath been fatal to her (as beauty is oftentimes to those that are endued with it), and that the reader may thoroughly be informed how she hath suffered, I shall in brief relate, and conclude.

It is to be understood that in the time of the late King, Virginia being whole for monarchy, and the last country belonging to England that submitted to obedience of the Commonwealth of England. And there was in Virginia a certain people congregated into a Church, calling themselves Independents, which daily increasing, several consultations were had by the state of that colony, how to suppress and extinguish them, which was daily put in execution, as first their Pastor was banished, next their other teachers, then many by informations clapt up in

prison, then generally disarmed (which was very harsh in such a country where the heathen live round about them) by one Colonel Samuel Mathews then a Counsellor in Virginia and since Agent for Virginia to the then parliament, and lastly in a condition of banishment, so that they knew not in those straits how to dispose of themselves.

Mary-land (my present subject) was courted by them as a refuge, the Lord Proprietor and his Governor solicited to, and several addresses and treaties made for their admittance and entertainment into that province, their conditions were pitied, their propositions were hearkened to and agreed on, which was that they should have convenient portions of land assigned them, liberty of conscience and privilege to choose their own officers, and hold courts within themselves, all was granted them. They had a whole county of the richest land in the province assigned them, and such as themselves made choice of, the conditions of plantations (such as were common to all adventurers) were showed and propounded to them, which they extremely approved of, and nothing was in those conditions exacted from them, but appeals to the Provincial court, quit-rents, and an oath of fidelity to the Proprietor. An assembly was called throughout the whole country after their coming over (consisting as well of themselves as the rest), and because there were some few Papists that first inhabited these themselves, and others being of different judgments, an act passed that all professing in Jesus Christ should have equal justice, privileges and benefits in that province, and that none on penalty (mentioned) should disturb each other in their several professions, nor give the urging terms, either of Roundheads, sectary, Independent, Jesuit, Papist, etc. Intending an absolute peace and union; the Oath of Fidelity (although none other than such as every Lord of a manor requires from his tenant) was overhauled, and this clause added to it (provided it infringe not the liberty of the conscience).

They sat down joyfully, followed their vocations cheerfully, trade increased in their province, and divers others were by this encouraged and invited over from Virginia.

But these people finding themselves in a capacity not only to capitulate, but to oversway those that had so received and relieved them, began to pick quarrels, first with the Papists, next with the oath, and lastly declared their averseness to all conformality, wholly aiming (as themselves since confessed) to deprive the Lord Proprietor of all his interest in that country, and make it their own. What unworthiness! What ingratitude! What unparalleled inhumanity was in these practices made obvious!

Amongst others that became tenants in this aforesaid distress was one Richard Bennet, merchant, who seated and settled amongst them, and so (not only owed obedience to that government, but) was obliged as a

man received in his pretended distress, to be a grateful benefactor; upon the setting forth of a fleet intended for the reducement of Virginia, the said Bennet and one Claiborne (a pestilent enemy to the welfare of that province and the Lord Proprietor, although he had formerly submissively acknowledged he owed his forfeited life to the said proprietor, for dealing so favorably with him for his misdemeanors, as by his treacherous letters under his hand (now in print) is manifest, and many other acts of grace conferred on him, having a commission directed to them and others (who miscarried by sea) to reduce Virginia (not Mary-land, for they were in obedience to the Commonwealth of England, and great assistance to the said fleet) although they knew Mary-land to be excluded and dasht out of their commission, yet because the commission mentioned the Bay of Chesapeack, in which Mary-land was (as well as Virginia) yet they were resolved to wreth and stretch their commission to the prejudice of Maryland and becoming abettors and confederates with those serpents that have been so taken in, presumed to alter the government and take away the governor's commission, putting in others in their place, viz., a Papist in chief, and one more, who misgoverning the country, they were excluded, and the former governor restored with an addition of Commissioners of their own creatures, and as taking power from them, until further knowledge from England, driving herein at their own interest.

The governor (so restored) being truly informed that their proceedings were illegal held Courts and proceeds as if no such alteration had been made, issues out writs (according to order) In the name of the Lord Proprietor, but they require and command them to do it in the name of the Keepers of the Liberties of England, according to act of Parliament; to which answer sufficient was given, that they never were in opposition to the present power, they had taken the Engagement, and for the tenure of form of writs, they were not compelled by virtue of that act to make them otherwise than they always had done, for by Patent from the late K. they had power to issue out in the Proprietor's name, and never had used the King's name at all, therefore that act requiring all writs formerly issuing out in the late King's name, now to revolve to the Keepers of the Liberties of England, was no way binding to them, who had never used the King's name at all.

But it was not religion, it was not punctilios they stood upon, it was that sweet, that rich, that large country they aimed at; and therefore agrees amongst themselves to frame petitions, complaints, and subscriptions from those banditos to themselves (the said Bennet and Claiborne) to ease them of their pretended sufferings, and then come with arms, and again make the Province their own, exalting themselves

in all places of trust and command, totally expulsing the Governor, and all the hospitable Proprietor's Officers out of their places.

But when his Highness (not acquainted with these machinations) had owned and under his hand and signet acknowledged Capt. Will. Stone (the former governor) Governor for the Lord Baltimore of his Province of Mary-land, he again endeavored to reassume the government, and fetched away the records from those usurpers, proclaimed peace to all not obstinate, and favorably received many submissives, who with seeming joy returned, bewailing their unworthy ingratitude and inhumanity, blaming the unbridled ambition and base avarice of those that had misled them.

The Province consists of four Counties already inhabited, viz., St. Marie's, Calverton, Anne Arundall and Kent. St. Marie's and Calverton submitted, Anne Arundall and part of Kent opposed.

The Governor desirous to reclaim those opposing, takes a party about one hundred and thirty persons with him, and sails into those parts, one Roger Heamans who had a great ship under him, and who had promised to be instrumental to the Governor, to wind up those differences (being, Judas-like, hired to join with those opposing countries) and having the Governor and his vessels within reach of his ordnance, perfidiously and contrary to his undertaking and engagements, fires at them and enforces them to the first shore to prevent that mischief.

The next morning he sends messengers to those of Anne Arundall to treat, and messengers aboard that Shittlecock Heamans, but all were detained; and on the 25th of March last (being the next day and the Lord's day) about one hundred and seventy and odd of Kent and Anne Arundall came marching against them, Heaman fires apace at them, and a small vessel of New England under the command of one John Cutts comes near the shore and seizes the boats, provision and ammunition belonging to the Governor and his party, and so in a nick, in a strait were they fallen upon.

The Governor being shot in many places yields on quarter, which was granted; but being in hold, was threatened (notwithstanding that quarter given) to be immediately executed, unless he would write to the rest to take quarter, which upon his request they did. Twenty odd were killed in this skirmish, and all the rest prisoners on quarter, who were disarmed and taken into custody.

But these formerly distressed supplicants for admittance, being now become High and Mighty States, and supposing their conquest unquestionable, consult with themselves (notwithstanding their quarter given) to make their conquest more absolute, by cutting off the heads of the Province, viz., the Governor, the Council and Commanders thereof; and so make themselves a Council of War, and condemn them to death.

Four were presently executed, scilicet, Mr. William Eltonhead, one of the Council; Capt. William Lewis, Mr. John Legate, gentleman, and John Pedro; the rest at the importunity of some women, and resolution of some of their soldiers (who would not suffer their design to take thorough effect, as being pricked in conscience for their ingratitudes) were saved, but were amerced, fined and plundered at their pleasures. And although this was prophetically foreseen by divers eminent merchants of London, who petitioned his Highness for prevention, and that his Highness sent a gracious command to Bennet, and all others, not to disturb the Lord Baltimore's officers, nor people in Mary-land, but recalled all power or pretence of power from them; yet they still hold, and possess (in defiance of so sacred a mandate) the said Province of Mary-land, and sent an impious Agent home to parley whilst they plundered; but he hath long since given up his account to the great avenger of all injuries. Although sticklers (somewhat more powerful, but by many degrees more brazen-faced than his spirit could bare him forth to appear) now labor to justify these inhumanities, disorders, contempts, and rebellions; so that I may say with the Prophet Jeremiah: How doth the City sit solitary that was full of people! How is she become as a widow! She that was great amongst the Nations, and Princess amongst the Provinces! How is she become tributary! Thus have they brought to desolation, one of the happiest plantations that ever Englishmen set foot in, and such a country (that if it were again made formal) might harbor in peace and plenty all such as England shall have occasion to disburden, or desire to forsake England.

Edward Holyoke.

Born in Staffordshire, England. Resident in Lynn, Mass., about 1636, and afterward in Rumney (Chelsea), Mass. Died, 1660.

HOW TIRZANA BEGUILED THE KING.

[*The Doctrine of Life, or of Man's Redemption.* 1658.]

A Prosopopeia on Solomon's fall, by the Temptations of his idolatrous wives to the ruin of his Kingdome and posterity, in granting them the liberty of conscience for the practice of their idolatrous Rites, framed by way of Dialogue between King Solomon, and Tirzana the Queen.

TIRZANA, being a Princess of the house of Moab and being called for, did enter into the presence of King Solomon, and after some

dalliance with her, and after she had fitted his humor by giving him all the best content she could, she took the opportunity and said: "My Lord, King Solomon, I have an humble request to make unto your gracious Majesty, I pray you, say me not nay."

KING. "What is that, my sweet Tirzana?"

QUEEN. "My most gracious Lord and Sovereign, I have been some years with you, and though you have often spoken to me to be a proselyte to the religion of Israel's Commonweal, yet I cannot bring my heart unto it. You well know that my education was not in the way and manner of Israel, and my affection is not toward it; it is not so pleasing to me, for I cannot forget my father's house nor forsake his religion. In this case I shall blemish my father and my mother, brethren, and sisters, and people, in case I should apostatize from our ancient religion, and in my opinion far the better. We have more zeal in ours, and many more pleasures to give man and woman content than is in your profession. Your religion is very cross to man's nature and is urged with great terror and strictness; your religion reproves thoughts, words, and most men's actions.

"No religion under heaven doth so as yours, and that makes so few to embrace it. Yea, many of Israel have formerly been more addicted unto ours, and the worships of neighbors' Nations than to this of Israel, and they will not follow it but by compulsion of governors, whereas religious worships should be freely exercised according to every man's conscience; which if your subjects should be left unto, you well know which way the tide will run. It is a pitiful thing that man of a noble and free spirit should be so tired with hard injunctions and heavy burdens as with bands, cords, and fetters; and, it may be, that reformation that your noble Father endeavored, and yourself have prosecuted, would not and will not be so convenient, as due liberty, which would be a more noble design than rigid reformation. And if antiquity make things reverend, then our religion is more ancient, or if not more, yet as equal for antiquity, for aught I can learn (I am but a poor historian being a woman), but I am able to prove the religion of our God Chemosh to be about four hundred and fifty years old. This I can attest and prove by your own records, and you had yours but in the wilderness when ye came out of Egypt."

KING. Then said King Solomon: "What, my Tirzana, doth all your speech tend unto?"

QUEEN. "I humbly crave your Grace's favor to finish my speech. I remember I have heard my Father and Grandfather speak what plenty of peace and prosperity our God Chemosh hath given us; nay, what victories we have had against our mighty enemies, the giants called Emims; and as it was your God that conquered the Chanaanites for you,

so it was our God Chemosh that conquered the tall, great and terrible giants, the Emims, for us. Yea, which I am loath to utter, our God Chemosh hath given our Fathers power over Israel for twenty years together. Oh, should not we then have a most devout opinion of our religion? But why should I your handmaid thus be bold to speak to your royal and sacred Majesty? Your great favor and respect unto me hath quickened my spirit."

And then with an humble deportment of body with her face to the ground, she said: "The intent of all my speech is that it would please my Sovereign Lord the King to grant my small request. I humbly beseech that I may have leave to build a Chapel on Mount Olivet to worship our famous and reverend *Numen*, Chemosh the God of my Fathers."

KING. "What is this I hear from you, my Dear? Did your speech drive at this? Oh I may not do this; Jehovah our most holy Lord God whom we worship in his holy Temple is the true everlasting God, and He can command nothing but what is good and perfectly good, so that we need not add any thing, and He forbids nothing but what is evil, which we must not disannul; and He is the Sovereign Lord of Heaven and Earth, and it is most requisite that man should subject himself to the Most High, who is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and God above all Gods. And therefore all the children of men must be subject to his laws, and whosoever harden himself against him by disobediance shall never prosper.

"And whereas you talk of strictness, etc., you are to know, man by nature is born a wild ass colt, and there is no taming of corrupt nature but by a strict course of holy laws, which to a regenerate and godly soul is an easy yoke, and to which he is willingly subject. Yea, man by nature is sometimes so refractory that he will not be brought unto God but by affliction; yea, neither law nor affliction profits till the Lord himself deal with the heart, such perverseness is in man. It is most true that man is addicted to his own vain heart, and accounts the law of our God most vile, and is altogether contrary to God, and would run to all licentiousness, if there were not holy and just laws, and good government (God's ordinance) to keep men within bounds.

"2. And whereas you talk that man is of a noble and free spirit, you are deceived in your apprehensions. He is of a most ignoble spirit, ready to fall into all vile opinions, and to all sin and wickedness, and to follow all temptations to evil. As for his freedom of spirit, he is free indeed to all evil as an horse rushing into the battle and not one spark of that celestial fire is in him to any good till God put it in him, and maintain it when He hath so infused it. Man's mind, will and affections are all corrupt, and in himself no healing can be found. . . .

"3. Whereas you talk of due liberty, my beloved Tirzana, I would have thee to consider all the reformation we can possibly attain unto by the careful industry of my royal authority and of our priests and prophets and schools will not come to that purity and exactness that the Lord our God requires. Many imperfections in omissions and commissions will appear continually through the lusts of corrupted nature that war in our souls, by reason of the darkness of the understanding, and the untractableness of the will and the affections. And none that have a feeling of the most holy Lord God, and of his truth in the heart, but find this thus. And therefore to give the least liberty to thy opinion is such a design that will provoke to anger our gracious and mighty Lord God, and if I give liberty to thy opinion, why not to the abomination of Moloch of the Children of Ammon, and to the opinion of Ashtaroth, the abomination of the Zidonians?

"And so in the end to root out the holy faith of the Son of God, our great high Priest Melchizedek, and then that you desire will prove an evil impetuous, to the downfall of truth and godliness, and hardly ever be reclaimable. Yea, let me enforce this further, that there cannot be any liberty granted in any respect to false worships and ungodly opinions. Such liberty will bring us and our posterity to miserable bondage as our Fathers felt in the Wilderness, and in the times of the Judges. And if we that now live and our posterity do not keep close to that reformation which is now settled in Israel's Commonweal, Jehovah our God, who is a jealous God, will destroy this glorious Temple that we have built to his name, and shake this kingdom by many grievous calamities: and at last weed us out of this good land that He hath given to us and to our Fathers. Therefore you speak most unworthily, to call our reformation rigid. . . . .

"4. I will inform you a little more because you boast of antiquity in your opinion and religion; you are deceived, for our holy faith is as old as the first man and woman that was created. Yours is but of late, from a God newly come up, and indeed no true God. . . . .

"5. I must warn you of a great error:—whereas you say your Chemosh conquered the Emims for your ancestors, no such matter; it was our merciful God that destroyed those giants and gave you their land. This our mighty Lord God did, because your Father Lot loved our Father Abraham, and did follow his faith and holy religion; and he did bless our Father Abraham, and God blessed him, and for this cause our God gave AR unto the children of Lot for a possession. And this you may read in our holy stories, Deut. ii. 9. And your God is a false God, an idol, but our Jehovah is the Eternal Lord God who made the Heavens and the Earth, and a jealous God, and will be very angry with us if I should grant in his land any more Temples to be

builded than his own. And you cannot be ignorant of this, nor your own kindred, that our Eternal God is not such as your false Gods, even all our Enemies being judges. And you have heard of these things by our Priests and Prophets, and all my Court still have told you these things. Therefore, my Dear, thou art much mistaken in all thy speeches, and thou hast been instructed in an evil manner. I have, as you have heard, spoken to you in an easy and mild frame of language to persuade thee; therefore be advised by me if ever thou hope of comfort in the world to come. Do as your Father Lot did, and do as Ruth your faithful and godly Countrywoman did, forget thy kindred and thy Father's House, and serve the Lord our God with a good heart."

Although the King had thus brayed her as wheat with a pestle in a mortar, yet her folly departed not from her. But having this denial, tears fell from her eyes which bedewed her cheeks; having her Handkercher in her hand, with snubs of umphs and imphs, fell at the King's feet, and further said: "Oh, and it please my gracious Lord the King, it is but to build a Chapel for me and my maids, and some of my retainers, which cannot fancy this worship of Israel. I will promise your Majesty that not one of Israel shall come into our holy places."

KING. "This may not be done; it will be a snare unto my subjects to set up the abomination of Chemosh in Jehovah's land. I may not do it."

QUEEN. "Oh why doth my gracious Lord call our religion the abomination of Chemosh? I assure your Majesty by the faith of a woman that there shall be door-keepers, that none of Israel shall come to have communion with us in our worships. It is for myself and retinue, and some of mine own nation as they have occasion to come and see me in their visits."

KING. "I may not, I may not do it. I pray thee talk no more of this matter."

QUEEN. "Ymph, umph," tears. And thus she is dismissed and departs the presence of the King. But yet another time assaults the King, and sends an honorable personage, her brother, beforehand, a notable insinuating crafty instrument, who on a time came to Solomon's Court, and having seen and heard an excellent concert of music, of instruments of all sorts, as also the voices of singing men and singing women, which he admired and praised, and extolled the King, as if all had been of his invention. Also he magnified the King for his excellent endowments in contriving his plots for buildings, and his wisdom in natural philosophy, and his rare gift in song, and his wonderful instinct to speak of the natures, virtues and effects of trees, shrubs and herbs, of fowls, beasts, fishes and creeping things, etc. And

that "all Princes of the Earth that come to visit your Majesty, and bring their physicians with them, will carry notes and writings home with them that shall stand all ages and people in great stead forever. And as for your religion in worshipping Jehovah in his holy Temple, he is the great God, and above all Gods, and all your performances are glorious. But yet other nations have much joy, content and comfort, every nation in serving their own Gods. For they cannot be persuaded to embrace your devotions, as too strict and rigid. You may not add any thing to what your God commands, nor take away any thing he forbids. But we may add any thing as just occasion calls for, and sometimes take away what was not so fitting, which things are rational to all nations, for what is it but may be amended? Yea, I have heard of your Priests, Prophets and learned men that there will be a great alteration in your religion after some certain time, that all this service that you do shall be ended as if it had never been, for they do say there shall be another manner of kingdom, priests and temple, and sacrifices, and worships. These things considered, is it not an hard thing to persuade your bordering Princes to embrace your religion which shall have such a great change among yourselves? . . .

"And for these causes it is that those honorable women, that your royal Majesty hath taken into so near society to yourself, and into your most honorable Court, cannot be drawn to your religion, and among the rest my most honored and noble sister, your sacred Majesty's consort, to whom you have manifested such love and respect in an high degree, for which all the family of my father and mother do much rejoice. And although your most excellent Majesty have given her (out of your gracious respect to her) good counsel, and she is much grieved that she cannot give content to her most Sovereign Lord in changing her judgment in religion from that she was educated in: wherefore if I may be so bold to implore your Grace's favor on her behalf in granting her small request to build her a Chapel on Mount Olivet to satisfy her mind, it is but her fancy. I am sorry, for my part, she cannot comply with your devotions. She is but a woman, and I hope no hurt will accrue to yourself or kingdom, and if I may have leave of your sacred Majesty to say it is but too much strictness, for I am well persuaded of your religion, that you may be saved with your profession, and so I hope we shall as soon also come to the Elysian Fields of all happiness as well as you."

At this speech of the Queen's brother the King was somewhat moved, and began to be angry; but he fell at the King's feet and besought him that he might "speak two or three words more in my sister's behalf, and I hope I may speak freely that you did covenant with my sister that she should use her conscience, and that she and her

attendants of our nation should have free exercise of their devotions, and therefore let it please your Majesty, give us leave to put you in mind of your promise; and how can they perform their devotions unless they have a place of assembly, else it had been better for her never to have come to the land of Israel. But as you had given us cause to admire your special love to my sister; so we humbly pray, let us have no occasion to distrust it. And let me say one thing more: it will marvellously affect our nation, and it will persuade them that you love us, if you please to grant this request to the noble daughter of our liege Sovereign Lord the King of Moab, my father; and yet one thought more comes into mind which I suppose will be pleasing to your sacred Majesty, that if you perceive any damage or danger is likely to issue upon it, you may pull down every stone of the building and level it with the ground."

KING. The King said: "Trouble me no more with these matters; I will grant no such thing. Your speeches are unsavory and full of ignorance. I could answer all your fond allegations, but it is not for Kings to dispute with them that have nothing to do with us in such cases. Where the word of a King is, there power is, and let that suffice you."

This brother went and told his sister of all the discourse with the King and of his denial, at which report she fell sick and was very sad. Upon which the King gave her a visit and she wept abundantly. Now the King had some relenting in his heart, for the King perceived it was grief and trouble of heart. He spake very kindly and tenderly to her. A man of ingenuity cannot endure, unless a Nabal, a Fool, a Churl, to see his near and dear consort to weep, a woman endowed with excellent parts of wit, understanding, grace of speech, courteous, loyal, comely, sweet and beautiful, and what may give a man content (I speak simply of man and woman). The King, after he had in a most pleasant manner saluted her, departs, and then her spirit was revived, color began to be in her cheeks, and lightsomeness in her countenance.

Although a woman be as a man's self very desirable; yet in case of religion, and the worship of the Most High, who is a jealous God, and his worship is pure and holy, and will not abide our thresholds to be set by his thresholds, in this case we must deny ourselves (as not to be servants of men, much less of women) and her that is most dear of earthly comforts, that lies in the bosom, and dearer than all other relations whatever, rather than to be a means that the name of Jehovah be profaned by false worships. He that doth not so, the Son of God saith, is not worthy of him. The story of our first parents must be conferred. When our first Father was persuaded by his Wife with her-

self to break the commandment—it should seem she persuaded him, for it is said: "Because thou hearkenest to the voice of thy wife." And ever since women are weak to be seduced, but strong, even Satan's engine, to seduce the man with her enchantments (for so they may be very well called) of her eyelids, lips, tears, etc. The Son of God laid this danger before his people. And Satan put this in practice by his wicked Prophet, Numb. xxiv. and xxv. 1, 2. And Satan thus dealt by the Janneses and Jambreses under the New Testament times, who did and do creep as Serpents into houses, to lead captive silly women laden with sins and led away with divers lusts. II. Tim. iii. The wife she is still at home with her children and servants, and how insensibly doth she corrupt them. And if a woman be active, she will corrupt other women, and after a little while men follow their wives, and corruptions gangrenate quickly and spread far. This the Apostle foretold, which came to pass afterward, but especially concerning Mahomet and in the Papacy. Pardon this digression.

QUEEN. About certain months after that, the King had called for this honorable and royal Lady. She prepares herself in all costly raiment, cloth of gold and silver of curious needle-work, with chains of inestimable jewels about her neck, that the beams of her spankled raiment with the precious gems made radiant beams (the sun shining through the windows) upon the walls of the King's palaces as she passed; and at last enters the chamber of presence, honored virgins attending her, and presents herself before the King, with her orient eyes, damask rosy cheeks, twinkling eyelids, cherry lips, and all festivity and grace of speech, with comely and pleasant deportment fell at the King's feet. The King took her up by the hand and falls a-kissing her with all loving embracements. . . . The next morning she retired herself to a close secret chamber by, and after she had washed and perfumed herself and had put on other change of raiment very costly, craves leave to do her humble duty, and take her leave of the King, whom when the King saw, he was taken again with her eyelids, and closes her fast in his arms.

Then she ponders how she may enforce her old errand and after much and pleasant compliment with the King, as soon as she had perceived she had entangled him, then she utters the oracles of the old Serpent, and saith to the King:

"How do I admire and wonder at the great respect and love that my Sovereign Lord doth manifest to me, his handmaid, that he should afford such his amiable society! I do perceive your most ardent and endeared love to me above any of your honorable women; your kind and fervent desire towards me though most unworthy hath fired my heart towards your sacred Majesty. I am your servant, and at your

Grace's command, and so ever will be to perform all loyal and dutiful observance. I would I were able to express the fervency of my heart unto my Sovereign Lord; and seeing it hath pleased the King so royally to manifest himself, I hope I may present and importune my former humble request unto my Lord, my gracious Sovereign, for the building of a Chapel for my maids, and my household servants and attendants. It shall not be so much for myself as for them, whom I humbly confess are not worthy to come into the confines of Jerusalem, your holy City, much less into the Palaces of Zion, the City of David your father. Your love is so great unto me, which if I should distrust I should most highly offend. For I know you hate Atheism, and as it is an abomination unto you, it grieves my heart that I have no place of devotion to resort unto, when all the ladies of Israel may resort unto your Temple, and I and my maids sit moping at home all amort; as they worship their God so would I love my God, the God of my Father."

And she gave the King a gentle stroke on the breast and said: "My noble consort, my Sovereign, my royal Lord, I know I have your heart, I know you love me, and what shall or can be wanting from a loving heart," etc., etc.

And the King being ravished with her love, and with such words sweeter than honey, softer than oil, and all subtle flatteries, and after some discourse the King was captivated with her dalliance and snared with her devilish devices, and her hands were as bands; she persuaded him, she enticed him, and forced him to yield, that she had his license to build a Temple on Mount Olivet to Chemosh, the Devil, the idol, the abomination of Moab.

Benjamin Woodbridge.

PREACHED in Bristol, R. I., and Kittery, Me., 1680–88. DIED at Medford, Mass., 1710.

A NEW ENGLAND SAINT.

[*"Upon the Tomb of the Most Reverend Mr. John Cotton," as quoted in Cotton Mather's "Magnalia."*]

HERE lies magnanimous humility;
Majesty, meekness; Christian apathy
On soft affections; liberty in thrall;
A noble spirit, servant unto all;
Learning's great masterpiece, who yet would sit
As a disciple, at his scholars' feet:

A simple serpent or serpentine dove,
Made up of wisdom, innocence and love:
Neatness embroider'd with itself alone,
And civils canonized in a gown;
Embracing old and young, and low and high,
Ethics embodied in divinity;
Ambitious to be lowest, and to raise
His brethren's honor on his own decays;
(Thus doth the sun retire into his bed,
That being gone the stars may show their head;)
Could wound at argument without division,
Cut to the quick, and yet make no incision:
Ready to sacrifice domestic notions
To churches' peace and ministers' devotions:
Himself, indeed (and singular in that)
Whom all admired he admired not:
Liv'd like an angel of a mortal birth,
Convers'd in heaven while he was on earth:
Though not, as Moses, radiant with night
Whose glory dazzl'd the beholder's sight,
Yet so divinely beautified, you'ld count
He had been born and bred upon the Mount!
A living, breathing Bible; tables where
Both covenants at large engraven were;
Gospel and law in's heart had each its column;
His head an index to the sacred volume;
His very name a title-page; and next
His life a commentary on the text.
O, what a monument of glorious worth,
When, in a new edition, he comes forth,
Without erratas, may we think he'll be
In leaves and covers of eternity!
A man of might, at heavenly eloquence,
To fix the ear, and charm the conscience;
As if Apollos were reviv'd in him,
Or he had learned of a seraphim;
Spake many tongues in one; one voice and sense
Wrought joy and sorrow, fear and confidence:
Rocks rent before him, blind receiv'd their sight;
Souls levell'd to the dunghill, stood upright:
Infernal furies burst with rage to see
Their prisoners captiv'd into liberty:
A star that in our eastern England rose,
Thence hurri'd by the blast of stupid foes,
Whose foggy darkness and benumbed senses
Brookt not his dazzling fervent influences:
Thus did he move on earth, from east to west;
There he went down, and up to heaven for rest.
Nor from himself, whilst living, doth he vary,
His death hath made him an ubiquitary:
Where is his sepulchre is hard to say,
Who, in a thousand sepulchres, doth lay

(Their hearts, I mean, whom he hath left behind)
In them his sacred reliques, now, enshrin'd.
But let his mourning flock be comforted,
Though Moses be, yet Joshua is not dead:
I mean renowned Norton; worthy he,
Successor to our Moses, is to be.
O happy Israel in America,
In such a Moses, such a Joshua!

John Norton.

BORN in Hertfordshire, England, 1606. DIED in Boston, Mass., 1663.

THE LIFE OF MASTER COTTON.

[*Abel being Dead yet speaketh, or, Life of Mr. John Cotton.* 1658.]

IT is the privilege of the blessed who lived in Heaven whilst they lived on earth, that they may live on earth whilst they live in Heaven. And 'tis a part of the portion of the Saints that, together with the benefit of the living, they may enjoy both the life and death of those, who both lived and died in the Faith. "Life and Death are yours." By Faith Abel, being dead many thousand years since, yet speaketh, and will speak whilst time shall be no more. That the living speak is no wonder; but that the dead speak is more than miraculous. This, though it be enough to draw forth attention from the sons of men (who is not affected with miracles?), yet being influenced with a Divine and special Benediction, for the memorial of the Just is blessed. To suppress an Instrument of so much good with silence were not only unthankfulness to the dead, but an injury to the generation present and to many an one that is to come. To preserve the memory of the blessed, with the Spices and sweet Odors of their Excellencies and Well-doing, recorded to posterity, is a super-Egyptian embalming, and a service which many reasons persuade unto.

This do we as men, glad to rescue and solicitous to preserve any excellency in the sons of mortality, that may outlive Death. Desire of continuance in being is in itself inseparable from being. Dumb pictures of deserving men answer not ingenuous minds, capable to retain the memorial of virtue, the real effigies of their spirits. Besides, unhappy Emulation happily expiring with the life of the emulated, we greedily own and enjoy such Worthies, when they are not, whom envy in a great degree bereaved us of, whilst they were. . . . .

The Mystery of God, concerning all the transactions of his eternal purpose upon the Theatre of this World, throughout the whole time of time, being fully accomplished and revealed (that of Jesus Christ himself excepted), in none of all the work, which He hath gloriously done, will be admired so much in that day, as in what He hath wrought in the lives and deaths of Believers, as Believers. The same object is as admirable now as then; that it is not so much admired, is, because it is not seen now so much as it shall be then. The greatest object out of Heaven is the life and death of such upon Earth, who are now in Heaven. You may believe it: what God hath done for the soul of the least Saint of some few years continuance, were it digested into order, would make a volume full of temptations, signs and wonders. A wonderful history, because a history of such experiences, each one whereof is more than a wonder. No greater acts than their obedience, both active and passive, unto the death. The sufferings of the Apostles may well be reckoned among the Acts of the Apostles. No greater monuments than their register: To live and die in the Faith of Jesus. To do things worthy to be written, and to write things worthy to be done,—both is good and doth good. 'Tis better with William Hunter than with William the Conqueror. 'Tis better to have a name in the Book of Martyrs than in the Book of Chronicles. Martial conquerors conquer Bodies by destroying. Confessors conquer Souls by saving. They overcame by the blood of the Lamb and the word of his Testimony, and loved not their lives unto death.

Amongst these, as the age that now is (through Grace) hath abounded with many worthies, so this Eminent Servant of God, the subject of our present meditation, may without wrong unto any be placed amongst the first Three. Had it pleased the only wise God to have put it into his heart to have imitated Junius in leaving behind him the history of his own life, how many would have gladly received it, as Elisha did the mantle which fell from Elijah, when he was caught up and carried from him into Heaven! But Divine Providence otherwise disposing, it remains that they who have known his doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith, long-suffering, love, patience, persecutions, and affliction, do not suffer such a Light to be hid under a bushel, but put it on a candlestick, that it may give light to them that are in the House.

His birthplace, Derby, we shall not detain the Reader at, though a situation in respect of the purity and frequent agitation of the air, attempered (in the judgment of the orator) for the breeding of better wits. Creatures are in their kind subservient; but 'tis God (not the air) who puts wisdom into the inward parts and giveth understanding to the heart. As the wise man and the fool die, so are they both ordi-

narily born in the same place. The glory of every good and perfect gift is reserved for the Father of Lights.

Let it be sufficient to acknowledge both the place an honor to the person, and the person an honor to the place. What Basil sometime commended in the Martyrs, the same is to be looked at in our Confessor (or Martyr, which you please), namely, that his praise is not to be derived from his country here below, wherein he was born; but from his Relation unto that Jerusalem which is above, where he was instrumentally born again, according unto Grace. The mercy of a good descent, which the joint-consent of all generations hath always voted not to be the least part of outward happiness, God blessed him with from the womb; his parents being persons of considerable quality and of good reputation. Their condition, as to the things of this life, competent; neither unable to defray the expense of his education in literature, nor so abounding as to be a temptation on the other hand unto the neglect thereof. Crates the philosopher would needs go unto the highest place of the city and cry in the audience of all the people: "O men! whither go ye? Why take ye so much pains to gather riches for your children, and have no care to train them up who should enjoy them?" And Plutarch was wont to say, that he would add but this one thing thereunto: That such men as these were are very like to them who are very careful for the shoe, and take no care for the foot. But God, who had predetermined this then tender plant to be a Tree of Life for the feeding of many thousands, to be a chosen Vessel to bear his name before the Nations, in way thereunto inspired his parents with an effectual solicitude concerning the ordering of the child in his minority. . . . .

This care in the parents was quickly above expectation encouraged in the first-fruits of their young son's proficiency, more and more increasing great hopes concerning him throughout the whole time of his minority, wherein he was trained up in the grammar-school of Derby. Three ingredients Aristotle requires to complete a man: An innate excellency of Wit, Instruction and Government. The two last we have by nature; in them man is instrumental; the first we have by nature more immediately from God. This native aptitude of mind, which is indeed a peculiar gift of God, the naturalist calls the sparklings and seeds of virtue, and looked at them as the principles and foundation of better education. These, the Godly-wise advise such to whom the inspection of youth is committed, to attend unto, as Spring-masters were wont to take a trial of the virtue latent in waters, by the morning-vapors that ascend from them. The husbandman perceiving the nature of the soil fits it with suitable seed. A towardly disposition is worse than lost without education. The first impression sinks deep

and abides long. The manners and learning of the scholar depend not a little upon the manners and teaching of the master. Physicians tell us that the fault of the first concoction is not corrigible by the second; and experience showeth that errors committed in youth through defect in education are difficultly cured in age. . . . The best soil needs both tilling and sowing; there must be culture as well as seed, or you can expect no harvest. What son is he that the father chasteneth not? And that our daughters may be as Corner-stones, Palace-stones, and (albeit the weaker vessels) yet vessels of precious treasure, they must be carved, that is, suffer the cutting, engraving, and polishing hand of the artificer. Since the being of Sin, Doctrine and Example alone are insufficient, discipline is an essential part of the nurture of the Lord. The learned and famous Melancthon's words are remarkable, speaking of his school-master: "I," saith he, "had a master who was an excellent grammarian. He imposed upon me such and such exercises, not permitting any omission thereof. As often as I erred, I was punished, but with such moderation as was convenient. So he made me a grammarian. He was an excellent man; he loved me as a son, and I loved him as a father; and I hope we shall both shortly meet together in Heaven. His severity was not severity, but paternal discipline."

Man's Belial-heart, because such, though it cannot want, yet it will not bear the yoke of education. Children love not to take physic, though they die without it. The non-acknowledgment hereof is the denying of our original disease; the repetition of it is to choose transgression rather than correction. If you ask why the famous Lacedemonian State lived and flourished, when their sister-cities of Greece fell to dissoluteness, and from thence to confusion: Xenophon tells us the reason thereof was because the Lacedemonians established the education of their youth by a law, which the other Grecians neglected. Sure we are that it is a Statute in Israel, and a Law of the God of Jacob, "Fathers, bring up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." And unto the training up of a child in the way he should go, faithful is He which hath promised that when he is old, he will not depart from it.

About thirteen years of age he was admitted into Trinity College in Cambridge, much about the time whereat the famous Juel was sometime sent unto Oxford; at the hearing of whose lectures afterwards, his sometime tutor Parkhurst saluted him with this distich:

Olim discipulus mihi chare Juelle fuisti
Nunc ero discipulus, te renuente, tuus.

"Great Juel, thou a scholar wast to me:
Though thou refuse, thy scholar now I'll be."

'Tis not youth, but licentiousness in youth, that unfits for the Academical state; such as Philostratus long since complained of, who stain an Athenian life with wicked manners. The Prince of the Peripatetics, describing his hearers, distinguisheth between youths in years, and youths in manners. Such as are old in days, yet youths in disposition, he rejects. Such who are youths in age, but seniors in spirit and behavior, he admits into his auditory. Junius telleth us that his grandfather was wont to write to his father Dionysius, when a student in the Universities of France, with this salt superscription: *Dionysio dilecto filio, misso ad studendum:* "To Dionysius, my beloved son, sent to study." Idleness in youth is scarcely healed without a scar in age. Life is but short; and our lesson is longer than admits the loss of so great an opportunity without a sensible defect afterward showing itself. Bees gather in the Spring that which they are to live upon in the Winter. Therefore Fox, Bishop of Winchester, willed the students of that College whereof he was a benefactor, to be as so many bees. Seneca admonisheth his Lucilius that those things are to be gotten whilst we are young, which we must make use of when we are old. Accordingly God, who had set apart our student to be a Junius, not a Dionysius, inclined his heart unto such attractive diligence and effectual improving of opportunities; whence his profiting in the Arts and Languages above his equals so far commended him to the Master and Fellows as that he had undoubtedly been chosen Fellow of that College, had not the extraordinary expense about the building of their great Hall at that time put by, or at least deferred their election until some longer time.

From Trinity he was removed to Emmanuel, that happy Seminary both of Piety and Learning. The occasion I cannot now learn; howsoever it may call to mind that maxim of the herbalists, *Plantæ translatio est plantæ perfectio:* "The transplantation of a plant, is the perfection of a plant." In that Society the Lord gave him favor, as that in due time he was honored with a Fellowship amongst them, after a diligent and strict *Examen* according to the statutes of that House. Wherein this is not unworthy the taking notice of: That when the Poser came to examine him in the Hebrew tongue, the place that he took trial of him by was that Isaiah iii., against the excessive bravery of the haughty daughters of Sion; which hath more hard words in it than any place in the Bible within so short a compass, and therefore, though a present construction and resolution thereof might have put a good Hebrician to a stand, yet such was his dexterity as made those difficult words facile, and rendered him a prompt Respondent. This providence is here remarkable concerning him: That whereas his father (whose calling was towards the law) had not many clients that made use of his

advice in law-matters before, it pleased God after his son's going to Cambridge to bless him with great practice, so that he was very able to keep him there, and to allow him liberal maintenance; insomuch that this blessed man hath been heard to say: "God kept me in the University." . . . .

As he was a lover of labor, so he was communicative, a diligent Tutor, and full of students committed to his care. He was a didactical man, both able and apt to teach. Ability to instruct youth argueth a Wise-man. To guide man, Nazianzen accounted the Art of Arts. To be willing to teach argueth a good man; good is communicative. Such was his Academical dexterity, that he could impart (as Scalliger speaks) the felicities of wit to his hearers, so accommodating and insinuating the matter in hand, as his pupils might both perceive their profiting, and taste the sweetness of that wherein they profited. Thus by school-stratagems he won the hearts of his scholars both to himself and to a desire of learning. They were as Socrates and Alcibiades, or rather as the Prophets and the sons of the Prophets; his pupils were honorers and lovers of him; he was a tutor, friend and father unto them.

The manner of his Conversion take in his own words (as near as can be remembered) thus: During his residence in the University, God began to work upon him under the ministry of Mr. Perkins of blessed memory. But the motions and stirrings of his heart which then were, he suppressed, thinking that if he should trouble himself with matters of Religion, according to the light he had received, it would be an hinderance to him in his studies, which then he had addicted himself unto. Therefore he was willing to silence those suggestions and callings he had from the Spirit inwardly, and did wittingly defer the prosecution of that work until afterwards. At length, walking in the field, and hearing the bell toll for Mr. Perkins, who then lay dying, he was secretly glad in his heart that he should now be rid of him, who had (as he said) laid siege to and beleaguered his heart. This became a cause of much affliction to him, God keeping it upon his spirit, with the aggravation of it, and making it an effectual means of convincing and humbling him in the sight and sense of the natural enmity that is in man's nature against God. Afterwards hearing Doctor Sibbs, then Mr. Sibbs, preaching a sermon about Regeneration, where he first showed what Regeneration was not when opening the state of a civil man, he saw his own condition fully discovered; which through mercy did drive him to a stand, as plainly seing himself to have no true grace, all his false hopes and grounds now failing him. And so he lay a long time in an uncomfortable, despairing way; and of all things, this was his heaviest burthen, that he had wittingly withstood the means and offers of grace and mercy which he found had been tendered to him; till it

pleased God to let in some word of Faith into his heart, to cause him to look unto Christ for healing, which word (if memory faileth not) was dispensed unto him by Doctor Sibbs, which begot in him a singular and constant love of Doctor Sibbs, of whom he was also answerably beloved.

That which first made him famous in Cambridge was his funeral oration for Doctor Some, Master of Peter-house, so accurately performed, in respect of invention, elegancy, purity of style, ornaments of rhetoric, elocution, and oratorious beauty of the whole, as that he was thenceforth looked at as another Xenophon or Musa Attica throughout the University. Some space of time intervening, he was called to preach at St. Mary's, where he preached an University-sermon, with high applause of Academical Wits, so that the fame of his learning grew greater and greater. Afterwards being called to preach in the same place, as one oration of Pericles left the hearer with an appetite of another, so the memory of his former accurate exercises, filled the Colleges, especially the young students, with a fresh expectation of such elegancies of learning, that the Curious and Corinthian Wits, who prefer the Muses before Moses, who taste Plato more than Paul, and relish the Orator of Athens far above the Preacher of the Cross, like Quintilian's numerous auditory, sufficient to tempt the abilities of the speaker, flock to the sermon with an Athenian Itch after some new thing, as the ornaments of rhetoric and abstruser notions of philosophy. But his spirit now savoring of the Cross of Christ more than of human literature, and being taught of God to distinguish between the word of wisdom and the wisdom of words, his speech and preaching was not with the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power.

The disappointed expectation of the auditory soon appeared in their countenances, and the discouragement of their non-acceptance returned him unto his chamber not without some sadder thoughts of heart; where he had not been long alone, but lo, Doctor Preston, then Master Preston, knocks at his door, and coming in, acquaints him with his spiritual condition, and how it had pleased God to speak effectually unto his heart by that sermon. After which Doctor Preston ever highly prized him and both fully and strongly closed with him. Which real seal of God unto his ministry comforted his soul far above what the present less-acceptance of the auditory had dejected him, or their former acceptance encouraged him. This brings to mind that celebrated story of the conversion of the Heathen Philosopher at Nice, which God wrought by the means of an ancient and pious Confessor plainly declaring unto him the doctrine of Faith, after that many Christian Philosophers had by philosophical disputations labored in vain. Christ

evidently held forth, is Divine Eloquence, the Eloquence of Eloquence. God will not have it said of Christ, as Alexander said of Achilles, that he was beholden to the pen of him that published his acts. 'T is Christ that is preached, not the tongue of the Preacher, to whom is due all praise. Such instances conclude that Paul is more learned than Plato. We must distinguish between ineptness of speech, carnal rhetoric, and eloquent Gospel-simplicity; between ignorance, ostentation, and learning. "The preacher sought to find out acceptable words, and words of truth."

This *Concio ad Clerum*, when he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity (after he had been at Boston about half a year) was very much admired and commended. This text was Matt. v. 15. *Vos estis sal terre: quod si sal infatuarus fuerit quo salietur?* "Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt have lost its savor, wherewith shall it be salted?" In handling of which, both the weight of the matter, elegancy of phrase, rhetorical strains, grave, sweet and spiritual pronunciation, rendered him yet more famous. The like did his answering of the Divinity-Act in the Schools, having a very acute opponent, Mr. William Chappell, to dispute with him. So that in Cambridge the name of Mr. Cotton was much set by.

Unto this earthen vessel, thus filled with heavenly treasure, Boston in Lincolnshire made their address, saying: "Come and help us!" And in that candlestick the Father of spirits placeth this burning and shining Light. To whom he removed from Cambridge about the twenty-eighth year of his age. At first he met with some obstructions from the Diocesan, then Bishop Barloe, who told him that he was a young man, and unfit to be set over such a divided people. Mr. Cotton being ingenuous, and undervaluing himself, thought so too, and purposed to return to the College again; but some of his Boston friends understanding that one Simon Biby was to be spoken with, who was near to the Bishop, they presently charmed him, and so the business proceeded without further trouble, and Mr. Cotton was admitted into the place after their manner in those days.

Two things are here not unworthy of observation (which he would sometimes speak of to his friends): First, that in the beginning of his ministry, he was exercised with some inward troubles which much dejected him. No sooner had Christ received his mission into his public ministry, but he is led into the wilderness to be tempted of the Devil. Wise Heman suffered the horrors of God and was laid in the lowest pit. The Doctor of the Gentiles stood in need of being buffeted by Satan. The Tempter is in Christ's hand, and the instrumental winnower of the Disciples. His fiery darts, through the influence of him who succors those that are tempted, cleanse as well as smart; and this

cleansing efficacy remains when the smart is over. From the experience of this Archer, are the choice Shepherds in Israel. Good spirits are much bettered by their conflicts with the worst of spirits. Spiritual Preachers are often trained up in the school of temptation; so true is that theological maxim: Meditation, Prayer, and Temptation make a Divine. This dispensation of the all-wise God he afterwards found not only to be beneficial to him in preparing his heart for his work, but also that it became an effectual means of his more peaceable and comfortable settlement in that place, where the people were divided amongst themselves by reason of a potent man in the town, who adhered to another Cambridge man, whom he desired to bring in. But when they saw Mr. Cotton wholly taken up with his own exercises of spirit, they were free from all suspicion of his being pragmatical, or addicted to siding with this or that party, and so began to close more fully with him.

And secondly: Whereas there was an Arminian party in that town, some of whom were witty, and troubled others with disputes about those points, by God's blessing upon his labors in holding forth positively such Truths as undermined the foundations of Arminianism, those disputes ceased, and in time Arminianism was no more pleaded for. So God disposeth of the hearts of hearers, as that generally they are all open and loving to their Preachers in their first times. Trials are often reserved until afterwards. . . . . .

For three or four years he lived and preached among them without opposition; they accounted themselves happy (as well they might) in the enjoyment of him, both the town and country thereabout being much bettered and reformed by his labors. After, not being able to bear the ceremonies imposed, his non-conformity occasioned his trouble in the Court of Lincoln, from whence he was advised to appeal to a higher Court. And employing Mr. Leveret (who afterwards was one of the Ruling Elders of the Church of Boston in New England) to deal in that business, and he being a plain man as Jacob was, yet piously subtile to get such a spiritual blessing, so far insinuated himself into one of the Proctors of that high-Court, that Mr. Cotton was treated by them as if he were a conformable man, and so was restored unto Boston. (Likewise by the same means it was that a gentleman of Boston, called Mr. Benner, used occasionally afterwards to bring him in again.) After this time he was blessed with a successful Ministry unto the end of twenty years. In which space he, on the Lord's-day, in the afternoons, went over the whole body of Divinity in a Catechistical way thrice, and gave the heads of his discourse to those that were young scholars, and others in the town, to answer his questions in public in that great Congregation; and after their answers he opened those heads

of Divinity, and finally applied all to the edification of his people, and to such strangers as came to hear him. In the morning on the Lord's-day, he preached over the first six Chapters of the Gospel of John, the whole book of Ecclesiastes, the Prophecy of Zechariah, and many other Scriptures; and when the Lord's Supper was administered (which was usually every month) he preached upon I. Cor. xi. and II. Chron. xxx. *per totum*, and some other Scriptures concerning that subject. On his Lecture days, he preached through the whole First and Second Epistles of John, the whole book of Solomon's Song, the Parables of our Saviour set forth in Matthew's Gospel to the end of Chapter xvi., comparing them with Mark and Luke. He took much pains in private, and read to sundry young scholars, that were in his house, and some that came out of Germany, and had his house full of auditors. Afterwards, seeing some inconvenience in the people's flocking to his house, besides his ordinary Lecture on the fifth day of the week, he preached thrice more in public on the week days: on the fourth and fifth days early in the morning, and on the last day at three of the clock in the afternoon. Only these three last Lectures were performed by him but some few years before he had another famous Colleague.

He was frequent in duties of Humiliation and Thanksgiving. Sometimes five or six hours in Prayer and opening of the Word, so undefatigable in the Lord's work, so willing to spend and to be spent. He answered many letters that were sent far and near, wherein were handled many difficult cases of conscience, and many doubts cleared to great satisfaction.

He was a man exceedingly loved and admired of the best, and reverenced of the worst of his hearers. He was in great favor with Doctor Williams, the then Bishop of Lincoln, who much esteemed him for his learning, and (according to report) when he was Lord keeper of the great Seal went to King James, and speaking of Mr. Cotton's great learning and worth, the King was willing, notwithstanding his nonconformity, to give way that he should have his liberty without interruption in his ministry; which was the more notable considering how that King's spirit was carried out against such men. Also the Earl of Dorcester, being at Old-Boston and hearing Mr. Cotton preaching concerning (if memory fail not) Civil Government, he was so affected with the wisdom of his words and spirit, that he did ever after highly account of him and put himself forth what he could in the time of Mr. Cotton's troubles to deliver him out of them, that his Boston might enjoy him as formerly; but he found spiritual wickednesses in high places too strongly opposite to his desires.

About this time he married his second wife, Mistress Sarah Story, then a widow. He was blessed above many in his marriages, both his

wives being pious matrons, grave, sober, faithful, like Euodius and Syntyche, fellow-laborers with him in the Gospel. By the first he had no children; the last God made a fruitful vine unto him. His first-born she brought forth far off upon the sea. He that left Europe childless, arrived a joyful father in America; God who promiseth to be with his servants when they pass through the waters having caused him to embrace a son by the way, in memorial whereof he called his name Seaborn,—"to keep alive," said he, "in me, and to teach him if he live, a remembrance of sea-mercies from the hand of a gracious God." He is yet living, and now entered into the work of the Ministry. A son of many prayers and of great expectation.

The time being now come wherein God purposed to superadd, unto what had formerly been, a practical and more notable Testimony against the intermixing of human inventions with Institutions Divine, and to the Gospel Church-worship and Polity in their purity, He in his all-wise providence transplants many of his faithful servants into this vast wilderness, as a place in respect of its remoteness so much the fitter for the fuller inquiry after, and free exercise of all his holy ordinances; and together therewith, for the holding forth a pregnant demonstration of the consistency of Civil Government with a Congregational-way, God giveth Moses the pattern of the Tabernacle in the Wilderness. Ezekiel seeth the forms of the House in exile. John receiveth his Revelation in Patmos. Jotham upon Mount Gerizim is bold to utter his Apology; and David can more safely expostulate with Saul, when he is gotten to the top of the hill afar off, a great space between them. The Parthians, having learned the art of shooting backwards, made their retreat more terrible than their onset to their adversaries. The event soon showed the wisdom of God herein, the people in a short time clearly understanding that truth in the practice, which by dispute they could not in a long time attain unto. In order hereunto, the God of the spirits of all flesh, stirreth up many of his faithful ones to leave that pleasant land, their estates, their kindred, their fathers' houses, and sail over the Atlantic Ocean unto this vast Jeshimon. Amongst whom this choice Servant of God, with many others graciously fitted for such a work, are sent over to set up the worship of Christ in this desert. A service, of which the apologetical brethren (may we be permitted to transcribe their apprehension thereof) speak thus: "Last of all we had the recent and later example of the ways and practices (and those improved to a better edition and greater refinement by all the forementioned helps) of those multitudes of Godly men of our own Nation, almost to the number of another Nation, and among them some as holy and judicious Divines as this Kingdom hath bred, whose sincerity in their way hath been testified before all the world, and will be to all generations to come, by

the greatest undertaking, but that of our Father Abraham out of his own country and his seed after him. A transplanting themselves many thousand miles distance, and that by sea, into a wilderness, merely to worship God more purely, whither to allure them there could be no other invitement." . . . .

The cause of his departure was this: The corruption of the times being such as would not endure his officiating any longer in his station without sin; and the envy of his maligners having procured letters missive to convent him before the High-Commission, which a debauched inhabitant of that town (who not long after died of the plague) undertook to deliver to him, according as he had already done to some others; Mr. Cotton having intelligence thereof, and well knowing that nothing but scorns and imprisonment were to be expected, conformably to the advice of many able heads and upright hearts (amongst whom that holy man Mr. Dod of blessed memory had a singular influence) he kept himself close for a time in and about London, as Luther sometime at Wittenberg, and Parœus afterwards at Anvilla. Neither was that season of his recess unprofitable; but as Jerome retired to his den at Bethlehem was an oracle unto many in his time, so addresses during that interim were made unto him privately by divers persons of worth and piety, who received from him satisfaction unto their consciences in cases of greatest concernment. His flight was not like that of Pliny's Mice, that forsake a house, foreseeing the ruin of it; or of mercenaries, who fly from duty in time of danger; but Providence Divine shutting up the door of service in England, and on the other hand opening it in New England, he was guided both by the word and eye of the Lord. And as David yielded upon the persuasion of his men to absent himself from danger, so he suffered himself to be persuaded by his friends to withdraw from the lust of his Persecutors, for the preservation of so precious a Light in Israel; after the example of Jacob, Moses, the Prophets which Obadiah hid in the caves, Polycarp, Athanasius, yea, and Christ himself: "When they persecute you in one city, fly unto another." . . . .

Thus this infant and small Commonwealth being now capacitated, both in respect of Civil and Church-estate, to walk with God according to the prescript of his word; it was the good hand of the Lord unto his servants, who had afflicted their souls to seek of him a right way for themselves, their little ones, and their substance, to send unto them (amongst many others) this man of understanding, that might be unto them as eyes in this wilderness. His manner of entrance unto them was with much blessing. For at his first coming he found them not without some troubles about settling the matters of the Church and Commonwealth.

When Mr. Cotton (being requested) preaching before the General Court out of Haggai ii. 4: "Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord, be strong, O Joshua, son of Josedek the High-Priest, and be strong all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work; for I am with you, saith the Lord of Hosts;" as Menenius Agrippa sometime by his oration healed that then threatening breach between the Fathers and the People of Rome; so through the Lord's working mightily by this sermon, all obstructions were presently removed and the spirits of all sorts, as one man, were excited unanimously and vigorously in the work of the Lord from that day.

In order whereunto the Court considering, That that people of God, all the members of which Republic were Church-members, were to be governed conformably to the law of God; desired Mr. Cotton to draw an Abstract of the Judicial Laws delivered from God by Moses, so far forth as they were of moral (*i. e.* of perpetual and universal) equity. Which he did, advising them to persist in their purpose of establishing a Theocracy (*i. e.* God's Government) over God's people. It was an usual thing henceforth for the Magistrate to consult with the Ministers in hard cases, especially in matters of the Lord; yet so as notwithstanding occasional conjunction religious care was had of avoiding confusion of Counsels: Moses and Aaron rejoiced and kissed one another in the Mount of God. After which time, how useful he was to England, to New England, to Magistrates, to Ministers, to People, in public and private, by preaching, counsel, and resolving difficult questions, all know that knew him, and consequently saw the grace of God so evidently manifested in him. In the course of his Ministry in New-Boston, by way of exposition, he went through the Old Testament unto Isa. xxx; the whole New Testament once through, and the second time unto the middle of Heb. xi.

Upon Lord's days and Lecture days, he preached through the Acts of the Apostles, Haggai, Zechariah, Ezra, the Revelation, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, the Second and Third Epistles of John, the Epistle of Titus, both the Epistles of Timothy, the Epistle to the Romans, with other Scriptures; the presence of the Lord being mighty with him, and crowning his labors to the conversion of many souls, and the edification of thousands. Besides these labors forementioned he hath many pieces in print, which being well known, need the less to be here enumerated.

His youth was unstained, whence he was so much the more capable of being an excellent Instrument in the Church in his after-age. Many do that evil whilst they are young, which makes them unable (at least comparatively) to do so much good when they are old. He must have a good report of them that are without, lest he fall into the

reproach and snare of the Devil. Satan catcheth at the scandals of such who are in the Ministry, as fittest materials to make snares unto the prejudice both of the Gospel, and of souls. Augustine, to whom God in this respect showed peculiar mercy upon his (ordinarily) unparalleled repentance, telleth us, "A good life is requisite in respect of ourselves, but a good name is requisite in respect of others." The gratefulness of the most excellent liquor unto the stomach depends in part upon the quality of the vessel. We may be good men, if we have a good conscience; but we are not like to do much good if we have not a good name. Our Religion, our Report, and our Eye must not be played withal. . . . .

To live long and to lead a godly life all along without offence, is not a little wonder, and a special favor both to ourselves and others. He was a general scholar, studious to know all things, the want whereof might in one of his profession be denominated ignorance, and piously ignorant of those things the nescience whereof made him more learned. One man is not born to all things. No calling (besides Divine requisites) calleth for more abilities or a larger measure of human knowledge than the Ministry. Deservedly therefore is his praise great in all the Churches, that he not only gave himself thereunto, but exceeded many that had done virtuously therein. The greater part of the Encuclopaideia he excelled in. Those Arts which the University requireth such a proficiency from her graduates in, he both digested and refined by his more accurate knowledge of them. He was a good Hebrician, in Greek a Critic, and could with great facility both speak and write Latin in a pure and elegant Ciceronian style; a good historian, no stranger to the Fathers, Councils, or School-men; abundantly exercised in Commentators of all sorts. His library was great, his reading and learning answerable, himself a living and better library. Though he was a constant student, yet he had all his learning out of his books. He was a man of much communion with God and acquaintance with his own heart, observing the daily passages of his life. He had a deep sight into the Mystery of God's grace and man's corruption, and large apprehensions of these things.

It was wont to be said: *Bonus textuarius est bonus Theologus:* "A good Text-man is a good Divine." If you look upon him in that notion, he was an expositor (without offence be it spoken) not inferior to any of this more sublimated age. That great motto so much wondered at: *Labore et Constantiâ,* "Labor and Constancy," containing nothing more than the duty which God hath laid upon every man. Learning, saith Jerome, is not to be purchased with silver; it is the companion of sweat and painfulness; of abstemiousness, not of fulness; of continency, not of wantonness. The earth continueth barren or worse, ex-

cept industry be its midwife. The hen, which brings not forth without uncessant sitting night and day, is an apt emblem of students. The wiser Naturalists who have been serious in improving, and Christians that have been conscientious to improve or redeem their time, for the more effectual obtaining of their end, have distributed the day into certain proportions, setting each apart to his predesigned use. Hence the ancient Grecians appointed the first six hours unto their respective contemplative functions, the rest (say they) call upon us to take care of our health and life. . . . .

Melancthon sometime commended this distribution of the day unto a great man: that the four and twenty hours being divided into three parts, eight be spent in study, eight in our bed, the rest as our bodily welfare calls upon us. Others give ten hours in the day unto our studies, if strength permits, approving of more according to this division. His diligence was in the third degree most intense, and most exact. His measure was a glass of four hours, three of which he would sometimes say, was a scholar's day, and after that rate he spent not a few of his days. He was always an early riser, and in his latter years, not eating any supper, he made up the avocations of that day by retiring that time and the rest of the evening to his study.

With Solon, as he grew old, so was he continually a learner; and with Quintilian he terminated his life and his reading both together. The constant work of his Ministry was great, if not too great for one man. A candle may spend too fast, and the improvement of the light whilst it is yet burning admits of degrees; besides his preaching in season and out of season, he was daily pressed, if not oppressed, with the care and service of the Churches, attendance to personal cases, and manifold other employments inevitably put upon him, both from abroad and at home; whence the time remaining (which is not a little to be lamented) was insufficient to attend doctrinal and especial Polemical Scripts, such as the cause of the truth, occurrents of Providence and his peculiar engagements called for. He was free to give his judgment when desired, but declined arbitration and umpirage in civil differences between man and man as heterogeneous both to his office and spirit. His course, like that of Celestial bodies, was always in motion, but still careful to keep within his proper sphere. Calvin was not more solicitous not to be found idle; no man more vigilant to contain himself within his measure. It was Religion to him both to run and to run lawfully within the white lines and boundaries of his Agonistical race. He was doing, and so doing.

Pliny accounted those happy men, who either did things worthy to be written, or wrote things worthy to be read. Christians account those Teachers blessed and blessings, who teach both by their light

and life, in sincerity. Those which best knew his goings out and comings in, cannot but give a large testimony to his piety. A Saint (above many of the Saints) manifestly declared in the consciences of the godly amongst whom he walked, to be the "Epistle of Christ known and read of all men." In his house he walked with a perfect heart. He was an example to the flock, clothed with love and humility amongst his brethren. One of a thousand in respect of his worth, but (as is reported of Dr. Whitaker) as one of the multitude in respect of his facile and companion-like behavior. Both ability and modesty in such a degree are not ordinarily to be found in the same man. Others with much affection beheld the beauty of his face, whilst himself was as one who knew not that his face shined. He was a Father, Friend, and Brother to his Fellow-Elders, and a shining Light before men.

As the being of man, so the well-being of human affairs depends not a little upon domestic government, whence are the seminaries and first societies of mankind. He well knew a Bishop ought not to be defective in so momentous a duty, incumbent upon all heads of families. He must be one that ruleth well his own house. In conscience whereof, he himself rising betimes in the morning, as soon as he was ready, called his family together (which was also his practice in the evening) to the solemn worship of God; reading and expounding, and occasionally applying the Scripture unto them, always beginning and ending with prayer. In case of sin committed by child or servant, he would call them aside privately (the matter so requiring), lay the Scripture before them, causing them to read that which bears witness against such offence; seldom or never correcting in anger, that the dispensation of godly discipline might not be impured, or become less effectual, through the intermixing of human passion.

He began the Sabbath at evening; therefore then performed family-duty after supper, being larger than ordinary in Exposition. After which he catechised his children and servants, and then returned into his study. The morning following, family-worship being ended, he retired into his study until the bell called him away. Upon his return from meeting he returned again into his study (the place of his labor and prayer), unto his private devotion; where, having a small repast carried him up for his dinner, he continued till the tolling of the bell. The public service being over, he withdrew for a space to his prementioned oratory for his sacred addresses unto God, as in the forenoon, then came down, repeated the sermon in the family, prayed, after supper sung a Psalm, and towards bed-time betaking himself again to his study, he closed the day with prayer. Thus he spent the Sabbath continually.

In his study he neither sat down unto, nor arose from his medita-

tions without prayer; whilst his eyes were upon his book, his expectation was from God. He had learned to study because he had learned to pray; an able student, a Gospel student, because unable to study without Jesus Christ. The barrenness of his meditation at some times, yea, though his endeavor were most intense upon a good matter, convinced him whence it was that his heart musing upon the same subject at another time, his tongue became as the pen of a ready writer. As he was not (comparatively) wanting in parts, learning, or industry, so was he more careful not to trust in them, but to fix his dependence totally upon God. Herein not unlike unto Bradford, of whom we read, that he studied, kneeling. Another Synesius, who was wont to divide his life between prayer and his book. Like unto Paul, not sufficient of himself to think any thing as of himself, and professing all his sufficiency to be of God: "But we will give ourselves continually to prayer and to the ministry of the Word. Men of labor and men of prayer."

As any weighty cause presented itself either in the Church, Commonwealth, or Family, he would set days apart to seek the face of God in secret; such were the bowels of this spiritual Father, the horsemen and chariots of this Israel. He might say with Paul, "he was in fastings often." His conversation upon Earth was a trading in Heaven; a demonstration of the praises of him who had called him; a practical and exemplary ministry of grace unto the hearer and beholder; a temperature of that holiness, sweetness, and love, which continually gained upon the hearts of many spectators. The habitual gracious scope of his heart in his whole Ministry is not illegible in that usual subscription of his at the end of all his sermons: *Tibi Domine:* "Unto thy honor, O Lord!" . . . .

As disputation is well called the sieve of truth, so in his polemical labors he was a seeker thereof in love; his scope was the glory of God, unity of the Churches, and the edification of men, not the ostentation of wit. It was his holy ambition not to seem to be learned, but indeed to be bettered; a sincere seeker of light, not of victory. . . . Mr. Cotton in his disputations sought not his glory but God's truth. So able an opponent was rare; so candid an opponent more rare. He that fell into his hands, was likely to fall soft enough ordinarily (except through his own default), not likely to lose any thing besides his error.

A man's wisdom maketh his face to shine. He had a happy, a quick, comprehensive, and benign understanding as having received the manifestation of the Spirit for the service and profit of others. To discover the mind of God and therewith the sentence of Judgment in matters too hard for inferior Judges, was no small part both of the

worth and usefulness of him that was to minister before the Lord. The Queen of Sheba proved Solomon with hard questions. There is scarce any gift that more approximates the receiver unto that which the learned call a divine, than an ability in some measure to send away religious casuists, as the Wise-man did that renowned questionist, which communed with him of all that was in her heart. And Solomon told her all her questions; there was not any thing hid from the king that he told her not. It seemed good unto the Father of lights to this happy Instrument, not only to excel his brethren, but in many respects upon this account to excel himself; a grace so far acknowledged in him, as that all sorts, both the magistrate and private persons, learned and unlearned, exercised with their respective cases of conscience, waited under God in special manner upon his lips for knowledge, and sought the law at his mouth. . . . .

So equal a contention between learning and meekness is seldom visible in any one person. Of Moses we thus read: "Now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men that were upon the face of the earth." The consciences of those that knew him appealed to, he will be acknowledged amongst the meekest of the earth in his days.

I am forced here to make a pause. So conspicuous was this grace in him, that multitudes beheld it, not without making extraordinary mention thereof. 'T is true he had an advantage above many in his natural constitution, and its influence from his education, heightened intellectuals, and moralities, was not inconsiderable; but that which gave the being of meekness, which sanctified and perfected all, was the grace of Christ. He was of an acute apprehension, therefore easily sensible of, but so little in his own spirit, that he was not easily provoked by an injury. Sensibleness of dishonor done to God by sin, or of what the offender had done unto himself by sinning, left such impressions upon him, as that his taking notice of any injury done unto himself was not usually taken notice of. He had well learned that lesson of Gregory: "It is better oftentimes to fly from an injury by silence, than to overcome it by replying." It was Grynæus' manner, to revenge wrongs with Christian taciturnity. Melancthon overcomes Luther's anger and his own grief with mildness, patience and prayer. The non-resistance and softness of the wool breaks the force of the cannon, and so saveth both the bullet and itself. If inferiors expostulated unnecessarily with him, he would patiently hear them and give them a brotherly account, pacifying their minds with a gentle, grave, and respective answer. Take one instance of that kind instead of many, unto one of his hearers then sick of singularities and less able to bear sound doctrine; following him home after his public labors in the assembly, and instead of better encouragement telling him that his min-

istry was become either dark or flat: He gently answered, "Both, Brother!" without further opening his mouth in his defence; choosing rather to own the imputation, than to expostulate with the imputer.

Disputations are great trials of the spirits of intelligent men. Hooper and Ridley were patient martyrs, yet somewhat impatient disputers. The Synod held at Cambridge, as matters were then circumstanced, was unto this good man an hour of temptation above what ordinarily had befallen him in his pilgrimage; yet such was his eminent behavior throughout, as argued in the conscience of the spectators singular patience, and left him a mirror for the temperament, mildness and government of his spirit. . . . .

Though his forbearance was both observable and very imitable in the things that concerned himself, yet he could not forbear them whom he knew to be evil. An experience whereof we saw concerning some Heterodox spirits, who by their specious discourses of Free-grace and subdolous concealings of their principles, so far deceived him into a better opinion of them than there was cause, as that notwithstanding they fathered their errors upon him in general, and abused his doctrine to the countenancing of their denial of inherent grace in particular, yet he was slow to believe these things of them, and slower to bear witness against them. But so soon as the truth herein appeared to him, hear his own words taken out of his letter written to Mr. Davenport: "The truth is," saith he, "the body of the island is bent to backsliding into error and delusions. The Lord pity and pardon them, and me also, who have been so slow to see their windings, and subtile contrivances and insinuations in all their transactions, whilst they propagated their opinions under my expressions, diverted to their constructions." Yea, such was his ingenuity and piety, as that his soul was not satisfied without often breaking forth into affectionate bewailing of his infirmity herein in the public assembly, sometimes in his prayer, sometimes in his sermon, and that with tears.

He was a man of an ingenuous and pious candor, rejoicing (as opportunity served) to take notice of, and testify unto the gifts of God in his brethren; thereby drawing the hearts of them to him, and of others to them; both to their encouragement and the edification of many. He did not think himself a loser by putting honor upon his fellow-elders, but was willing they should communicate with him in the esteem and love of the people. He was not only a son of peace, enjoying the continual feast of a good conscience with serenity and tranquillity of affections at home, but also a peace-maker, qualified by the graces forementioned to be a choice instrument in the hand of the Prince of Peace, amongst the churches. Where, if any differences arose, he was ready (being called thereunto) to afford his help for the composing of

them, and had a singular faculty and ability therein, by that excellent wisdom and moderation of spirit which God in Christ had given him, whose blessing also did ordinarily crown his endeavors with good success.

He was one, the reality of whose profession gave cause unto many to bless the Author of Christian religion for the kindness of the Lord, showed unto all sorts by him. His portion in the things of this life exempted him from being an object of envy in that behalf. But yet, behold *quantum ex quantillo*, so much communicated out of so little, we may not here be altogether silent concerning the Grace of God bestowed upon him, whereby to his power, yea, above his power, he was beneficent unto others, but especially to those of the household of faith. The Gospel opened his heart, his lips, and the doors of his house. A bishop then must be given to hospitality, apt to teach; as we have seen him didactical, so you shall find him hospital. He well remembered there is that scattereth, and yet increaseth, and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty: "The liberal soul shall be made fat." Among others, his fellow-laborers in the ministry were entertained with peculiar contentment. To remind all instances would take up time; by some of many take his spirit in the rest. So it was: A minister (to spare his name) which had gotten into the fellowship of that eminent man, Mr. Arthur Hildersham, and many other godly preachers, being acquainted with their secrets betrayed him into the Prelate's hands; who coming to Boston and meeting with Mr. Cotton, this Gaius had not the heart to speak to him nor to invite him into his house; which, he said, he never did to his knowledge unto any stranger before—much less to any of his own order. It was the modesty of others, not from any deficiency in him, why the proverb occasioned by that Corinthian was not applicable also unto his dwelling: "There is always somebody at Cydon's house": *Semper aliquis in Cydonis domo.* Some years since there was brought unto Boston a report of the necessity of the poor saints at Sigatæa, a little church (whereof the reverend Mr. White then was, and yet is their faithful pastor) which suffered much extremity by reason of the persecution of their then prevailing adversaries, forcing them from Barmudas into the Desert-continent. The sound of whose distress was no sooner heard of, but you might have heard the sounding of his bowels, with many others, applying themselves unto a speedy collection, and transporting it to them on purpose, for their seasonable relief; when, after the example of the churches in Galatia, Macedonia, Corinth, and Rome, sending their liberalities unto Jerusalem in the days of the famine foretold by Agabus, the same grace abounding in the churches of these parts, they supplied them to the value of about seven hundred pounds,

two hundred pounds whereof were gathered in the church of Boston, no man in the contribution exceeding, and but one equalling the bounty of their then teacher. It is here remarkable that this collection arrived there the very day (or thereabouts) after those poor people were brought to a personal division of that little meal then remaining in the barrel, and not seeing, according to man, but that after the eating thereof they must die a lingering death for want of food. And the same day that their pastor preached to them (it being the Lord's day) out of Psal. xxiii. 1, "The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want;" at such a time the good hand of the Lord brought this succor to them from afar. To give quickly doubleth, but to give to the saints in a time of need trebleth the gift.

Whilst he was in England, his eminent piety, success of his labors, interest in the hearts of both superiors, inferiors and equals, drew much envy upon him; and his non-conformity added thereunto, delivered him in a great degree unto the will of his adversaries, whose hour, and the power of darkness being come, spared not to shoot at him and grieve him, not giving over until they had bereaved him of much of his livelihood, his liberty, country, and therewith of the sweet society of lovers, friends, and many ways endeared acquaintance, much more precious to him than life itself.

Yet the measure of the afflictions of Christ in this kind, appointed to be suffered by him in the flesh, was not fulfilled. But lo, in the time of his exile, some brethren (we do not say they were not of us, being willing to hope better things) provoked by the censure of authority, though justly and not without tears inflicted upon them, single out him as a chief object of their displeasure, who though above other men declining irregular and unnecessary interesting of himself in the actions of the magistrate, and (while opportunity lasted) endeavoring their healing, yet must now be requited evil for good; and that by some of them, who were formerly companions with him in the tribulations of this Patmos, respecters of him, had taken sweet counsel together and walked in the house of God as friends. Hence is he with pen and tongue blasphemed by them, for whom he formerly entreated, and for whom he both then and afterwards wept and put on sackcloth. Such buffetings of Satan, though sharp, are medicinal at times to the excellent upon earth, who by reason of the body of death indwelling must be kept weak, that they may be made strong. . . .

These are the times that passed over him. We are now approaching to his *novissima verba*, his last words; which the ancients, out of an opinion that the soul became more divine towards its dissolution, looked at as oraculous. The motions of nature are more intense as they draw near towards the centre. Xenophon personates Cyrus as

inspired, whilst he bequeaths his fatherly and farewell counsels to his people, friends and sons. David's last words have their emphasis because his last. Now these are the last words of David:

Being called to preach at a neighbor church, he took wet in his passage over the ferry, and not many hours after he felt the effect, being seized upon with an extreme illness in the sermon. This providence, when others bewailing the sad event which according to second causes seemed so easily evitable, spake variously of, he comforted himself from, In that he was found so doing. *Decet imperatorem stantem cadere:* "It is the honor of a commander to fall standing." It was Austin's usual wish, that Christ when he came might find him *aut precantem, aut prædicantem,* "either praying or preaching." Calvin returns this answer unto his friends, dissuading him from his labor of dictating and writing when his sickness prevailed upon him: "What," saith he, "would you that the Lord should find me idle?" After a short time he complained of an inflammation of the lungs, and thereupon found himself asthmatical, afterwards scorbutical (which both meeting in a complicated disease ended his days) insomuch that he was forced to give over those comforting drinks which his stomach could not want. If he still used them, the inflammation grew insufferable and threatened a more sharp and speedy death. If he left them, his stomach forthwith ceased to perform its office, leaving him without hope of life.

By these messengers he received the sentence of death, yet in the use of means attending the pleasure of him in whose hands our times are, his labors continued whilst his strength failed. November 18th he took in course for his text the four last verses of the II. Epistle to Timothy: "Salute Prisca and Aquila," etc. Giving the reason of speaking to so many verses together, because otherwise, he said he should not live to make an end of that Epistle. He chiefly insisted upon those words, "Grace be with you all," so ending that Epistle and his lectures together. For upon the Lord's Day following, he preached his last sermon upon John i. 14: "And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, (and we beheld his Glory, as of the only begotten Son of the Father,) full of grace and Peace."

Now he gave himself wholly to prepare for his dissolution, making his will and setting his house in order. When he could no more be seen abroad, all sorts, magistrates, ministers, neighbors, and friends far off, and those near at hand, especially his own people, resorted unto him daily as to a public father. When the neighbor ministers visited him (in which duty they were frequent) he thanked them affectionately for their love, exhorting them also, as an elder and a witness of the suffering of Christ, to feed the flock; encouraging them, that when the

chief Shepherd shall appear they should receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.

Finding himself to grow weak, according to that of James, he sent for the elders of the Church of Boston to pray over him, which last solemn duty being performed not without much affection and many tears, then (as Polycarp a little before his death said, he had served Christ fourscore and six years, neither had he ever offended him in any thing) so he told them, Through grace he had now served God forty years, it being so long since his conversion; throughout which time he had ever found him faithful to him. Thereupon taking occasion to exhort them unto like effect that Paul sometimes did the elders of Ephesus, a little before they were to see his face no more: "Take heed therefore unto yourselves and to all the flock, over which the Lord hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood." Particularly he lamented the love of many, yea, and some of their own congregation growing cold to the ordinances; calling upon them so much the more for their watchfulness in that respect. Which done, he thanked them for their brotherly and loving assistance to him in their holy fellowship, and commended them to the blessing of God.

It remains that we now behold his pious consort with those olive-plants that sate lately about his table, gathered together about the bed of a departing husband and dying father. . . . .

What family more happy than his, whilst the father liveth in the children as the children live in their father? That reverend and godly man, Mr. Wilson (who excelleth in love as Mr. Cotton did in light), the faithful pastor of the church, taking his last leave of him, and most ardently praying unto God that He would lift up the light of his countenance upon him and shed his love into his soul, he presently answered him in these words:

"He hath done it already, brother."

His work now finished with all men, perceiving his departure to be at hand and having nothing to do, only that great work of dying in the Lord, he totally composed and set himself for his dissolution, desiring that he might be permitted to improve the little remnant of his life without any considerable impediment to his private devotions and divine soliloquies between God and his soul. For that end he caused the curtains to be drawn, and a gentleman and brother of the congregation, that was much with him and ministered unto him in his sickness, to promise him that the chamber should be kept private. But a while after, hearing the whispering of some brethren in the room, he called for that gentleman, saying: "Why do you break your word with me?" An expression so circumstanced as that the impression thereof

abideth unto this day in the heart of that godly man whose omission gave him occasion so to speak. Not long after (mindful no doubt of that great helpfulness which he received from that forementioned brother throughout his visitation) he left him with this farewell: "The God that made you, and bought you with a great price, redeem your body and soul unto himself." These words were his ἐξώδια ῥήματα, his "last words," after which he was not heard to speak, but lying some hours speechless, quietly breathed out his spirit into the hands of him that gave it, December 23, 1652, between eleven and twelve (after the bell had called to the lecture, thus preventing the assembly in going to see what they were but going to hear), being entered into the sixty and eighth year of his age.

So ceased this silver-trumpet, waiting for the sound of the last trump. The eyes of his dead body were soon closed; but before that, the eye of his ever-living soul beholds the face of Jesus Christ.

Upon the 29th day the body was interred within a tomb of brick, a numerous confluence of all degrees, from all parts, as the season would permit, orderly accompanying the corpse, borne upon the shoulders of his fellow-ministers, unto the chambers of death—not only with sighs and tears, and funeral-poems, all in abundance, but with the solemnity of sorrow of heart itself, alas! too manifest in the carriage and countenance of those, whose visage was as the visage of them which are bereaved of the breath of their nostrils. The inhabitants of the land might have said, "This was a great mourning." Such were New England's tears for the man of their desires; of whom they (and especially his own congregation) cannot speak without lamentation unto this day.

GOD'S RELATION TO MAN.

[*The Orthodox Evangelist.* 1654.]

THE Justice of God is considered either in respect of himself, or in respect of the reasonable creature. In order to himself (whereby He is a necessary debtor to himself), it is called Essential Justice; in order to the reasonable creature (whereby He hath freely made himself a debtor unto them), it is called Relative Justice.

In the Essential Justice of God is contained that which is called the Justice of Condecency, or Comeliness; which necessitates not God to constitute any rule of Relative Justice between himself and the creature; only, in case He be pleased to constitute any, it necessitates him so to do it as becometh such an Agent, and as serveth best unto his

end, and which (being done) continueth inviolable and infallible. The Essential Justice, Constancy, and Truth of God, permitteth not any defect or alteration concerning the execution of his decree after He had once decreed it; notwithstanding before the decree He was free to have decreed, or not to have decreed that decree.

Relative or Moral Justice is an external Work of God, whereby He proceeds with man according to the Law of Righteousness freely constituted between him and them; rendering to every one what is due unto them thereby, either by way of recompense, in case of obedience, or by way of punishment, in case of disobedience.

For our better understanding of this Moral Justice of God in respect to man, consider: 1. That nothing can be due from God to man as of himself. 2. That which is due from God to man, is from the free and mere good pleasure of God. 3. That this good pleasure or Will of God is the Rule of Righteousness. 4. That God proceeding to execution, according to this Rule of Righteousness constituted by his good pleasure, can do no wrong.

Nothing can be due from God to man as of himself; the creature of itself being a mere nothing, and God being all, He cannot become a debtor to the creature, either of good or evil, otherwise than He is pleased to make himself a debtor. Should God be looked at as a necessary debtor unto the creature, it must either be to the creature not yet in being, or to the creature in actual being. But He cannot be a debtor to the creature not yet in being; for to it nothing can be due but creation, and that should be due unto nothing. Thence it would follow that God were bound to create every creature that were possible to be created, and that also from Eternity.

Neither can He be a debtor to the creature in actual being, to which, if He can owe any thing, it must either be the continuation of it in its being, or annihilation. If God doth not owe unto the creature its creation, He cannot owe unto it its continuation; continuation being nothing else but the continuance of creation. He that is not bound to give a creature its being for one instant, which is done in creation, is much less bound to give unto a creature its being for many instants, which is included in continuation. Besides, were God bound to continue the creature in actual being for one year, by the same reason He were bound to continue them forever.

Neither can He owe unto the creature in actual being, annihilation; for then neither could the godly enjoy eternal life, nor the wicked be punished with eternal death. To owe annihilation is to owe nothing. The worth of the creature in order unto God is not intrinsical; "For who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again?"

Whatsoever is due from God to man, is from the mere will and good pleasure of God. Moral Justice floweth from the good pleasure of God. The manifestation of the glory of God in a way of justice is the end, the permission of sin is the means; that this should be the means, and that should be the end, is wholly of the will of God. The creation of man is the effect of God's good pleasure. That prohibition of Adam to eat of the forbidden fruit upon the transgression of which followed the death of mankind, was an interdict of God's free will. The Moral Law itself is an effect of God's good pleasure. What reasonable man but will yield that the being of the Moral Law hath no necessary connection with the Being of God? That this Moral Law should be a constant rule of manners, and that all man's actions should fall within the compass of this rule, is from the mere will of God. That the actions of men not conformable to this Law should be sin; that death should be the punishment of sin; that this punishment should be suffered in our own persons, or in our surety, as should seem good unto the Law-giver—all these are the constitutions of God, proceeding from him, not by way of necessity of nature, but freely, as effects and products of his eternal good pleasure.

John Davenport.

BORN in Coventry, England, 1597. DIED in Boston, Mass., 1670.

OF MIRACLES.

[*The Knowledge of Christ.* 1653.]

THAT the Signs and Wonders wrought by Jesus Christ were true miracles will appear if we consider the nature of a true miracle. A miracle is an operation above and beyond the constituted order of Nature. I say, "of constituted order of Nature," to distinguish it from Creation; I say, "beyond and above" that order, to distinguish *mirabilia* from *miracula*. For there are certain secret virtues or powers of Nature unknown to human reason, whence arise works which we are apt to judge to be miracles, when they are not. Some of these seeming miracles deceive only the simple, not those that are learned and skilful in the natures of things. Others may deceive all men, and may be done by the Devil, who hath a further insight into the natures of things than any man hath. Yet they are not miracles; they amount not unto the making of something out of nothing, which is the proper work of the Divine power.

John Davenport

Again, I say beyond, not contrary to the constituted order of Nature, as to make a thing both to be and not to be at the same instant and in the same respect; which is simply impossible. A miracle properly so called is above the constituted order, either in respect of the work done, or of the manner of doing.

1. In respect of the work done: As when the Dead is raised, the Soul neither having an active power to unite itself to the body, nor the Carkasse (especially being resolved into its principles) a passive power of receiving the Soul; so when the blind are made to see, wanting either visive spirits or an optic nerve to transmit the spirits to the eyes; in these something is made of nothing, and so the work itself is a miracle.

2. In respect of the manner of doing: As when diseases, which might be cured in time by Art, and by degrees, are cured without the help of second causes perfectly in an instant, without pain or alteration in the body, save that which appears in the event. Here again something is made of nothing. To apply these rules to the Wonders wrought by Christ: the four Evangelists record at least forty-five miracles wrought by Christ in the three years and a half of his Ministry, besides those at his Death, when the veil of the Temple rent, the earth quaked, the rocks rent, the graves opened, and many bodies of the Saints which slept, arose and came out of the graves, and went into the holy City and appeared unto many. From observation of some of these, the Centurion and they that were with him watching Jesus, feared greatly and said: "Truly this was the Son of God." And after his Resurrection he wrought another miracle at the sea of Tiberias, which caused John to say unto Peter: "It is the Lord." In all which Miracles of Christ something was made of nothing, either in the thing done, or in the manner of doing. . . . .

The ends for which Christ wrought miracles is the next thing to be considered. The general end was, to manifest his glory. The particular ends were:

1. To declare his Godhead and to prove himself to be the Son of God. His miracles clearly showed that all creatures were in his power. For he wrought them almost upon all kinds of creatures: upon Angels, in casting out Devils; upon men, in their eyes, ears, tongues, hands, feet, whole bodies, yea, in their wills and affections; as making the owner of the ass willing to let it go upon the demand of strangers; upon beasts, in the herds of swine; upon fishes, in bringing them into the Apostles' nets in great abundance; upon the sun, in the supernatural eclipse; upon the air, in stilling the wind; upon the waters, in calming the sea; on the earth, in its quaking; on the stones, in their rending; on trees, in withering the fig-tree; on bread,

in multiplying the loaves; on water in vessels, in turning it into wine.

2. To declare his office and to prove himself to be the Messiah, promised of God by the prophets, whence the Messiah was called the mighty God, and wonderful. Now, the miracles wrought by this Jesus were such as Isaiah foretold, as he told John, and He challenged to be acknowledged for him that should come, the Messiah, the Son of God, by his miracles. For first the Messiah was to bruise the head of the Serpent, Gen. iii. 15, and this Jesus the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the Devil, I. John iii. 8. Therefore by his casting out Devils, He proved to the Pharisees that the Kingdom of God was come unto them, meaning that Kingdom of the Messiah, whereof Daniel prophesied in Dan. ii. 44. And it is evident that when this Jesus came to preach the Gospel and work miracles, "Satan fell down from Heaven like lightning," as Dagon fell before the Ark. Satan's power to delude men by magic ceased, not only in Judea, but also in Samaria afterwards, and at Philippi, and in Ephesus; and Eusebius testifieth that Porphyry, that bitter enemy against Christian religion, complained that it was no marvel that for many years the pestilence had wasted the city, seeing Æsculapius and the other gods were gone far away. "For," said he, "ever since Jesus was worshipped, we can have no more benefit from the gods;" which showeth the power of this Jesus over all the gods of the heathen, which yet were no gods, but Devils. And we know that in places where, whilst Popery was received, they were molested with fairies, hobgoblins, etc., after the Gospel was there embraced those delusions vanished. So would it be with these poor Indians, among whom we live in this Wilderness. If they would receive the Gospel, their "Hobbomacchoes" would have no more power to delude and terrify them.

THE SINFUL KEEPING OF CHRISTMAS.

[*God's Call to His People.* 1669.]

WHEN you have provoked the Lord to wrath by sin, think not to take up the matter by confessions or prayers or fastings; but remember the doctrine, That God requireth these, and "turning to him" besides. This was the counsel of God to Joshua. Also we must have good purposes and intentions; yet these are not sufficient unless they produce a real and actual turning to God. "O that there

were such an heart in them, then they would fear me and keep my Commandments always that it might be well with them and with their children forever." Natural conscience enlightened and awakened, and self-love seeking a man's own preservation and salvation, may work such good intentions and purposes; but they neither continue, because they arise from temporal motives or self-ends, nor are they effectual, because the subject in whom they are is irregenerate and carnal, and therefore such are his purposes; and "all flesh is as grass," that withereth and fadeth, but "the word of the Lord endureth forever."

Lastly, turn from your evil ways to God and the Rules of his Word. This I might apply to sundry particulars, but at present I shall speak only to one Abuse of this season of the Year, which is called "CHRISTMAS;" which is to be witnessed against, whether it be done upon a Religious, or Civil, or Mixed Account.

If upon a Religious Account: None can sanctify Time to make a day holy to the Lord, but the sanctifying Spirit in and by some Word of God in Scripture. The feasts of Purim were Civil Festivals, called "Good days of feasting, and sending gifts one to another," not "Holy times" separated from common uses to holy. Now we nowhere find warrant in Scripture for setting apart the day of Christ's Nativity from common use to religious holy use. Indeed the day of his Resurrection, the "first day of the week," that is by Christ sanctified to be the Christian's Christian Sabbath. For that was the beginning of Christ's exaltation, but the day of his Birth was the beginning of his Humiliation and Abasement; so that there is not a parity of reason between them.

If upon a Civil Account: How comes Christ's Name to be used in it, that it is called "Christmas-Day?" Whether "Mass" be taken in the Saxon sense, as signifying a "Feast," or in the Popish sense, special Masses being appointed and used in Popery on that day, I will not now dispute. But if in the first sense, how is this time abused by all profane and loose-spirited persons unto gluttony, drunkenness and misspending of precious time in gaming at cards and dice, and other wickednesses! As if Christ was born and given to us, to set men's lusts at liberty and their persons to serve sin and Satan; or as if Christians would imitate the Pagans, in their Bacchanalia and Saturnalia, rather than Christ in his temperance and doing good.

If upon a Mixed Account: This is not the time of Christ's Nativity; for Christ was not born in Winter, but rather in September, as I shall evince:

1. From Augustus Cæsar's taxing all the Roman Empire at the time when Christ was born, whereupon "all went to be taxed, every one to his own City;" which caused Joseph, with Mary his espoused wife, to

go unto Bethlehem, at that time when, and place where Christ was born. Now the Winter had been an unfit season for such affairs and travels.

2. From the time when the Angel reported the Birth of Christ to the shepherds. It was when "they were keeping watch over their flocks by night." Now shepherds watch their sheep by night, not in the open fields, in the Winter, but in the beginning of Autumn; in the Winter they house them. . . . .

Lay down therefore all former vain pretences, and yield to this Truth: That the keeping of "Christmas" in this season, is unseasonable, and in the manner as it is usually done, is unscriptural, irrational, and unlawful.

James Cudworth.

BORN in England. A Resident of Scituate, Mass. DIED in London, England, 1682.

AN OPPONENT OF PERSECUTION.

[*From George Bishop's "New England Judged."* 1661.]

A LETTER FROM JAMES CUDWORTH, MAGISTRATE, WRITTEN IN THE TENTH MONTH, 1658.

AS for the state and condition of things amongst us, it is sad, and like so to continue; the antichristian persecuting spirit is very active, and that in the powers of this world. He that will not whip and lash, persecute and punish men that differ in matters of religion, must not sit on the Bench, nor sustain any office in the Commonwealth. Last election, Mr. Hatherly and myself left off the Bench, and myself discharged of my captainship, because I had entertained some of the Quakers at my house (thereby that I might be the better acquainted with their principles). I thought it better so to do, than with the blind World to censure, condemn, rail at, and revile them, when they neither saw their persons, nor knew any of their principles. But the Quakers and myself cannot close in divers things; and so I signified to the Court I was no Quaker, but must bear my testimony against sundry things that they held, as I had occasion and opportunity. But withal, I told them, that as I was no Quaker, so I would be no persecutor. This spirit did work those two years that I was of the Magistracy; during which time I was on sundry occasions forced to declare my dissent in sundry actings of that nature; which, although

done with all moderation of expression, together with due respect unto the rest, yet it wrought great disaffection and prejudice in them, against me; so that if I should say some of themselves set others on work to frame a petition against me, that so they might have a seeming ground from others (though first moved and acted by themselves, to lay me what they could under reproach) I should do no wrong. The petition was with nineteen hands; it will be too long to make rehearsal. It wrought such a disturbance in our town, and in our Military Company, that when the Act of Court was read in the head of the Company, had not I been present and made a speech to them, I fear there had been such actings as would have been of a sad consequence.

The Court was again followed with another petition of fifty-four hands, and the Court return the petitioners an answer with much plausibleness of speech, carrying with it great show of respect to them, readily acknowledging, with the petitioners, my parts and gifts, and how useful I had been in my place; professing they had nothing at all against me, only in that thing of giving entertainment to the Quakers; when as I broke no law in giving them a night's lodging or two and some victuals. For, our law then was,—If any entertain a Quaker, and keep him after he is warned by a magistrate to depart, the party so entertaining shall pay twenty shillings a week, for entertaining them. Since hath been made a law,—If any entertain a Quaker, if but a quarter of an hour, he is to forfeit five pounds. Another,—That if any see a Quaker, he is bound, if he live six miles or more from the constable, yet he must presently go and give notice to the constable, or else is subject to the censure of the Court (which may be hang him). Another,—That if the constable know or hear of any Quaker in his precincts, he is presently to apprehend him; and if he will not presently depart the town, the constable is to whip them, and send them away. And divers have been whipped with us in our Patent; and truly, to tell you plainly, that the whipping of them with that cruelty, as some have been whipped, and their patience under it, hath sometimes been the occasion of gaining more adherence to them, than if they had suffered them openly to have preached a sermon.

Also another law,—That if there be a Quaker meeting anywhere in this Colony, the party in whose house, or on whose ground, is to pay forty shillings; the preaching Quaker forty shillings; every hearer forty shillings. Yea, and if they have meetings, though nothing be spoken when they so meet, which they say, so it falls out sometimes—our last law,—That now they are to be apprehended, and carried before a magistrate, and by him committed to be kept close prisoner, until he will promise to depart and never come again; and will also pay his fees (which I perceive they will do neither the one nor the

other); and they must be kept only with the country's allowance, which is but small (namely, coarse bread and water). No friend may bring them any thing; none may be permitted to speak with them; nay, if they have money of their own, they may not make use of that to relieve themselves.

In the Massachusetts (namely, Boston Colony) after they have whipped them, and cut their ears, have now, at last, gone the furthest step they can: they banish them upon pain of death, if ever they come there again. We expect that we must do the like; we must dance after their pipe. Now Plymouth Saddle is on the Bay Horse (viz., Boston), we shall follow them on the career; for, it is well if in some there be not a desire to be their apes and imitators in all their proceedings in things of this nature.

All these carnal and antichristian ways, being not of God's appointment, effect nothing as to the obstructing or hindering of them in their way or course. It is only the Word and Spirit of the Lord that is able to convince gainsayers: they are the mighty weapons of a Christian's warfare, by which great and mighty things are done and accomplished.

They have many meetings and many adherents, almost the whole town of Sandwich is adhering towards them; and give me leave a little to acquaint you with their sufferings, which is grievous unto and saddens the hearts of most of the precious saints of God. It lies down and rises up with them, and they cannot put it out of their minds, to see and hear of poor families deprived of their comforts and brought into penury and want (you may say, by what means? and to what end?). As far as I am able to judge of the end, it is to force them from their homes and lawful habitations, and to drive them out of their coasts. The Massachusetts have banished six of their own inhabitants, to be gone upon pain of death; and I wish that blood be not shed. But our poor people are pillaged and plundered of their goods; and haply, when they have no more to satisfy their unsatiable desire, at last may be forced to flee, and glad they have their lives for a prey.

As for the means by which they are impoverished: these in the first place were scrupulous of an oath; why then we must put in force an old law,—that all must take the oath of fidelity. This being tendered, they will not take it; and then we must add more force to the law, and that is, if any man refuse, or neglect to take it by such a time, shall pay five pounds or depart the Colony. When the time is come, they are the same as they were; then goes out the marshal, and fetcheth away their cows and other cattle. Well, another court comes, they are required to take the oath again, they cannot—then five pounds more. On this account thirty-five head of cattle, as I have been

credibly informed, hath been by the authority of our Court taken from them the latter part of this summer; and these people say,—If they have more right to them, than themselves, Let them take them. Some that had a cow only, some two cows, some three cows, and many small children in their families, to whom in summer time a cow or two was the greatest outward comfort they had for their subsistence. A poor weaver that hath seven or eight small children (I know not which), he himself lame in his body, had but two cows, and both taken from him. The marshal asked him, What he would do? He must have his cows. The man said, That God that gave him them, he doubted not, but would still provide for him.

To fill up the measure yet more full, though to the further emptying of Sandwich men of their outward comforts—the last Court of Assistants, the first Tuesday of this instant, the Court was pleased to determine fines on Sandwich men for meetings,—sometimes on first days of the week, sometimes on other days, as they say (they meet ordinarily twice in a week besides the Lord's day)—one hundred and fifty pounds; whereof W. Newland is twenty-four pounds, for himself and his wife, at ten shillings a meeting; W. Allen forty-six pounds, some affirm it forty-nine pounds; the poor weaver afore spoken of, twenty pounds. Brother Cook told me one of the brethren at Barnstable certified him, that he was in the weaver's house, when cruel Barloe (Sandwich marshal) came to demand the sum, and said he was fully informed of all the poor man had, and thought, if all laid together, it was not worth ten pounds. What will be the end of such courses and practices, the Lord only knows. I heartily and earnestly pray, that these, and such like courses, neither raise up among us, or bring in upon us either the sword or any devouring calamity, as a just avenger of the Lord's quarrel for acts of injustice and oppression; and that we may every one find out the plague of his own heart; and putting away the evil of his own doings, and meet the Lord by entreaties of peace, before it be too late, and there be no remedy. . . . .

We are wrapped up in a labyrinth of confused laws, that the freemen's power is quite gone; and it was said last June-Court by one, that they knew nothing the freemen had there to do. Sandwich men may not go to the bay, lest they be taken up for Quakers. William Newland was there about his occasions some ten days since, and they put him in prison twenty-four hours, and sent for divers to witness against him; but they had not proof enough to make him a Quaker, which if they had, he should have been whipped. Nay, they may not go about their occasions in other towns in our Colony, but warrants lie in ambush to apprehend and bring them before a magistrate, to give an account of their business. Some of the Quakers in Rhode Island

came to bring them goods to trade with them, and that for far reasonabler terms than the professing and oppressing merchants of the country; but that will not be suffered. So that unless the Lord step in to their help and assistance in some way beyond man's conceiving, their case is sad and to be pitied; and truly it moves bowels of compassion in all sorts, except those in place, who carry with a high hand towards them. Through mercy we have yet among us worthy Mr. Dunstar, whom the Lord hath made boldly to bear testimony against the spirit of persecution.

Our bench now is, Tho. Prince, Governor; Mr. Collier, Capt. Willet, Capt. Winslow, Mr. Alden, Lieut. Southworth, W. Bradford, Tho. Hinckley. Mr. Collier last June would not sit on the Bench, if I sat there, and now will not sit the next year, unless he may have thirty pounds sit by him. Our Court and deputies last June made Capt. Winslow a major. Surely we are all mercenary soldiers, that must have a major imposed upon us. Doubtless the next Court they may choose us a Governor and assistants also. A freeman shall need to do nothing but bear such burdens as are laid upon him. Mr. Alden hath deceived the expectations of many, and indeed lost the affections of such, as I judge were his cordial Christian friends; who is very active in such ways, as I pray God may not be charged on him, to be oppressions of a high nature.

Letters of the Quakers.

TO THE BLOODY TOWN OF BOSTON.

[*From George Bishop's "New England Judged."* 1661.]

JOINT LETTER OF WILLIAM ROBINSON AND MARMADUKE STEPHENSON, WRITTEN IN THE COMMON GAOL IN THE BLOODY TOWN OF BOSTON IN 1659.

HEARKEN and give ear thou Town of Boston, lend an ear O ye Rulers, chief Priests, and Inhabitants thereof! Listen all you that dwell therein, Rich and Poor, Small and Great, High and Low, Bond and Free, of what sort soever! Give ear; be attentive to the Words of my mouth, which proceed from the Spirit of the Lord, and from the Power of the Almighty within me.

I have often considered your conditions, and your actings have often come into my remembrance, which hath caused me often to lament, be-

cause of the hardness of your hearts, who do thus slight the Almighty, and requite the Most High. O foolish and unwise, ye who do not regard the Lord that made you, who hath often sent to you his Servants, to give you warning of the mighty day of the Lord of Hosts, of the terrible day of the Lord God Almighty, which draweth near, it hastens apace; the Lord hath said it for his Elect's sake, and for his own Name's sake will the Lord arise and plead with all his Enemies in this the day of his Eternal Power.

O ye children of men, who are the workmanship of his hands, will ye resist the Lord, the Lord God Almighty, the Holy One of Israel, the Strong and Mighty God, who is arising in his Saints, and coming forth in his Strength to scatter his Enemies and to destroy Pharaoh and all his hosts and chariots in the Red Sea, after the Seed is come out of Egypt, and to turn the pride and haughtiness of men backwards, that rises to withstand the Lord? Oh, consider, ye Potsherds, who are as unstable as the waves of the sea and are as the wind in his hand, which He turneth and causeth to blow which way it pleaseth him, who will confound you and destroy you in your imaginations that you have imagined against him and his Saints. O man! What art thou that standest to resist the Lord, the mighty God of Jacob? Did ever any of your Fathers, the Persecutors of old, prosper? Did not the Lord consume them with the breath of his nostrils and with the word of his mouth? Who will tear you to pieces, that rise up in rebellion against him. Consider, was it in vain that one said in a certain place, That rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft? Consider, O ye that inhabit the earth, whose dwelling-place is beneath; doth not the Lord behold all your actions and all your unrighteous doings? O ye Rulers and chief Priests, are ye combining together? are ye joined together? are you in league together, as the Rulers and chief Priests were in former ages? Consider their ends, and consider what you are doing! Are you so blind that you cannot see you are persecuting the Saints of the Most High? You who are seeking the life of the Righteous, and that nothing but blood will satisfy; "The Lord will give you blood to drink," you that thirst for it, you shall have enough of it; you who spill and drink the "Blood of the Saints and Martyrs of Jesus," are not your Brethren gone before you, in whose steps ye are treading? and the fruits of the Devil you are bringing forth, "Ye uncircumcised in hearts and ears," who do thus "resist the Lord of Life." . . . .

Oh, I am full of the Spirit of the Lord, and of the Power of him that made me, who hath said unto me, "Fear not man, whose breath is in his nostrils, nor the son of man that must die." For the Lord hath said unto me, "For this end have I called thee, and for this

cause I have ordained thee; fear them not, neither be dismayed at their looks, nor be afraid of their threatening words. I, the Lord that created thee, am with thee. Therefore fear not what man shall do unto thee, for I have made thee as a wall of brass, whereat the bloody-minded men shall shoot their arrows, but shall not touch thee as to offend thee." Therefore the Lord hath said unto me, "Let not thy heart faint because of what I shall suffer them to do unto thee; but let thy hands be strong in the Lord thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel; for thy adversaries shall be confounded, and the Enemies of the Lord shall be destroyed in that day." . . . .

Woe, woe to thee, thou Bloody Town of Boston, and the rest that are confederate with Thee, and it thou canst not escape; thou who hast shed the blood of the Innocent People called Quakers, and imprisoned and fined them, and taken away their goods, and they have become a prey unto thee, for thee to exercise thy cruelty upon them, and thou boasts in thy wickedness and "thinks thou dost God good service to hand and put to death" the people called Quakers. Verily, this is the thoughts and intents of the hearts of many of you in this New England; but especially within thee, and within thy jurisdiction that belongs unto thee, O thou Town of Boston; for these words following did one say (in the Governor's House) whose name is Edward Rawson, called Secretary, who did threaten me with these words following (on the 18th of the 4th month, 1659), That if I came again after I was sent away, or banished, he said, he would write a warrant with his own hand to send me to the gallows to be hanged. Are these your fruits, your corrupt speeches, to threaten the innocent with your gallows, to hang them thereon? Oh, that ever such words should proceed out of a man's mouth! to say that he would write a warrant with his own hand, to send an Innocent Person to the gallows to be hanged. Well, all this we can bear; the Lord hath brought forth his Suffering Seed, and through suffering must the Lamb and his Saints overcome and get the Victory, and the wicked must be destroyed, and such who have been guilty of blood. Was ever the like heard before, That men professing to have so much of the Knowledge of God, and professing to fear God, that such should become so bloody! and become so great persecutors of a people who are despised of the World, but loved of God; and the Presence of the Lord is with them, whom you persecute, and you must fall before them, for the Lord God is with them and among them that are the Sufferers under you.

THE CRY OF THE PERSECUTED.

[*New England Judged. The Second Part.* 1667.]

JOINT LETTER FROM MARY TRASKE AND MARGARET SMITH, WRITTEN IN 1660.

TO thee, John Endicott, and the rest of the rulers of this jurisdiction, who are given up to fight against the Lord and his truth in this day wherein it is springing forth, and by the comeliness of it hath the Lord our God constrained us to take up the cross and follow him through great trials and sufferings as to the outward. And herein we can rejoice that we are counted worthy and called thereunto to bear a testimony against a cruel and hard-hearted people, who are slighting the day of their visitation and foolishly requiting the Lord for his goodness, and shamefully entreating his hidden ones whom he hath sent amongst you to call you from the evil of your ways, that ye might come with them to partake of his love and feel his life and power in your own hearts; that with us ye might have been brought to be subject to the higher power, Christ Jesus; whom you should have been obedient unto, and hearkened to his judgments while he stood at the door and knocked (for he will not always strive with man), and then it should have been well with you. But seeing you are gone from this that leadeth into tenderness, love and meekness, and to do unto all as you would be done unto; therefore you are given up unto a Spirit of Error and hardness of heart and blindness of mind; the eye of your minds being blinded by the god of this world; so that you cannot see our life which is hid with Christ in God, who is become our light and life, and hope of glory, and our exceeding great reward; in whom we do rejoice. Yea, surely the God of Jacob is with us whatever you may be able to say against us; for behold the Lord our God is arising as a mighty and terrible one to plead the cause of his people and to clear the cause of the innocent; but surely He will in nowise acquit the guilty who have shed the blood of the innocent; and you shall assuredly feel his judgments who have wilfully put forth your hands against his Chosen. You have cut off the righteous from amongst you and are still taking counsel against the Lord, to proceed against more of his people, but this know, the Lord our God will confound your counsel and lay your glory in the dust. Unto whom will you flee for help, and whither will ye go to hide yourselves? For verily the Lord will strip off all your coverings, for you are not covered with the Spirit of the Lord, therefore the woe is gone out against you; for your place of defence is a refuge of lies and under falsehoods you have hid yourselves.

Woe, woe unto you, for you have forsaken the Lord, the fountain of living waters, and are greedily swallowing the polluted waters that comes through the stinking channel of your hireling masters, unclean spirits, whom Christ cries woe against, and who cannot cease from sin, having hearts exercised with covetous practices. Woe unto them (saith the Scripture), for they have run greedily after the error of Balaam who loved the wages of unrighteousness; and are seeking enchantments against the seed of Jacob; their divinations against Israel the Lord will confound; and all your wicked counsel bring to naught. Woe unto you that decree unrighteous decrees and write grievousness, which you have prescribed to turn away the poor and needy from their right. Have you not sold yourselves to work wickedness, and are strengthening yourselves in your abominations till the measure of your iniquity be full? Surely the overflowing scourge will pass over you and sweep away your refuge of lies, and your covenant with hell shall be disannulled; for lo, destruction and misery is in your way and the way of peace you do not know, for you are gone from the good old way after your own ways, therefore the way of holiness is hid from your eyes. Oh, that you had owned the day of your visitation before it had been too late, and had hearkened to the voice of his servants whom He hath sent unto you again and again in love and tenderness to your souls; but ye would not hearken unto the Lord when He called, therefore when ye cry and call He will not hear you. Although you may call unto him yet He will not answer; He will laugh at your calamity when it cometh, for you have set at naught all his counsel, and have chosen rather to walk in your own counsel. But this know, that if ye had hearkened to the counsel of the Lord, the light, which is now your condemnation, and had waited there to know his will, then you should have known it; and then these wicked laws had never been made nor prosecuted by you, which you have made in your own wills, contrary to the law of God, which is pure and leadeth all that yieldeth obedience to it into purity and holiness of life. And for our being obedient to this law which the Lord hath written in our hearts, we are hated and persecuted by you who are in Cain's nature murdering the just; yea, surely the cause is the Lord's, for which we have suffered all this time, and the battle is the Lord's, and He will arise and stand up for them that faithfully bear forth their testimony to the end. And ye shall be as broken vessels before him, which cannot be joined together again; therefore fear and tremble before the Lord, who is coming upon you as a thief in the night; from whom you shall not be able to hide yourselves, and will reward you according to your works; whose judgments are just; and He is risen to plead with the unjust rulers, priests and people, who are joined together in a profession of godliness, and

of glorying in it, but denying the power thereof in them where it appears. But your glorying will be turned into shame and confusion of face, and your beauty will be as the fading flower which suddenly withereth away; and this you shall find to be true in the day when the Lord shall accomplish it upon you. And we have written to clear our consciences, and if ye account us your enemies for speaking the truth, and heat the furnace of our affliction hotter, yet know we shall not fall down and worship your wills; neither esteem all the dumb idols, after which you are led, of no other use but to be thrown aside to the moles and the bats; for what are the shadows, if it were of good things to come, to the substance? And that which seemed glorious hath no glory in respect of that which excelleth; and all the sufferings that we have endured from you for Christ have not at all marred his visage to us, but we still see more beauty in him; well knowing, that as they did unto him so they do unto us, and now they are come to pass, we remember that He said these things.

MARY TRASKE,
MARGARET SMITH.

From your house of Correction where we have been unjustly restrained from our children and habitations, one of us above ten months, and the other about eight; and where we are yet continued by your oppressors that know no shame;

BOSTON, 21st of the 10th Month, 1660.

THE FAREWELL OF A VICTIM.

[*New England Judged.* 1661.]

LETTER FROM WILLIAM LEDDRA WRITTEN TO HIS FRIENDS ON THE DAY BEFORE HIS EXECUTION, IN 1661.

MOST DEAR AND INWARDLY BELOVED: The sweet influences of the Morning-Star, like a flood distilling into my innocent habitation, hath so filled me with the joy of the Lord in the beauty of holiness, that my spirit is as if it did not inhabit a tabernacle of clay, but is wholly swallowed up in the bosom of eternity, from whence it had its being.

Alas, alas! What can the wrath and spirit of man, that lusteth to envy, aggravated by the heat and strength of the king of the locusts, which came out of the pit, do unto one that is hid in the secret places

of the Almighty? or unto them that are gathered under the healing wings of the Prince of peace? under whose armor of light they shall be able to stand in the day of trial, having on the breastplate of righteousness and the sword of the Spirit, which is their weapon of war against spiritual wickedness, principalities and powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world, both within and without! Oh, my beloved! I have waited as a dove at the windows of the ark, and have stood still in that watch, which the Master (without whom I could do nothing) did at his coming reward with fulness of his love, wherein my heart did rejoice, that I might in the love and life of God speak a few words to you sealed with the spirit of promise, that the taste thereof might be a savor of life to your life, and a testimony in you of my innocent death. And if I had been altogether silent, and the Lord had not opened my mouth unto you, yet He would have opened your hearts, and there have sealed my innocency with the streams of life, by which we are all baptized into that body which is in God, with whom, and in whose presence there is life; in which, as you abide, you stand upon the pillar and ground of truth. For, the life being the truth and the way, go not one step without it, lest you should compass a mountain in the wilderness; for, unto every thing there is a season. . . . Fear not what they can do unto you; greater is He that is in you, than he that is in the world; for He will clothe you with humility, and in the power of his meekness you shall reign over all the rage of your enemies in the favor of God; wherein, as you stand in faith, ye are the salt of the earth; for, many seeing your good works, may glorify God in the day of their visitation.

Take heed of receiving that which you saw not in the light, lest you give ear to the enemy. Bring all things to the light, that they may be proved, whether they be wrought in God; the love of the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eye, are without the light, in the world; therefore possess your vessels in all sanctification and honor, and let your eye look at the mark. He that hath called you is holy; and if there be an eye that offends, pluck it out, and cast it from you. Let not a temptation take hold, for if you do, it will keep from the favor of God, and that will be a sad state; for, without grace possessed, there is no assurance of salvation. By grace you are saved; and the witnessing of it is sufficient for you, to which I commend you all, my dear friends, and in it remain,

Your brother,

WILLIAM LEDDRA.

BOSTON gaol, the 13th of the First Month, $16\frac{80}{81}$.

The Quaker Petition.

A RECITAL OF GRIEVOUS OUTRAGES.

[*Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers.* 1753.]

THE PROTEST AND APPEAL TO THE THRONE, OF ROUSE, COPELAND, AND OTHERS, PRESENTED BY SAMUEL SHATTUCK IN 1661.

A DECLARATION of some part of the sufferings of the People of God in scorn called Quakers, from the Professors in New England, only for the exercise of their consciences to the Lord, and obeying and confessing to the truth, as in his light he had discovered it to them:

1. Two honest and innocent women stripped stark naked, and searched after an inhuman manner.

2. Twelve strangers in that country, but freeborn of this nation, received twenty-three whippings, the most of them being with a whip of three cords with knots at the ends, and laid on with as much strength as could be by the arm of their executioner, the stripes amounting to three hundred and seventy.

3. Eighteen inhabitants of the country, being freeborn English, received twenty-three whippings, the stripes amounting to two hundred and fifty.

4. Sixty-four imprisonments of the Lord's People, for their obedience to his will, amounting to five hundred and nineteen weeks, much of it being very cold weather, and the inhabitants kept in prison in harvest time, which was very much to their loss; besides many more imprisoned, of which time we cannot give a just account.

5. Two beaten with pitched ropes, the blows amounting to an hundred and thirty-nine, by which one of them was brought near unto death, much of his body being beaten like unto a jelly, and one of their doctors, a member of their church, who saw him, said, it would be a miracle if ever he recovered, he expecting the flesh should rot off the bones, who afterwards was banished upon pain of death. There are many witnesses of this there.

6. Also an innocent man, an inhabitant of Boston, they banished from his wife and children, and put to seek an habitation in the winter, and in case he returned again, he was to be kept prisoner during his life, and for returning again he was put in prison, and hath been now a prisoner above a year.

7. Twenty-five banishments upon the penalties of being whipped, or having their ears cut, or branded in the hand, if they returned.

8. Fines laid upon the inhabitants for meeting together, and edifying one another, as the Saints ever did; and for refusing to swear, it being contrary to Christ's Command, amounting to about a thousand pounds, beside what they have done since that we have not heard of. Many families, in which there are many children, are almost ruined by their unmerciful proceedings.

9. Five kept fifteen days in all, without food, and fifty-eight days shut up close by the gaoler, and had none that he knew of; and from some of them he stopt up the windows, hindering them from convenient air.

10. One laid neck and heels in irons for sixteen hours.

11. One very deeply burnt in the right hand with the letter (H) after he had been whipt with above thirty stripes.

12. One chained to a log of wood the most part of twenty days, in an open prison, in the winter time.

13. Five appeals to England denied at Boston.

14. Three had their right ears cut by the hangman in the prison, the door being barred, and not a friend suffered to be present while it was doing, though some much desired it.

15. One of the inhabitants of Salem, who since is banished upon pain of death, had one half of his house and land seized on while he was in prison, a month before he knew of it.

16. At a General Court in Boston they made an order, that those who had not wherewithal to answer the fines that were laid upon them for their consciences, should be sold for bondmen and bondwomen to Barbadoes, Virginia, or any of the English plantations.

17. Eighteen of the People of God were at several times banished upon pain of death; six of them were their own inhabitants, two of which being very aged people, and well known among their neighbors to be of honest conversation, being banished from their houses and families, and put upon travelling and other hardships, soon ended their days, whose death we can do no less than charge upon the rulers of Boston, they being the occasion of it.

18. Also three of the servants of the Lord they put to death, all of them for obedience to the truth, in the testimony of it, against the wicked rulers and laws at Boston.

19. And since they have banished four more upon pain of death, and twenty-four of the inhabitants of Salem were presented, and more fines called for, and their goods seized on to the value of forty pounds for meeting together in the fear of God, and some for refusing to swear.

These things, O King! from time to time have we patiently suffered, and not for the transgression of any just or righteous law, either pertaining to the Worship of God, or the Civil Government of England,

but simply and barely for our consciences to God, of which we can more at large give thee, or whom thou mayst order, a full account (if thou will let us have admission to thee, who are banished upon pain of death, and have had our ears cut, who are some of us in England attending upon thee) both of the causes of our sufferings, and the manner of their disorderly and illegal proceedings against us; they began with immodesty, went on in inhumanity and cruelty, and were not satisfied until they had the blood of three of the martyrs of Jesus: revenge for all which we do not seek, but lay them before thee, considering thou hast been well acquainted with sufferings, and so mayst the better consider them that suffer, and mayst for the future restrain the violence of these rulers of New England, having power in thy hands, they being but the children of the family of which thou art Chief Ruler, who have in divers their proceedings forfeited their Patent, as upon strict inquiry in many particulars will appear.

And this, O King! we are assured of, that in time to come it will not repent thee, if by a close rebuke thou stoppest the bloody proceedings of these bloody persecutors, for in so doing thou wilt engage the hearts of many honest people unto thee both there and here, and for such works of mercy the blessing is obtained; and showing it is the way to prosper: We are witnesses of these things, who

Besides many long imprisonments, and many cruel whippings, had our ears cut,

JOHN ROUSE,
JOHN COPELAND.

Besides many long imprisonments, divers cruel whippings, with the seizing on our goods, are banished upon pain of death, and some of us do wait here in England, and desire that we may have an order to return in peace to our families,

SAMUEL SHATTOCK, JOSIAH SOUTHICK,
NICHOLAS PHELPS, JOSEPH NICHOLSON, JANE NICHOLSON.

George Alsop.

BORN in England, 1638. Resident in Maryland, 1659–63.

THE LOFTY VIRTUES OF THE MARYLANDERS.

[*A Character of the Province of Mary-Land*, 1666.]

HERE if the lawyer had nothing else to maintain him but his bawling, he might button up his chaps, and burn his buckram bag,

or else hang it upon a pin until its antiquity had eaten it up with dirt and dust. Then with a spade, like his Grandsire Adam, turn up the face of the Creation, purchasing his bread by the sweat of his brows, that before was got by the motionated water-works of his jaws. So contrary to the genius of the people, if not to the quiet government of the Province, that the turbulent spirit of continued and vexatious law, with all its quirks and evasions, is openly and most eagerly opposed, that might make matters either dubious, tedious, or troublesome. All other matters that would be ranging in contrary and improper spheres, (in short) are here by the power moderated, lowered and subdued. All villainous outrages that are committed in other States, are not so much as known here. A man may walk in the open woods as secure from being externally dissected, as in his own house or dwelling. So hateful is a robber, that if but once imagined to be so, he 's kept at a distance, and shunned as the pestilential noisomeness.

It is generally and very remarkably observed, That those whose lives and conversations have had no other gloss or glory stamped on them in their own Country, but the stigmatization of baseness, were here (by the common civilities and deportments of the inhabitants of this Province) brought to detest and loathe their former actions. . . . Here 's no Newgates for pilfering Felons, nor Ludgates for Debtors, nor any Bridewells to lash the soul of concupiscence into a chaste repentance. For as there is none of these prisons in Mary-Land, so the merits of the Country deserves none, but if any be foully vicious, he is so reserved in it, that he seldom or never becomes popular. Common ale-houses (whose dwellings are the only receptacles of debauchery and baseness, and those schools that trains up Youth, as well as Age, to ruin), in this Province there are none; neither hath Youth his swing or range in such a profuse and unbridled liberty as in other Countries; for from an ancient custom at the primitive seating of the place, the son works as well as the servant (an excellent cure for untamed Youth), so that before they eat their bread, they are commonly taught how to earn it; which makes them by that time Age speaks them capable of receiving that which their parents' indulgency is ready to give them, and which partly is by their own laborious industry purchased, they manage it with such a serious, grave and watching care, as if they had been Masters of Families, trained up in that domestic and governing power from their cradles. These Christian Natives of the Land, especially those of the masculine sex, are generally conveniently confident, reservedly subtile, quick in apprehending, but slow in resolving; and where they spy profit sailing towards them with the wings of a prosperous gale, there they become much familiar. The Women differ something in this point, though not much. They are

GEORGE ALSOP

View here the Shadow whose Ingenious Hand
Hath drawne exact the Province Mary Land
Displayd her Glory in such Scenes of Witt
That those that read must fall in Love with it
For which his Labour hee deserves the praise
As well as Poets doe the wreath of Bays.

Anno Dō. 1666. Ætatis Suæ 28. H.W.

extreme bashful at the first view, but after a continuance of time hath brought them acquainted, there they become discreetly familiar, and are much more talkative than men. All complimental courtships, dressed up in critical rareties, are mere strangers to them, plain wit comes nearest their genius; so that he that intends to court a Mary-Land Girl, must have something more than the tautologies of a long-winded speech to carry on his design, or else he may (for aught I know) fall under the contempt of her frown, and his own windy oration.

One great part of the inhabitants of this Province are desiredly zealous, great pretenders to Holiness; and where any thing appears that carries on the frontispiece of its effigies the stamp of Religion, though fundamentally never so imperfect, they are suddenly taken with it, and out of an eager desire to any thing that's new, not weighing the sure matter in the balance of reason, are very apt to be catched. Quakerism is the only opinion that bears the bell away. The Anabaptists have little to say here, as well as in other places, since the Ghost of John of Leyden haunts their Conventicles. The Adamite, Ranter, and Fifth-Monarchy men, Mary-Land cannot, nay will not digest within her liberal stomach such corroding morsels: so that this Province is an utter Enemy to blasphemous and zealous Imprecations, drained from the Limbec of hellish and damnable Spirits, as well as profuse profaneness, that issues from the prodigality of none but crack-brained Sots.

'Tis said the Gods lower down that chain above
That ties both Prince and Subject up in love;
And if this fiction of the Gods be true,
Few, Mary-Land, in this can boast but you.
Live ever blest, and let those clouds that do
Eclipse most States, be always lights to you;
And dwelling so, you may forever be
The only emblem of Tranquillity.

DIVERS ABORIGINAL CUSTOMS AND ABSURDITIES.

[*From the Same.*]

THOSE Indians that I have conversed withal here in this Province of Mary-Land, and have had any ocular experimental view of either of their Customs, Manners, Religions, and Absurdities, are called by the name of Susquehanocks, being a people looked upon by the Christian inhabitants as the most noble and heroic nation of Indians that

dwell upon the confines of America; also are so allowed and looked upon by the rest of the Indians, by a submissive and tributary acknowledgment; being a people cast into the mould of a most large and warlike deportment, the men being for the most part seven foot high in latitude, and in magnitude and bulk suitable to so high a pitch; their voice large and hollow, as ascending out of a cave, their gait and behavior straight, stately and majestic, treading on the Earth with as much pride, contempt, and disdain to so sordid a Centre, as can be imagined from a creature derived from the same mould and Earth. . . .

The Indians paint upon their faces one stroke of red, another of green, another of white, and another of black, so that when they have accomplished the equipage of their countenance in this trim, they are the only Hieroglyphicks and Representatives of the Furies. Their skins are naturally white, but altered from their originals by the several dyeings of roots and barks, that they prepare and make useful to metamorphize their hides into a dark cinnamon brown. The hair of their head is black, long and harsh, but where Nature hath appointed the situation of it anywhere else, they divert it (by an ancient custom) from its growth, by pulling it up hair by hair by the root in its primitive appearance. Several of them wear divers impressions on their breasts and arms, as the picture of the Devil, bears, tigers, and panthers, which are imprinted on their several lineaments with much difficulty and pain, with an irrevocable determination of its abiding there: and this they count a badge of heroic valor, and the only ornament due to their heroes.

These Susquehanock Indians are for the most part great Warriors, and seldom sleep one Summer in the quiet arms of a peaceable rest, but keep (by their present power, as well as by their former conquest) the several Nations of Indians round about them in a forcible obedience and subjection.

Their Government is wrapped up in so various and intricate a labyrinth, that the speculativest Artist in the whole World, with his artificial and natural optics, cannot see into the rule or sway of these Indians, to distinguish what name of Government to call them by. . . . All that ever I could observe in them as to this matter is, that he that is most cruelly valorous, is accounted the most noble. Here is very seldom any creeping from a country farm into a courtly gallantry by a sum of money; nor feeing the Heralds to put daggers and pistols into their arms, to make the ignorant believe that they are lineally descended from the house of the Wars and Conquests; he that fights best carries it here.

When they determine to go upon some design that will and doth require a consideration, some six of them get into a corner, and sit in

Junto; and if thought fit, their business is made popular, and immediately put into action; if not, they make a full stop to it, and are silently reserved.

The Warlike Equipage they put themselves in when they prepare for Belona's March, is with their faces, arms, and breasts confusedly painted, their hair greased with bears' oil, and stuck thick with swans' feathers, with a wreath or diadem of black and white beads upon their heads, a small hatchet, instead of a cimeter, stuck in their girts behind them, and either with guns, or bows and arrows. In this posture and dress they march out from their Fort, or dwelling, to the number of forty in a troop, singing (or rather howling out) the decades or warlike exploits of their Ancestors, ranging the wide woods until their fury has met with an Enemy worthy of their revenge. What prisoners fall into their hands by the destiny of war, they treat them very civilly while they remain with them abroad, but when they once return homewards, they then begin to dress them in the habit for death, putting on their heads and arms wreaths of beads, greasing their hair with fat, some going before, and the rest behind, at equal distance from their Prisoners, bellowing in a strange and confused manner, which is a true presage and forerunner of destruction to their then conquered Enemy. . . . The common and usual deaths they put their Prisoners to, is to bind them to stakes, making a fire some distance from them; then one or other of them, whose Genius delights in the art of Paganish dissection, with a sharp knife or flint cuts the cutis or outermost skin of the brow so deep, until their nails, or rather talons, can fasten themselves firm and secure in, then (with a most rigid jerk) disrobeth the head of skin and hair at one pull, leaving the skull almost as bare as those Monumental Skeletons at Chirurgeons' Hall; but for fear they should get cold by leaving so warm and customary a cap off, they immediately apply to the skull a cataplasm of hot embers to keep their pericranium warm. While they are thus acting this cruelty on their heads, several others are preparing pieces of iron, and barrels of old guns, which they make red hot, to sear each part and lineament of their bodies, which they perform and act in a most cruel and barbarous manner. And while they are thus in the midst of their torments and execrable usage, some tearing their skin and hair of their head off by violence, others searing their bodies with hot irons, some are cutting their flesh off, and eating it before their eyes raw while they are alive; yet all this and much more never makes them lower the top-gallant sail of their heroic courage, to beg with a submissive repentance any indulgent favor from their persecuting Enemies; but with an undaunted contempt to their cruelty, eye it with so slight and mean a respect, as if it were below them to value what they did, they courageously (while

breath doth libertize them) sing the summary of their warlike achievements.

Now after this cruelty has brought their tormented lives to a period, they immediately fall to butchering of them into parts, distributing the several pieces amongst the Sons of War, to entomb the ruins of their deceased conquest in no other sepulchre than their unsanctified maws; which they with more appetite and desire do eat and digest, than if the best of foods should court their stomachs to participate of the most restorative banquet. Yet though they now and then feed upon the carcasses of their Enemies, this is not a common diet, but only a particular dish for the better sort; for there is not a beast that runs in the woods of America, but if they can by any means come at him, without any scruple of conscience they 'll fall to (without saying Grace) with a devouring greediness.

As for their Religion, together with their Rites and Ceremonies, they are so absurd and ridiculous, that it 's almost a sin to name them. They own no other Deity than the Devil (solid or profound), but with a kind of a wild imaginary conjecture, they suppose from their groundless conceits, that the World had a Maker, but where he is that made it, or whether he be living to this day, they know not. The Devil, as I said before, is all the God they own or worship; and that more out of a slavish fear than any real reverence to his Infernal or Diabolical greatness, he forcing them to their obedience by his rough and rigid dealing with them, often appearing visibly among them to their terror, bastinadoing them (with cruel menaces) even unto death, and burning their fields of corn and houses, that the relation thereof makes them tremble themselves when they tell it.

Once in four years they sacrifice a child to him, in an acknowledgment of their firm obedience to all his Devilish powers, and Hellish commands. The Priests, to whom they apply themselves in matters of importance and greatest distress, are like those that attended upon the Oracle at Delphos, who by their magic spells could command a *pro* or *con* from the Devil when they pleased. These Indians ofttimes raise great tempests when they have any weighty matter or design in hand, and by blustering storms inquire of their Infernal God (the Devil) how matters shall go with them either in public or private.

When any among them depart this life, they give him no other entombment than to set him upright upon his breech in a hole dug in the Earth some five foot long, and three foot deep, covered over with the bark of trees archwise, with his face due west, only leaving a hole half a foot square open. They dress him in the same equipage and gallantry that he used to be trimmed in when he was alive, and so bury him (if a Soldier) with his bows, arrows, and target, together

with all the rest of his implements and weapons of war, with a kettle of broth, and corn standing before him, lest he should meet with bad quarters in his way. His Kindred and Relations follow him to the grave, sheathed in bear-skins for close mourning, with the tail droiling on the ground, in imitation of our English Solemners, that think there 's nothing like a tail a degree in length, to follow the dead corpse to the grave with. . . . .

The Women are the Butchers, Cooks, and Tillers of the ground; the Men think it below the honor of a Masculine to stoop to any thing but that which their gun, or bow and arrows can command. The Men kill the several beasts which they meet withal in the woods, and the Women are the pack-horses to fetch it in upon their backs, flaying and dressing the hides, (as well as the flesh for provision,) to make them fit for trading. . . . .

I never observed all the while I was amongst these naked Indians, that ever the Women wore the breeches, or dared either in look or action to predominate over the Men. They are very constant to their Wives; and let this be spoken to their heathenish praise, that did they not alter their bodies by their dyeings, paintings, and cutting themselves, marring those excellencies that Nature bestowed upon them in their original conceptions and birth, there would be as amiable beauties amongst them, as any Alexandria could afford, when Marc Antony and Cleopatra dwelt there together. Their marriages are short and authentic; for after 't is resolved upon by both parties, the Woman sends her intended Husband a kettle of boiled Venison or bear; and he returns in lieu thereof beaver or otters' skins, and so their Nuptial Rites are concluded without other ceremony.

UPON A PURPLE CAP.

[*From the Same.*]

HAIL from the dead, or from Eternity,
Thou Velvet Relique of Antiquity;
Thou which appear'st here in thy purple hue,
Tell 's how the dead within their tombs do do;
How those Ghosts fare within each marble cell,
Where amongst them for ages thou didst dwell.
What brain didst cover there? tell us that we
Upon our knees vail hats to honor thee:
And if no honor 's due, tell us whose pate
Thou basely coveredst, and we 'll jointly hate:

Let's know his name, that we may show neglect;
If otherwise, we'll kiss thee with respect.
Say, didst thou cover Noll's old brazen head,
Which on the top of Westminster high lead
Stands on a pole, erected to the sky,
As a grand trophy to his memory.
From his perfidious skull didst thou fall down,
In a disdain to honor such a crown
With three-pile velvet? Tell me, hadst thou thy fall
From the high top of that Cathedral?

Thomas Walley.

BORN in England about 1616. Minister in Barnstable, Mass. DIED there in 1678.

THE LANGUISHING COMMONWEALTH.

[*Balm in Gilead to heal Sion's Wounds.* 1669.]

WE have cause to fear that our condition is but sad this day, for our case looks like the case of this people that the Prophet speaks of. We have Gilead's Balm and Gilead's physicians, and yet we are a sick people; we have the means of healing amongst us, that means that is proper and suitable, and yet we continue a wounded and weak people. What means can a people have more for cure than we have? God is yet in our Sion, we have healing ordinances, the preaching of the Gospel, the seals of the covenant of grace, Magistrates that would heal the sicknesses of Sion, and Ministers that mourn for the hurt of the daughter of Sion.

Surely this day New England is sick, the country is a sickly country; the country is full of healthful bodies, but sick souls.

I shall name two or three of the diseases that reign amongst us and do most mischief.

1. The Lethargy, a cold sleepy disease; there seems to be an insensibleness of sin and danger. Faith is dead, and Love is cold, and Zeal is gone; the wise and foolish virgins seem to be all asleep, in a deep sleep of security. The power of godliness decays, the trumpet sounds, the alarm is given, yet the most sleep on.

Oh ye Christians that are not quite asleep! do not you perceive that the love of the most of the professors of religion is grown cold to Christ, to truth, to ordinances, to one another? And that which renders our case the more sad, is, that neither the Word of God nor the

Rod of God awakens us; though we see that Satan is busy, yet we are idle. Indeed when Saints do least good, the Devil doth most hurt; while they sleep, he is awake. It is to be feared, that we shall be awakened in some dreadful way, by some sudden and unexpected tempest of divine wrath. A Laodicean frame of spirit is hateful to God.

2. There is a Burning Fever amongst us, a Fire of Contention in towns, in churches; fuel is laid upon this fire daily. What town or what church is there that is free from this disease? The work of Contention is followed as though it were the work of our day, as though we had nothing else to do. Many through the pride of their hearts are very unquiet, and cannot be content in the places God hath set them in, but strive for mastery, dominion and rule, forgetting that counsel of the Apostle: "My brethren, be not many Masters." This comes from pride and self-love. Proud Nature is discontented with the condition that God hath put man in. The great reason why many are unquiet, is, because they do not think they are high enough either in the Church or in the Commonwealth. The Contentions and Divisions that are amongst us are a sign that lust reigns, and that God's destroying judgments are not far off. The Fire of Contention will consume all, except God prevent.

3. Many are possessed with an Evil Spirit. It's observed that when Christ came into the world there were more possessed with evil spirits than had been in any age; and it is to be wondered at that in this time, in which the Gospel is so clearly preached and religion so much professed, that so many should be possessed with evil spirits.

Some, with a spirit of oppression, cruelty and covetousness; some, with a spirit of error and delusion; some, with a spirit of envy and jealousy; others are filled with pride in heart and manners. Was it ever worse among the Jews than it is with us? That which is threatened as a sore judgment to the Jews, is in a great measure fulfilled among us this day: "The people shall be oppressed, every one by another, and every one by his neighbor; the child shall behave himself proudly against the Ancient, and the base against the Honorable." Many of the children of this generation, if they consider their carriage to their parents, will have little cause to expect much obedience from their children, and are like in their latter years to reap the fruit of their present disobedience to their parents. Oh, how sad is it that there should be such a spirit of profaneness, looseness and wilfulness against counsel in our days! Truly if the means we have do not cure us, what is like to cure us? God will either make us better or leave us. God would heal us, and we will not be healed. . . . .

Let this be matter of admiration as well as of humiliation to us, that a sick people that have all means to heal them are not healed; that

those who have Gilead's Balm and Gilead's physicians are yet sick. And if we do not wonder at it, strangers will hereafter, That a people that have such proper suitable means are still unrecovered, and dying under them. I speak not to flatter. We have a godly Magistracy, that have made it manifest that they are willing, yea earnestly desirous of healing the sicknesses of Church and State. We have godly Ministers, that I am confident would spend and be spent for the recovery of the health of the daughter of Sion. We have holy ordinances, and we have some mourning and praying Saints, that lament the evils that are among us; and God's Providences call upon us daily to get our sickness healed. And is it not a wonder that a people that hath such means and mercies should still languish of their diseases? Oh that that which is said of Nineveh, might never be said of us: "There is no healing of thy bruises, thy wound is grievous"! It would be sad, if God should threaten us as he doth Egypt: "In vain shalt thou use many medicines, for thou shalt not be cured." Or if God should say as once concerning Babylon: "We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed; forsake her, and let us go every one into his own country." It was no wonder that these heathen nations could not be healed, but it is matter of astonishment that Sion is not, that New England should have so much means of healing, and yet continue sick; that a people that are lifted up to Heaven with mercies should be so likely to be thrown down to Hell.

Nathaniel Morton.

BORN in England, 1612. DIED at Plymouth, Mass., 1685.

THE SEPARATION OF ROGER WILLIAMS.

[*New England's Memorial.* 1669.]

IN the year 1634, Mr. Roger Williams removed from Plymouth to Salem; he had lived about three years at Plymouth, where he was well accepted as an assistant in the ministry to Mr. Ralph Smith, then pastor of the church there, but by degrees venting of divers of his own singular opinions, and seeking to impose them upon others, he not finding such a concurrence as he expected, he desired his dismission to the church of Salem, which though some were unwilling to, yet through the prudent counsel of Mr. Brewster, the ruling elder there, fearing that his continuance amongst them might cause divisions, and there being many abler men in the bay, they would better deal with him than

themselves could, and foreseeing, what he professed he feared concerning Mr. Williams, which afterwards came to pass, that he would run the same course of rigid separation and anabaptistry, which Mr. John Smith, the se-baptist at Amsterdam had done; the church of Plymouth consented to his dismission, and such as did adhere to him were also dismissed, and removed with him, or not long after him, to Salem.

He came to Salem in the time of Mr. Skelton's weakness, who lived not long after Mr. Williams was come, whereupon after some time, the church there called him to office; but he having in one year's time filled that place with principles of rigid separation, and tending to anabaptistry, the prudent magistrates of the Massachusetts jurisdiction sent to the church of Salem, desiring them to forbear calling him to office, which they hearkening to, was a cause of much disturbance; for Mr. Williams had begun, and then being in office, he proceeded more vigorously to vent many dangerous opinions, as amongst many others these were some; that it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor to take an oath, and in special, not the oath of fidelity to the civil government; nor was it lawful for a godly man to have communion, either in family prayer, or in an oath, with such as they judged unregenerate; and therefore he himself refused the oath of fidelity, and taught others so to do; also, that it was not lawful so much as to hear the godly ministers of England, when any occasionally went thither, and therefore he admonished any church members that had done so, as for heinous sin; also he spake dangerous words against the patent, which was the foundation of the government of the Massachusetts colony; also he affirmed, that the magistrates had nothing to do in matters of the first table, but only the second; and that there should be a general and unlimited toleration of all religions, and for any man to be punished for any matters of his conscience, was persecution.

And further, he procured the church of Salem's consent unto letters of admonition, which were written and sent by him, in their name, to the churches at Boston, Charlestown, Newtown (now Cambridge), etc., accusing the magistrates, that were members of the respective churches, of sundry heinous offences, which he laid unto their charge; and though divers did acknowledge their error and gave satisfaction, yet Mr. Williams himself, notwithstanding all the pains that was taken with him by Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and many others, to bring him to a sight of his errors and miscarriages, and, notwithstanding all the court's gentle proceedings with him, he not only persisted, but grew more violent in his way, insomuch as he staying at home in his own house, sent a letter, which was delivered and read in the public church assembly, the scope of which was to give them notice, that if the church of Salem

would not separate not only from the churches of Old England, but the churches of New England too, he would separate from them.

The more prudent and sober part of the church, being amazed at his way, could not yield unto him; whereupon he never came to the church assembly more, professing separation from them as antichristian, and not only so, but he withdrew all private religious communion from any that would hold communion with the church there, insomuch as he would not pray nor give thanks at meals with his own wife nor any of his family, because they went to the church assemblies. Divers of the weaker sort of the church members, that had been thoroughly leavened with his opinions, of which number were divers women that were zealous in their way, did by degrees fall off to him, insomuch as he kept a meeting in his own house, unto which a numerous company did resort, both on the Sabbath day and at other times, in way of separation from, and opposition to the church assembly there; which the prudent magistrates understanding, and seeing things grow more and more towards a general division and disturbance, after all other means used in vain, they passed a sentence of banishment against him out of the Massachusetts colony, as against a disturber of the peace, both of the church and commonwealth.

After which Mr. Williams sat down in a place called Providence, out of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and was followed by many of the members of the church at Salem, who did zealously adhere to him, and who cried out of the persecution that was against him; some others also resorted to him from other parts. They had not been long there together, but from rigid separation they fell to anabaptistry, renouncing the baptism which they had received in their infancy, and taking up another baptism, and so began a church in that way; but Mr. Williams stopped not there long, for after some time he told the people that followed him, and joined with him in a new baptism, that he was out of the way himself, and had misled them, for he did not find that there was any upon earth that could administer baptism, and therefore their last baptism was a nullity, as well as their first; and therefore they must lay down all, and wait for the coming of new apostles; and so they dissolved themselves and turned Seekers, keeping that one principle, that every one should have liberty to worship God according to the light of their own consciences; but otherwise not owning any churches or ordinances of God anywhere upon earth.

SAMUEL GORTON, THE SUBTLE DECEIVER.

[*From the Same.*]

NOT long before these troubles, there arrived at Boston, one Samuel Gorton, who from thence came to Plymouth; and upon his first coming thither, gave some hopes that he would have proved an useful instrument, but soon after, by little and little, discovered himself to be a proud and pestilent seducer, and deeply leavened with blasphemous and familistical opinions; and observing such fictions to be spread by some of his spirit already in the country, he takes his opportunity to begin to sow such seed at Plymouth, whereby some were seduced, in special one John Weeks and his wife, who in some short time became very atheists, looking for no more happiness than this world affords, not only in practice such, but also in opinion. But the said Gorton falling into some controversy with one Mr. Ralph Smith, was summoned to the court held at Plymouth, the 4th of December, 1638, to answer the said Mr. Smith's complaint; and there he carried so mutinously and seditiously, as that he was for the same, and for his turbulent carriages towards both magistrates and ministers, in the presence of the court, sentenced to find sureties for his good behavior, during the time he should stay in the jurisdiction, which was limited to fourteen days, and also amerced to pay a considerable fine.

In some short time after he departed to Rhode Island, and in like manner, or worse, demeaned himself there, so as they were forced to sentence him to suffer corporal punishment by whipping, and they banished him likewise off the island. And from thence, he, with divers of his accomplices, went to Providence, and there he and they carried so in outrage and riotously, as they were in danger to have caused bloodshed, so as the inhabitants, some of them, namely, Mr. Roger Williams and others, were constrained to solicit the government of the Massachusetts for aid, to help them against their insolencies; and for that end some of them desired to come under their jurisdiction, and were accepted.

Moreover, several of the poor neighboring natives were so injuriously wronged by the said Gorton and his company, they seeking to bereave them of their just rights of land by surreptitious ways; in special, Ponham and Sokanoko, two petty sachems living not far off from Providence, who were bereaved of their just rights in lands, by improving the tyranny of Miantonimok, the then chief sachem of the Narragansets, for the procuring thereof, which necessitated the said under-sachems to make their appeal to the court of the Massachusetts for help in their oppressed condition, subjecting themselves and their lands unto their

jurisdiction likewise; which caused the said government to require their appearance at Boston, to answer the complaints of those oppressed English and Indians. But notwithstanding they several times sent to them, with all gentleness and courteous expressions, they neither appeared, nor sent satisfying reasons for their absence; but instead thereof, many insolent, proud, railing, opprobrious returns; so that the said government saw there was no remedy, but to send force to constrain them to come; which they accordingly performed, and committed the said Gorton and several of them to ward.

And during the time of their imprisonment, they carried still very proudly and audaciously towards all in place of authority, sparing not to reproach, abuse, and traduce the most honorable and reverend both in church and state; and which is yet worse, spared not blasphemously to fly upon the Lord Jesus himself, his word and ordinances, in such a manner as scarce in any age any heretics or apostates have done the like; not only abandoning and rejecting all civil power and authority, except moulded according to their own fancies, but belching out errors in their familistical allegories, if I may so call them, as, to speak with holy reverence, they rendered the Lord Christ no other than an imagination; shunning not, blasphemously, to say, that Christ was but a shadow, and resemblance of what is done in every Christian; that Christ was incarnate in Adam, and was the image of God wherein Adam was created; and that his being born afterwards of the Virgin Mary, and suffering, was but a manifestation of his suffering in Adam; that man's losing God's image was the death of Christ; that Christ is the covenant properly, and, that faith and Christ are all one. They call the holy word, and sermons of salvation, tales; the Lord's supper, an abomination, and a spell; baptism, vanity and abomination; the ministers of the Word, necromancers; and by other opprobrious terms vilify and traduce them. Much more might be spoken and mentioned of this stuff, which they have not been ashamed to divulge; but a little is enough, save but to give the reader to see the Lord's goodness towards his poor people in New England, that hath delivered us, and saved us of his grace from their pernicious, destructive ways, and hath so detected their folly, as it is made manifest to all men. In fine, the said Gorton and his fellow-prisoners were, several of them, sentenced to remain in durance, in several of the towns in the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, for six months, and afterwards banished.

He was a subtle deceiver, courteous in his carriage to all, at some times, for his own ends, but soon moved with passion, and so lost that which he gained upon the simple. To shut up what I have to say concerning him, which is sad, he is since become a sordid man in his life, as he hath been declared to be in his cursed principles and opinions,

and hath not shunned to say and affirm, that all the felicity we are like to have, we must expect in this life and no more, and therefore advised one, with whom he had some speech, to make much of herself, for she must expect no more but what she could enjoy in this life, or words to the same effect. Thus evil men and deceivers grow worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived.

IN REMEMBRANCE OF WINTHROP.

[*From the Same.*]

THIS year Mr. John Winthrop, governor of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, deceased, the 26th day of March, about ten of the clock. He was singular for piety, wisdom, and of a public spirit. He brought over a great estate into the country, and partly by his liberality, and partly by the unfaithfulness of his baily, spent the most part of it; so as when he died, he was but low in that respect; and yet notwithstanding, very much honored and beloved of the most, and continued in the place of governor, for the most part, until his death, which was much lamented by many.

He was a man of unbiased justice, patient in respect of personal wrongs and injuries, a great lover of the saints, especially able ministers of the gospel; very sober in desiring, and temperate in improving earthly contentments; very humble, courteous, and studious of general good. His body was, with great solemnity and honor, buried at Boston, in New England, the 3d of April, 1649.

A BOSTON DIVINE.

[*From the Same.*]

THIS year, the 7th of August, it pleased the Lord to call home to himself, the reverend, ancient, and godly pastor of the church at Boston, Mr. John Wilson. He was a truly reverend and holy man of God. He came to New England in the year 1630. He was instrumental in the first beginnings of the church of Boston, having been the pastor of it three years before Mr. Cotton, twenty years with him; ten years with Mr. Norton, and four years after him; thirty-seven in

all. And in all the changes of time that passed over him, he was full of faith and prayer, and eminent for sincerity and humility, being ever low in his own eyes, and for the grace of love, he had largeness of heart as the sand of the sea, to do good to all. He was very charitable where was any signs and hopes of good; and yet, withal, very zealous against known and manifest evils. He was orthodox in his judgment, and very holy in his conversation. Very few that ever went out of the world so generally beloved and reverenced as this good man. He was a good man indeed, and full of the Holy Ghost. He lived to a good old age, and was full of days, and full of honor, being in the seventy-ninth year of his age, when the Lord took him to himself. He was interred with much honor and lamentation.

In the time of his languishing sickness, he was visited by the elders round about, especially on the 16th of May, the day after the court of election, when there being a general meeting of all the elders of the churches, at his house, they requested Mr. Wilson (because they knew not whether ever they should have the like opportunity to hear him speak again, and having been, from the first, a pillar amongst them, and of much experience in his observation of the state of things) that he would solemnly declare unto them, what he conceived to be those sins amongst us, which provoked the displeasure of God against the country. He then told them, that he had divers times and long feared these sins following, as chief, among others, which God was greatly provoked with, namely, Separation, Anabaptism, and Korahism.

This latter he did explain thus, namely, when people rise up as Korah, against their ministers or elders, as if they took too much upon them, when, indeed, they do but rule for Christ, and according to Christ; yet, saith he, it is nothing for a brother to stand up, and oppose, without Scripture or reason, the doctrine and word of the elder, saying, I am not satisfied, etc., and hence, if he do not like the administration, be it baptism, or the like, he will then turn his back upon God and his ordinances, and go away, etc. And, saith he, for our neglect of baptizing the children of the church, those that some call grandchildren, I think God is provoked by it.

Another sin I take to be, the making light of, and not subjecting to the authority of Synods, without which the churches cannot long subsist. And so for the magistrates being Gallio like, either not caring for these things, or else not using their power and authority for the maintenance of the truth, and gospel and ordinances of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and for the bearing thorough witness against the contrary. Should the Lord leave them hereunto, how miserable a people should we be!

At night, the assembly being dismissed with prayer, Mr. Wilson did

(being desired by them so to do), in a solemn manner, bless the elders, making a short prayer, saying, "I am not like long to be with you; the Lord pardon us, and heal us, and make us more heavenly, and take us off from the world, and make us burning and shining lights, by our heavenly doctrine and example. And I beseech the Lord, with all my heart, to bless you, and to bless his churches, and to bless all his people, and to bless all your families, and to bless your wives, and to bless all your children, and your children's children; and make us all more and more meet for our inheritance, and bring us all to it in his good time," etc. These words, with some few other, he spake with great affection, and with tears; and all the ministers wept with him, and they took their leave of him, even as children of their father, who having blessed them, was about to die.

Daniel Denton.

ONE of the original Settlers of Jamaica, L. I., 1656, and there resident for many years.

NEW YORK IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

[*A Brief Description of New York.* 1670. *The first printed account in the English language, of the City and State.*]

NEW YORK is settled upon the west end of the aforesaid Island, having that small arm of the sea which divides it from Long Island on the south side of it, which runs away eastward to New England, and is navigable, though dangerous. For about ten miles from New York is a place called Hell Gate, which being a narrow passage, there runneth a violent stream both upon flood and ebb, and in the middle lieth some Islands of Rocks, which the current sets so violently upon that it threatens present shipwreck; and upon the flood is a large Whirlpool, which continually sends forth a hideous roaring, enough to affright any stranger from passing any further, and to wait for some Charon to conduct him through; yet to those that are well acquainted little or no danger; yet a place of great defence against any enemy coming in that way, which a small Fortification would absolutely prevent, and necessitate them to come in at the west end of Long Island, by Sandy Hook, where Nutten Island doth force them within command of the Fort at New York, which is one of the best Pieces of Defence in the north parts of America.

New York is built most of brick and stone, and covered with red

and black tile, and the land being high, it gives at a distance a pleasing Aspect to the spectators. The inhabitants consist most of English and Dutch, and have a considerable trade with the Indians, for beavers, otter, raccoon skins, with other furs; as also for bear, deer, and elk skins; and are supplied with venison and fowl in the winter and fish in the summer by the Indians, which they buy at an easy rate; and having the Country round about them, they are continually furnished with all such provisions as is needful for the life of man, not only by the English and Dutch within their own, but likewise by the adjacent Colonies.

The commodities vented from thence is furs and skins before-mentioned; as likewise tobacco made within the Colony, as good as is usually made in Mary-land; also horses, beef, pork, oil, pease, wheat, and the like.

Long Island, the west end of which lies southward of New York, runs eastward above one hundred miles, and is in some places eight, in some twelve, in some fourteen miles broad. It is inhabited from one end to the other. On the west end is four or five Dutch Towns, the rest being all English, to the number of twelve, besides Villages and Farm-houses. The Island is most of it of a very good soil, and very natural for all sorts of English grain, which they sow and have very good increase of, besides all other fruits and herbs common in England; as also tobacco, hemp, flax, pumpkins, melons, etc.

The Fruits natural to the Island are mulberries, persimmons, grapes great and small, huckleberries, cranberries, plums of several sorts, rosberries and strawberries, of which last is such abundance in June that the fields and woods are dyed red; which the country people perceiving, instantly arm themselves with bottles of wine, cream, and sugar; and instead of a coat of Male, every one takes a Female upon his Horse behind him, and so rushing violently into the fields, never leave till they have disrobed them of their red colors and turned them into the old habit.

The greatest part of the Island is very full of timber, as oaks white and red, walnut trees, chestnut trees (which yield store of mast for swine, and are often therewith sufficiently fatted with oat-corn), as also maples, cedars, saxifrage, beech, birch, holly, hazel, with many sorts more.

The herbs which the country naturally afford are purslane, white orage, agrimony, violets, pennyroyal, elecampane, besides sarsaparilla very common, with many more. Yea, in May you shall see the Woods and Fields so curiously bedecked with Roses and innumerable multitude of delightful Flowers, not only pleasing the eye, but smell, that you may behold nature contending with art, and striving to equal, if

not excel, many gardens in England. Nay, did we know the virtue of all those plants and herbs growing there (which time may more discover), many are of opinion, and the natives do affirm, that there is no disease common to the Country, but may be cured without materials from other nations.

There is several navigable rivers and bays which puts into the north side of Long Island, but upon the south side, which joins to the Sea, it is so fortified with bars of sands, and shoals, that it is a sufficient defence against any enemy. Yet the south side is not without brooks and riverets, which empty themselves into the Sea; yea, you shall scarce travel a mile but you shall meet with one of them, whose Christal streams run so swift that they purge themselves of such stinking mud and filth which the standing or low-paced streams of most brooks and rivers westward of this Colony leave lying, and are by the sun's exhalation dissipated, the air corrupted, and many fevers and others distempers occasioned not incident to this Colony. Neither do the brooks and riverets premised give way to the frost in winter or drought in summer, but keep their course throughout the year.

These rivers are very well furnished with fish, as bass, sheep's-heads, plaice, perch, trouts, eels, turtles, and divers others.

The Island is plentifully stored with all sorts of English cattle, horses, hogs, sheep, goats, etc. (no place in the north of America better), which they can both raise and maintain by reason of the large and spacious meadows or marshes wherewith it is furnished; the Island likewise producing excellent English grass, the seed of which was brought out of England, which they sometimes mow twice a year.

For wild beasts, there is deer, bear, wolves, foxes, raccoons, otters, musquashes and skunks. Wild fowl there is great store of, as turkeys, heath-hens, quails, partridges, pigeons, cranes, geese of several sorts, brants, ducks, widgeon, teal, and divers others. There is also the red-bird, with divers sorts of singing-birds, whose chirping notes salute the ears of Travellers with an harmonious discord; and in every pond and brook green silken Frogs, who, warbling forth their untuned tunes, strive to bear a part in this music.

Towards the middle of Long Island lieth a plain sixteen miles long and four broad, upon which plain grows very fine grass, that makes exceeding good hay, and is very good pasture for sheep or other cattle; where you shall find neither stick nor stone to hinder the horse heels, or endanger them in their races; and once a year the best horses in the Island are brought hither to try their swiftness, and the swiftest rewarded with a silver Cup, two being Annually procured for that purpose. There are two or three other small plains of about a mile square, which are no small benefit to those towns which enjoy them.

Upon the south side of Long Island in the winter lie store of Whales and Crampasses, which the inhabitants begin with small boats to make a trade, catching to their no small benefit. Also an innumerable multitude of seals, which make an excellent oil. They lie all the winter upon some broken marshes and beaches, or bars of sand before-mentioned, and might be easily got were there some skilful men would undertake it.

To say something of the Indians: There is now but few upon the Island, and those few noways hurtful, but rather serviceable to the English. And it is to be admired how strangely they have decreased by the hand of God since the English first settling of those parts; for since my time, where there were six towns, they are reduced to two small villages; and it hath been generally observed that where the English come to settle, a Divine hand makes way for them by removing or cutting off the Indians, either by wars one with the other or by some raging mortal disease. . . . .

Within two leagues of New York lieth Staten Island. It bears from New York west something southerly. It is about twenty miles long, and four or five broad. It is most of it very good land, full of timber, and produceth all such commodities as Long Island doth, besides tin and store of iron ore; and the Calamine stone is said likewise to be found there. There is but one town upon it, consisting of English and French, but is capable of entertaining more inhabitants; betwixt this and Long Island is a large bay, and is the coming in for all ships and vessels out of the sea. On the north side of this Island Afterskull River puts into the main-land on the west side, whereof is two or three towns, but on the east side but one. There is very great marshes or meadows on both sides of it, excellent good land, and good convenience for the settling of several towns; there grows black walnut and locust, as there doth in Virginia, with mighty tall, straight timber, as good as any in the North of America. It produceth any Commoditie Long Island doth.

Hudson's River runs by New York northward into the Country, toward the head of which is seated New Albany (a place of great trade with the Indians), betwixt which and New York, being above one hundred miles, is as good corn-land as the world affords, enough to entertain hundreds of families, which in the time of the Dutch government of those parts could not be settled, for the Indians, excepting one place, called the Sopers, which was kept by a garrison; but since the reducement of those parts under His Majesty's obedience and a patent granted to His Royal Highness the Duke of York, which is about six years; since by the care and diligence of the Honorable Col. Nicholls, sent thither deputy to His Highness, such a league of peace was made

and friendship concluded betwixt that Colony and the Indians that they have not resisted or disturbed any Christians there in the settling or peaceable possession of any lands with that government, but every man hath sate under his own vine, and hath peaceably reaped and enjoyed the fruits of their own labors, which God continue.

Westward of After-skull River before-mentioned, about eighteen or twenty miles, runs in Raritan River northward into the Country some score of miles, both sides of which river is adorned with spacious meadows, enough to maintain thousands of cattle; the woodland is likewise very good for corn, and stored with wild beasts, as deer and elks, and an innumerable multitude of fowl, as in other parts of the Country. This river is thought very capable for the erecting of several towns and villages on each side of it, no place in the North of America having better convenience for the maintaining of all sorts of cattle for winter and summer food: upon this river is no town settled, but one at the mouth of it. Next this river westward is a place called Newasons, where is two or three towns and villages settled upon the seaside, but none betwixt that and Delewer Bay, which is about sixty miles, all which is a rich champaign Country, free from stones, and indifferent level; store of excellent good timber, and very well watered, having brooks or rivers ordinarily, one or more in every mile's travel. The Country is full of deer, elks, bear, and other creatures, as in other parts of the Country; where you shall meet with no inhabitant in this journey but a few Indians; where there is stately oaks, whose broad-branched tops serve for no other use but to keep off the sun's heat from the wild beasts of the wilderness; where is grass as high as a man's middle, that serves for no other end except to maintain the elks and deer, who never devour a hundredth part of it,—than to be burnt every spring, to make way for new. How many poor people in the world would think themselves happy had they an acre or two of land! whilst here is hundreds—nay, thousands—of acres that would invite inhabitants.

Delewer Bay, the mouth of the river, lieth about the midway betwixt New York and the capes of Virginia. It is a very pleasant river and Country, but very few inhabitants, and them being mostly Swedes, Dutch and Finns. About sixty miles up the river is the principal town, called New Castle, which is about forty miles from Mary-land, and very good way to travel, either with horse or foot. The people are settled all along the west side sixty miles above New Castle. The land is good for all sorts of English grain, and wanteth nothing but a good people to populate it, it being capable of entertaining many hundred families.

Some may admire that these great and rich tracts of land, lying so

adjoining to New England and Virginia, should be no better inhabited, and that the richness of the soil, the healthfulness of the climate, and the like, should be no better a motive to induce people from both places to populate it.

To which I answer, that whilst it was under the Dutch government, which hath been till within these six years, there was little encouragement for any English, both in respect of their safety from the Indians, the Dutch being almost always in danger of them; and their beaver trade not admitting of a war, which would have been destructive to their trade, which was the main thing prosecuted by the Dutch. And secondly, the Dutch gave such bad titles to lands, together with their exacting of the tenths of all which men produced off their land, that did much hinder the populating of it; together with that general dislike the English have of living under another government; but since the reducement of it, there is several towns of a considerable greatness begun and settled by people out of New England, and every day more and more come to view and settle.

To give some satisfaction to people that shall be desirous to transport themselves thither (the Country being capable of entertaining many thousands), how and after what manner people live, and how land may be procured, etc.,—I shall answer, that the usual way is for a company of people to join together, either enough to make a town, or a lesser number; these go with the consent of the governor, and view a tract of land, there being choice enough, and finding a place convenient for a town, they return to the governor, who upon their desire admits them into the Colony, and gives them a grant or patent for the said land, for themselves and associates. These persons being thus qualified, settle the place, and take in what inhabitants to themselves they shall see cause to admit of, till their town be full; these associates thus taken in have equal privileges with themselves, and they make a division of the land suitable to every man's occasions, no man being debarred of such quantities as he hath occasion for; the rest they let lie in common till they have occasion for a new division, never dividing their pasture-land at all, which lies in common to the whole town. The best Commodities for any to carry with them is clothing, the Country being full of all sorts of cattle, which they may furnish themselves withal at an easy rate, for any sorts of English goods, as likewise instruments for husbandry and building, with nails, hinges, glass, and the like. For the manner how they get a livelihood, it is principally by corn and cattle, which will there fetch them any Commodities; likewise they sow store of flax, which they make every one cloth of for their own wearing, as also woolen cloth and linsey-woolsey, and had they more tradesmen amongst them, they

would in a little time live without the help of any other Country for their clothing. For tradesmen, there is none but live happily there, as carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, tailors, weavers, shoemakers, tanners, brickmakers, and so any other trade; them that have no trade betake themselves to Husbandry, get land of their own, and live exceeding well.

Thus have I briefly given you a relation of New York, with the places thereunto adjoyning; in which, if I have erred, it is principally in not giving it its due commendation; for besides those earthly blessings where it is stored, Heaven hath not been wanting to open his treasure, in sending down seasonable showers upon the earth, blessing it with a sweet and pleasant air, and a continuation of such influences as tend to the health both of man and beast: and the climate hath such an affinity with that of England that it breeds ordinarily no alteration to those which remove thither; that the name of seasoning, which is common to some other Countries, hath never there been known; that I may say, and say truly, that if there be any terrestrial happiness to be had by people of all ranks, especially of an inferior rank, it must certainly be here. Here any one may furnish himself with land, and live rent-free—yea, with such a quantity of land that he may weary himself with walking over his fields of corn and all sorts of grain. And let his stock of cattle amount to some hundreds, he needs not fear their want of pasture in the summer or fodder in the winter, the woods affording sufficient supply. For the summer season, where you have grass as high as a man's knees,—nay, as high as his waist,—interlaced with pea-vines and other weeds that cattle much delight in, as much as a man can press through; and these woods also every mile or half mile are furnished with fresh ponds, brooks or rivers, where all sorts of cattle, during the heat of the day, do quench their thirst and cool themselves; these brooks and rivers being environed of each side with several sorts of trees and grape-vines, the vines, arbor-like, interchanging places and crossing these rivers, does shade and shelter them from the scorching beams of Sol's fiery influence.

Here those which Fortune hath frowned upon in England, to deny them an inheritance amongst their brethren, or such as by their utmost labors can scarcely procure a living—I say such may procure here inheritances of lands and possessions, stock themselves with all sorts of cattle, enjoy the benefit of them whilst they live, and leave them to the benefit of their children when they die. Here you need not trouble the shambles for meat, nor bakers and brewers for beer and bread, nor run to a linen-draper for a supply, every one making their own linen and a great part of their woolen cloth for their ordinary wearing. And how prodigal, if I may so say, hath Nature been to furnish the Country with all sorts of wild beasts and fowl! which every one hath an

interest in, and may hunt at his pleasure; where, besides the pleasure in hunting, he may furnish his house with excellent fat venison, turkeys, geese, heath-hens, cranes, swans, ducks, pigeons, and the like,—and wearied with that, he may go a-fishing; where the rivers are so furnished, that he may supply himself with fish before he can leave off the recreation;—where you may travel by land upon the same continent hundreds of miles, and pass through towns and villages, and never hear the least complaint for want, nor hear any ask you for a farthing; where you may lodge in the fields and woods, travel from one end of the Country to another, with as much security as if you were locked within your own chamber; and if you chance to meet with an Indian town, they shall give you the best entertainment they have, and, upon your desire, direct you on your way. But that which adds happiness to all the rest, is the healthfulness of the place; where many people in twenty years' time never know what sickness is; where they look upon it as a great mortality if two or three die out of a town in a year's time; where, besides the sweetness of the air, the Country itself sends forth such a fragrant smell that it may be perceived at sea before they can make the land; where no evil fog or vapor doth no sooner appear but a north-west or westerly wind doth immediately dissolve it and drive it away. What shall I say more? You shall scarce see a house but the south side is begirt with hives of bees, which increase after an incredible manner:—That I must needs say, that if there be any terrestrial Canaan, 't is surely here, where the land floweth with milk and honey. The inhabitants are blest with peace and plenty, blessed in their Country, blessed in their fields, blessed in the fruit of their bodies, in the fruit of their grounds, in the increase of their cattle, horses and sheep, blessed in their basket, and in their store. In a word, blessed in whatsoever they take in hand or go about, the earth yielding plentiful increase to all their painful labors.

Were it not to avoid prolixity I could say a great deal more, and yet say too little: how free are those parts of the world from that pride and oppression, with their miserable effects, which many, nay, almost all parts of the world are troubled, with being ignorant of that pomp and bravery which aspiring Humors are servants to and striving after almost everywhere; where a Wagon or Cart gives as good content as a Coach, and a piece of their home-made Cloth better than the finest Lawns or richest Silks: and though their low-roofed houses may seem to shut their doors against pride and luxury, yet how do they stand wide open to let charity in and out, either to assist each other, or relieve a stranger; and the distance of place from other Nations, doth secure them from the envious frowns of ill-affected Neighbors, and the troubles which usually arise thence.

John Josselyn.

RESIDENT in New England, 1638–39, and 1663–71.

AN INDIAN BEAUTY.

[*New-England's Rarities Discovered.* 1672.]

A PERFECT DESCRIPTION OF AN INDIAN SQUA IN ALL HER BRAVERY; WITH A POEM NOT IMPROPERLY CONFERRED UPON HER.

NOW, gentle Reader, having trespassed upon your patience a long while in the perusing of these rude observations, I shall, to make you amends, present you by way of Divertisement or Recreation, with a copy of Verses made some time since upon the picture of a young and handsome Gypsie, not improperly transferred upon the Indian Squa, or Female Indian, tricked up in all her bravery.

The Men are somewhat horse-faced, and generally faucious, *i. e.* without beards; but the Women many of them have very good features; seldom without a "Come to me," or *Cos Amoris,* in their countenance. All of them black-eyed, having even, short teeth, and very white; their hair black, thick, and long; broad-breasted, handsome, straight bodies, and slender, considering their constant loose habit; their limbs cleanly, straight, and of a convenient stature, generally as plump as partridges, and having here and there one of a modest deportment.

Their garments are a pair of sleeves of deer, or moose skin drest, and drawn with lines of several colors into Asiatick works, with buskins of the same, a short mantle of trading cloth, either blue or red, fastened with a knot under the chin and girt about the middle with a zone, wrought with white and blue beads into pretty works. Of these beads they have bracelets for their neck and arms, and links to hang in their ears, and a fair table curiously made up with beads likewise, to wear before their breast. Their hair they comb backward, and tie it up short with a border about two handfuls broad, wrought in works as the other with their beads. But enough of this.

THE POEM.

Whether White or Black be best
Call your senses to the quest;
And your touch shall quickly tell
The Black in softness doth excel,
And in smoothness; but the ear,
What, can that a color hear?

No, but 'tis your Black one's wit
That doth catch and captive it.
And if Slut and Fair be one,
Sweet and Fair, there can be none;
Nor can aught so please the taste
As what's brown and lovely drest.
And who'll say that that is best
To please one's sense, displease the rest?
Maugre then all that can be said
In flattery of White and Red;
Those flatterers themselves must say
That darkness was before the Day;
And such perfection here appears,
It neither Wind nor Sunshine fears.

A REPORT OF WONDERS.

[*An Account of Two Voyages to New England.* 1675.]

AT this time we had some neighboring gentlemen in our house, who came to welcome me into the country; where amongst variety of discourse they told me of a young lion (not long before) killed at Piscataway by an Indian; of a sea-serpent or snake, that lay coiled up like a cable upon a rock at Cape Ann: a boat passing by with English aboard, and two Indians, they would have shot the serpent, but the Indians dissuaded them, saying, that if he were not killed outright, they would be all in danger of their lives.

One Mr. Mittin related of a Triton or Merman which he saw in Casco Bay. The gentleman was a great fowler, and used to go out with a small boat or canoe, and fetching a compass about a small island (there being many small islands in the bay), for the advantage of a shot, was encountered with a Triton, who laying his hands upon the side of the canoe, had one of them chopt off with a hatchet by Mr. Mittin, which was in all respects like the hand of a man. The Triton presently sunk, dyeing the water with his purple blood, and was no more seen. The next story was told by Mr. Foxwell, now living in the province of Maine, who having been to the eastward in a shallop, as far as Cape Anna-waggon, in his return was overtaken by the night, and fearing to land upon the barbarous shore, he put off a little further to sea. About midnight they were wakened with a loud voice from the shore, calling upon "Foxwell, Foxwell! come ashore!" two or three times. Upon the sands they saw a great fire, and men and women hand in hand dancing round about it in a ring. After an hour or two they

vanished, and as soon as the day appeared, Foxwell puts into a small cove, it being about three quarters flood, and traces along the shore, where he found the footing of men, women and children shod with shoes; and an infinite number of brands ends thrown up by the water, but neither Indian nor English could he meet with on the shore, nor in the woods. These with many other stories they told me, the credit whereof I will neither impeach nor enforce, but shall satisfy myself, and I hope the reader hereof, with the saying of a wise, learned and honorable knight, that "there are many stranger things in the world, than are to be seen between London and Stanes." . . . .

In the afternoon I walked into the woods on the back side of the house, and happening into a fine broad walk (which was a sledge-way) I wandered till I chanced to spy a fruit as I thought like a pine-apple plated with scales. It was as big as the crown of a woman's hat. I made bold to step unto it, with an intent to have gathered it. No sooner had I touched it, but hundreds of wasps were about me. At last I cleared myself from them, being stung only by one upon the upper lip. Glad I was that I escaped so well; but by that time I was come into the house my lip was swelled so extremely, that they hardly knew me but by my garments. . . . .

It was a good *proviso* of a learned man, never to report wonders, for in so doing, of the greatest he will be sure not to be believed, but laughed at; which certainly bewrays their ignorance and want of discretion. Of fools and madmen, then, I shall take no care. I will not invite these in the least to honor me with a glance from their supercilious eyes; but rather advise them to keep their inspection for their fine-tongued romances and plays. This homely piece, I protest ingenuously, is prepared for such only who well know how to make use of their charitable constructions towards works of this nature, to whom I submit myself in all my faculties. . . . .

There is an admirable rare creature in shape like a buck, with horns, of a gummy substance, which I have often found in the fall of the leaf upon the ground amongst the withered leaves; a living creature I cannot call it, having only the sign of a mouth and eyes. Seldom or never shall you meet with any of them whole, but the head and horns, or the hinder parts, broken off from the rest. The Indians call them tree bucks, and have a superstitious saying (for I believe they never see any of them living) that if they can see a tree buck walking upon the branches of an oak when they go out in a morning to hunt, they shall have good luck that day. What they are good for I know not, but certainly there is some more than ordinary virtue in them. It is true that nothing in nature is superfluous, and we have the Scripture to back it, that God created nothing in vain. The like creatures they

have at the Barbadoes which they call Negroes' heads, found in the sands, about two inches long, with forehead, eyes, nose, mouth, chin, and part of the neck, they are always found loose in the sands without any root, it is as black as jet, but whence it comes they know not. I have read likewise, that in the Canaries or Fortunate Islands, there is found a certain creature, which boys bring home from the mountains as oft as they would, and named them Tudesquels or little Germans: for they were dried dead carcasses, almost three-footed, which any boy did easily carry in one of the palms of his hand, and they were of an human shape; but the whole dead carcass was clearly like unto parchment, and their bones were flexible, as it were gristles; against the sun, also, their bowels and intestines were seen. "Surely," saith my author, "the destroyed race of the Pigmies was there." . . . .

I have not done yet. We must not forget the cormorant, shape or shark; though I cannot commend them to our curious palates, the Indians will eat them when they are flayed. They take them prettily; they roost in the night upon some rock that lies out in the sea; thither the Indian goes in his birch canoe when the moon shines clear, and when he is come almost to it, he lets his canoe drive on of itself, when he is come under the rock he shoves his boat along till he come just under the cormorant's watchman, the rest being asleep, and so soundly do sleep that they will snore like so many pigs; the Indian thrusts up his hand of a sudden, grasping the watchman so hard round about his neck that he cannot cry out; as soon as he hath him in his canoe he wrings off his head, and making his canoe fast, he clambereth to the top of the rock, where walking softly he takes them up as he pleaseth, still wringing off their heads; when he hath slain as many as his canoe can carry, he gives a shout which awakens the surviving cormorants, who are gone in an instant. . . . .

There is also a dark dunnish worm or bug of the bigness of an oaten straw, and an inch long, that in the spring lie at the root of corn and garden plants all day, and in the night creep out and devour them; these in some years destroy abundance of Indian corn and garden plants, and they have but one way to be rid of them which the English have learnt of the Indians; and because it is somewhat strange, I shall tell you how it is. They go out into a field or garden with a birchen dish, and spuddling the earth about the roots, for they lie not deep, they gather their dish full which may contain about a quart or three pints. Then they carry the dish to the sea-side when it is ebbing water and set it a swimming; the water carrieth the dish into the sea and within a day or two if you go into your field you may look your eyes out sooner than find any of them. . . . .

The toad is of two sorts, one that is speckled with white, and another

of a dark earthy color; there is of them that will climb up into trees and sit croaking there; but whether it be of a third sort, or one of the other, or both, I am not able to affirm; but this I can testify that there be toads of the dark colored kind that are as big as a groat loaf. Which report will not swell into the belief of my sceptic sirs; nor that there is a hell, being like Solomon's fool, Prov. xxvi. 22.

THE WAYS OF THE MEN OF MAINE.

[*From the Same.*]

THE people in the province of Maine may be divided into magistrates, husbandmen or planters, and fishermen; of the magistrates some be royalists, the rest perverse spirits, the like are the planters and fishers, of which some be planters and fishers both, others mere fishers.

Handicraftsmen there are but few, the Tumelor or cooper, smiths and carpenters are best welcome amongst them, shopkeepers there are none, being supplied by the Massachusetts merchant with all things they stand in need of, keeping here and there fair magazines stored with English goods, but they set excessive prices on them, if they do not gain cent per cent, they cry out that they are losers. Hence English shoes are sold for eight and nine shillings a pair, worsted stockings of three shillings six pence a pair, for seven and eight shillings a pair; dowlas that is sold in England for one or two and twenty pence an ell, for four shillings a yard, serges of two shillings or three shillings a yard, for six and seven shillings a yard, and so all sorts of commodities both for planters and fishermen. . . . .

The planters are or should be restless painstakers, providing for their cattle, planting and sowing of corn, fencing their grounds, cutting and bringing home fuel, cleaving of claw-board and pipe-staves, fishing for fresh water fish and fowling takes up most of their time, if not all; the diligent hand maketh rich, but if they be of a dronish disposition as some are, they become wretchedly poor and miserable, scarce able to free themselves and family from importunate famine, especially in the winter for want of bread.

They have a custom of taking tobacco, sleeping at noon, sitting long at meals, sometimes four times in a day, and now and then drinking a dram of the bottle extraordinarily: the smoking of tobacco, if moderately used refresheth the weary much, and so doth sleep.

> A traveller five hours doth crave
> To sleep, a student seven will have,
> And nine sleeps every idle knave.

The physician allows but three draughts at a meal, the first for need, the second for pleasure, and the third for sleep; but little observed by them, unless they have no other liquor to drink but water. In some places where the springs are frozen up, or at least the way to their springs made unpassable by reason of the snow and the like, they dress their meat in *aqua cœlestis, i. e.*, melted snow. At other times it is very well cooked, and they feed upon (generally) as good flesh, beef, pork, mutton, fowl and fish as any is in the whole world besides.

Their servants, which are for the most part English, when they are out of their time, will not work under half a crown a day, although it be for to make hay, and for less I do not see how they can, by reason of the dearness of clothing. If they hire them by the year, they pay them fourteen or fifteen pound, yea, twenty pound at the year's end in corn, cattle and fish: some of these prove excellent fowlers, bringing in as many as will maintain their master's house; besides the profit that accrues by their feathers. They use (when it is to be had) a great round shot, called Barstable shot (which is best for fowl), made of a lead blacker than our common lead; to six pound of shot they allow one pound of powder; cannon powder is esteemed best.

The fishermen take yearly upon the coasts many hundred kentles of cod, hake, haddock, pollack, etc., which they split, salt and dry at their stages, making three voyages in a year. When they share their fish (which is at the end of every voyage) they separate the best from the worst, the first they call merchantable fish, being sound, full grown fish and well made up, which is known when it is clear like a Lanthorn horn and without spots; the second sort they call refuse fish—that is, such as is salt burnt, spotted, rotten, and carelessly ordered: these they put off to the Massachusetts merchants; the merchantable for thirty and two and thirty rials a kentle (a kentle is an hundred and twelve pound weight); the refuse for nine shillings and ten shillings a kentle.

The merchant sends the merchantable fish to Lisbon, Bilbao, Bordeaux, Marseilles, Toulon, Rochelle, Rouen, and other cities of France, to the Canaries with claw-board and pipe-staves which is there and at the Caribs a prime commodity: the refuse fish they put off at the Carib Islands, Barbadoes, Jamaica, etc., who feed their negroes with it.

To every shallop belong four fishermen, a master or steersman, a midshipman, and a foremastman, and a shoreman who washes it out of the salt, and dries it upon hurdles pitched upon stakes breast high and tends their cookery; these often get in one voyage eight or nine pound a man for their shares, but it doth some of them little good, for the merchant to increase his gains by putting off his commodity in the

midst of their voyages, and at the end thereof comes in with a walking tavern, a bark laden with the legitimate blood of the rich grape, which they bring from Fayal, Madeira, Canaries, with brandy, rum, the Barbadoes strong water, and tobacco. Coming ashore he gives them a Taster or two, which so charms them, that for no persuasions that their employers can use will they go out to sea, although fair and seasonable weather, for two or three days—nay, sometimes a whole week—till they are wearied with drinking, taking ashore two or three hogsheads of wine and rum to drink off when the merchant is gone. If a man of quality chance to come where they are roistering and gulling in wine with a dear felicity, he must be sociable and rollypooly with them, taking off their liberal cups as freely, or else be gone, which is best for him. . . . When the day of payment comes, they may justly complain of their costly sin of drunkenness, for their shares will do no more than pay the reckoning; if they save a kentle or two to buy shoes and stockings, shirts and waistcoats with, 't is well, otherwise they must enter into the merchant's books for such things as they stand in need of, becoming thereby the merchant's slaves, and when it riseth to a big sum are constrained to mortgage their plantation, if they have any; the merchant when the time is expired is sure to seize upon their plantation and stock of cattle, turning them out of house and home, poor creatures, to look out for a new habitation in some remote place, where they begin the world again. The lavish planters have the same fate, partaking with them in the like bad husbandry; of these the merchant buys beef, pork, pease, wheat and Indian-corn, and sells it again many times to the fishermen. Of the same nature are the people in the Duke's province, who not long before I left the country petitioned the governor and magistrates in the Massachusetts to take them into their government. Birds of a feather will rally together.

Daniel Gookin.

BORN in Kent, England, about 1612. DIED at Cambridge, Mass., 1687.

CONJECTURES OF THE SAVAGE, HIS ORIGINAL.

[*Historical Collections of the Indians in New England. Written in* 1674.]

CONCERNING the original of the Savages, or Indians, in New England, there is nothing of certainty to be concluded. But yet,

as I conceive, it may rationally be made out that all the Indians of America, from the Straits of Magellan and its adjacent islands on the south, unto the most northerly part yet discovered, are originally of the same nations or sort of people. . . . .

The color of their skins, the form and shape of their bodies, hair, and eyes, demonstrate this. Their skins are of a tawny color, not unlike the tawny Moors in Africa; the proportion of their limbs, well formed; it is rare to see a crooked person among them. Their hair is black and harsh, not curling; their eyes, black and dull; though I have seen, but very rarely, a gray-eyed person among them, with brownish hair. But still the difficulty yet remains, whence all these Americans had their first original, and from which of the sons of Noah they descended, and how they came first into these parts.

There are divers opinions about this matter.

First, some conceive that this people are of the race of the ten tribes of Israel, that Shalmaneser carried captive out of their own country, A. M. 3277, of which we read in II. Kings, xviii. 9–12; and that God hath, by some means or other, not yet discovered, brought them into America; and herein fulfilled his just threatening against them, of which we may read, II. Kings, xvii. from 6 to the 19 verse; and hath reduced them into such woful blindness and barbarism, as all those Americans are in; yet hath reserved their posterity there: and in his own best time, will fulfil and accomplish his promise, that those dry bones shall live, of which we read Ezek. xxxvii. 1–24. A reason given for this is taken from the practice of sundry Americans, especially of those inhabiting Peru and Mexico, who were most populous, and had great cities and wealth, and hence are probably apprehended to be the first possessors of America.

Secondly, another apprehension is, that the original of these Americans is from the Tartars, or Scythians, that live in the north-east parts of Asia; which some good geographers conceive is nearly joined unto the north-west parts of America, and possibly are one continent, or at least separated but by some narrow gulf; and from this beginning have spread themselves into the several parts of the North and South America; and because the southern parts were more fertile, and free from the cold winters incident to the northern regions, hence the southern parts became first planted, and most populous and rich. This opinion gained more credit than the former, because the people of America are not altogether unlike in color, shape, and manners, unto the Scythian people, and in regard that such a land travel is more feasible and probable than a voyage by sea so great a distance, as is before expressed, from other inhabited places, either in Europe, Asia, or Africa; especially so long since, when we hear of no sailing out of sight of

land, before the use of the loadstone and compass was found. But if this people be sprung from the Tartarian or Scythian people, as this notion asserts, then it is to me a question, why they did not attend the known practice of that people; who, in all their removes and plantations, take with them their kine, sheep, horses, and camels, and the like tame beasts; which that people keep in great numbers, and drive with them in all their removes. But of these sorts and kinds of beasts used by the Tartars, none were found in America among the Indians. This question or objection is answered by some thus: First, possibly the first people were banished for some notorious offences; and so not permitted to take with them of these tame beasts. Or, secondly, possibly, the gulf, or passage, between Asia and America, though narrow, comparatively, is yet too broad to waft over any of those sort of creatures; and yet possibly men and women might pass over it in canoes made of hollow trees, or with barks of trees, wherein, it is known, the Indians will transport themselves, wives and children, over lakes and gulfs, very considerable for breadth. I have known some to pass with like vessels forty miles across an arm of the sea.

But before I pass to another thing, suppose it should be so, that the origination of the Americans came from Asia, by the north-west of America, where the continents are conceived to meet very near, which indeed is an opinion very probable; yet this doth not hinder the truth of the first conjecture, that this people may be of the race of the ten tribes of Israel: for the king of Assyria who led them captive, as we heard before, transported them into Asia, and placed them in several provinces and cities, as in II. Kings, xvii. 6. Now possibly, in process of time, this people, or at least some considerable number of them, whose custom and manner it was to keep themselves distinct from the other nations they lived amongst; and did commonly intermarry only with their own people; and also their religion being so different from the heathen, unto whom they were generally an abomination, as they were to the Egyptians; and also partly from God's judgment following them for their sins: I say, it is not impossible but a considerable number of them might withdraw themselves; and so pass gradually into the extreme parts of the continent of Asia; and wherever they came, being disrelished by the heathen, might for their own security pass further and further, till they found America; which being unpeopled, there they found some rest; and so, in many hundred of years, spread themselves in America in that thin manner, as they were found there, especially in the northern parts of it; which country is able to contain and accommodate millions of mankind more than were found in it.

And for their speech, which is not only different among themselves,

but from the Hebrew, that might easily be lost by their often removes, or God's judgment.

A third conjecture of the original of these Indians, is, that some of the tawny Moors of Africa, inhabiting upon the sea coasts, in times of war and contention among themselves, have put off to sea, and been transported over, in such small vessels as those times afforded, unto the south part of America, where the two continents of Africa and America are nearest; and they could not have opportunity or advantage to carry with the small vessels of those times any tame beasts, such as were in that country. Some reasons are given for this notion. First, because the Americans are much like the Moors of Africa. Secondly, the seas between the tropics are easy to pass, and safe for small vessels; the winds in those parts blowing from the east to the west, and the current setting the same course. Thirdly, because it is most probable, that the inhabitants of America first came into the south parts; where were found the greatest numbers of people, and the most considerable cities and riches.

But these, or any other notions, can amount to no more than rational conjecture; for a certainty of their first extraction cannot be attained; for they being ignorant of letters and records of antiquity, as the Europeans, Africans, and sundry of the Asians, are and have been, hence any true knowledge of their ancestors is utterly lost among them. I have discoursed and questioned about this matter with some of the most judicious of the Indians, but their answers are divers and fabulous.

DIPLOMACY IN BOSTON.

[*From the Same.*]

NOW we are come to speak of the Maquas more particularly, which I promised in the beginning of this chapter. These Maquas live near unto certain lakes, about fifty miles from Fort Oranje, now called Fort Albany, upon a branch of Hudson's River. The place they live at is reported to be a fertile and pleasant country. It lies between the French that live upon Canada, and the English and Dutch that live upon Hudson's River. Those Indians are greatly addicted to war, spoil, and rapine. They heretofore lived in towns, or forts, not far one from another; but were all in confederacy with each other. Their manner was to rob, kill, and spoil their neighbor Indians far and near: and with the beavers and other furs, thus taken by violence, to barter heretofore with the Dutch upon Hudson's River, now with

the English that possess that country, for those necessaries they wanted, especially for guns, powder and shot, and other weapons for war. . . . .

There were five Mawhawks, or Maquas, all stout and lusty young men, and well armed, that came into one John Taylor's house, in Cambridge, in the afternoon. They were seen to come out of a swamp, not far from the house. The people of the house, which I think were only two women and a lad then at home, seeing them so armed; for they had every one of them a firelock gun, a pistol, an helved hatchet, a long knife hanging about their necks, and every one had his pack, or knapsack, well furnished with powder and bullets, and other necessaries; and also the people perceived that their speech was different from our neighbor Indians; for these Maquas speak hollow and through the throat more than our Indians; and their language is understood but by very few of our neighbor Indians;—I say, the people of the house suspected them, sent privily to them that had authority, a little distance in the town, to give order and direction in this matter. Hereupon a constable with a party of men came to the house, and seized them without any resistance. Some think they were willing to be apprehended, that they may better see and observe the English manner of living. The constable was ordered to carry them to prison, and secure them there, until such time as they might be examined; which was done, and they were all put in irons, and their arms and things taken from them and secured. The English had heard much, but never saw any of those Maquas until now. They differ nothing from the other Indians, only in their speech. At their being imprisoned and their being loaden with irons, they did not appear daunted or dejected; but, as the manner of those Indians is, they sang night and day, when they were awake.

Within a day or two after, they were removed with a guard, from Cambridge to Boston Prison, at which time the court sat; before whom they were examined at several times, upon divers interrogations, too long to insert. The sum of their answer was, that they came not hither, with an intent to do the least wrong to the English, but to avenge themselves of the Indians, their enemies. They were told, it was inhumanity, and more like wolves than men, to travel and wander so far from home, merely to kill and destroy men, women, and children,—for they could get no riches of our Indians, who were very poor,—and to do this in a secret, skulking manner, lying in ambushment, thickets, and swamps, by the way-side, and so killing people in a base and ignoble manner: whereas, if they were men of courage, valor, and nobleness of spirit, they would fight with their enemies openly and in a plain field, which our Indians would gladly accept

and engage with them, and make an end of the cruel war, one way or other: but thus to be destroyed gradually, in such a manner, was altogether inhuman and barbarous. To these things they answered shortly: It was their trade of life: they were bred up by their ancestors to act in this manner towards their enemies.

The Indians, our neighbors, flocked into Boston, in great numbers, not only to see those Maquas, but earnestly to solicit the court not to let them escape, but to put them to death, or, at least, to deliver the Maquas to them to be put to death. "For," said they, "these Maquas are unto us, as wolves are to your sheep. They secretly seize upon us and our children, wherever they meet us, and destroy us. Now, if we had taken five wolves alive, and should let them go again, and not destroy them, you Englishmen would be greatly offended with us for such an act: and surely," said they, "the lives of men are of more worth than beasts."

These kind of arguings and solicitations of our neighbor Indians put the court upon serious thoughts, how to manage this affair, as became wise and Christian men. For as, on the one hand, the Maquas had never done any wrong to the English: and that we should begin a breach with them, in taking away these men's lives, we well knew the temper and spirit of that people was so cruel, and bloody, and revengeful, that they might, and probably would, in a secret and skulking way, destroy many of our people, so that none could be safe in their goings out and comings in: on the other hand, it was considered that our neighbor Indians would be offended, that we did not gratify their desires. But of these two evils the court chose to avoid the former; forasmuch as we had more ties and obligations upon our neighbors, both of Christianity, and sobriety, and commerce, than upon the others: and hence did endeavor at present, and might have opportunity hereafter, to quiet and compose their minds, declaring unto them: First, that it was not becoming the prudence or honor of so great a people as the English were, nor suitable to the Christian profession, to begin a war with a people, that had not killed or slain any Englishmen. Secondly, for the English to espouse the Indians' quarrel, the cause whereof we knew not, or which party were the aggressors, was not lawful for the English to do. Thirdly, to take away the lives of five men, that were now in our power by their own voluntary coming into one of our towns, and had not done us any wrong, personally considered, it would be great injustice.

These and some other reasons were given to our neighbor Indians, who, though not satisfied at the present, yet were quiet. The result of the court in this matter was, to dismiss these five Maquas, with a letter from the court sent by them to their chief sachems, of this im-

port: That although the English had seized five of their men, that came armed into one of the English houses, and had examined them: yet we had released them, and secured them from the Indians, and conducted them in safety out of our borders, and have returned all their arms and things unto them, and given them coats: and have sent this letter by them to their chief sachem, to forbid any of that people, for the future, to kill and destroy any of the Indians under our protection, that lived about forty miles from us on every side: which they might distinguish from other Indians, by their short hair, and wearing English-fashioned apparel. Secondly, they were required not to come armed into any of our towns. But if any of them were sent, and came upon any business to us, they were to repair to the magistrate, and get the first Englishman they met withal, to conduct them to whom they were to declare their errand. With this letter, and a convoy of horse to conduct them into the woods, clear of the Indians, their enemies, they were dismissed, and we heard no more of them since.

After this, as I last remember, in the summer, 1669, the war having now continued between the Maquas and our Indians about six years, divers Indians, our neighbors, united their forces together, and made an army of about six or seven hundred men; and marched into the Maquas' country, to take revenge of them. This enterprise was contrived and undertaken without the privity, and contrary to the advice, of their English friends. Mr. Eliot and myself, in particular, dissuaded them, and gave them several reasons against it, but they would not hear us: but the praying Indians were so cautioned by our advice, that not above five of them went; and all of them were killed but one.

CONCERNING LEARNED INDIAN YOUTH.

[*From the Same.*]

THERE was much cost out of the Corporation stock expended in this work, for fitting and preparing the Indian youth to be learned and able preachers unto their countrymen. Their diet, apparel, books, and schooling, was chargeable. In truth the design was prudent, noble, and good; but it proved ineffectual to the ends proposed. For several of the said youth died, after they had been sundry years at learning and made good proficiency therein. Others were disheartened and left learning, after they were almost ready for the college. And some returned to live among their countrymen; where some of them are improved for school-masters and teachers, unto which they are advantaged

by their education. Some others of them have entered upon other callings: as one is a mariner; another, a carpenter; another went for England with a gentleman, that lived sometimes at Cambridge in New England, named Mr. Drake, which Indian, as I heard, died there not many months after his arrival.

I remember but only two of them all, that lived in the college at Cambridge; the one named Joel, the other, Caleb; both natives of Martha's Vineyard. These two were hopeful young men, especially Joel, being so ripe in learning, that he should, within a few months, have taken his first degree of bachelor of art in the college. He took a voyage to Martha's Vineyard to visit his father and kindred, a little before the commencement; but upon his return back in a vessel, with other passengers and mariners, suffered shipwreck upon the island of Nantucket; where the bark was found put on shore; and in all probability the people in it came on shore alive, but afterwards were murdered by some wicked Indians of that place; who, for lucre of the spoil in the vessel, which was laden with goods, thus cruelly destroyed the people in it; for which fault some of those Indians was convicted and executed afterwards. Thus perished our hopeful young prophet Joel. He was a good scholar and a pious man, as I judge. I knew him well; for he lived and was taught in the same town where I dwell. I observed him for several years, after he was grown to years of discretion, to be not only a diligent student, but an attentive hearer of God's word; diligently writing the sermons, and frequenting lectures; grave and sober in his conversation.

The other called Caleb, not long after he took his degree of bachelor of art at Cambridge in New England, died of a consumption at Charlestown, where he was placed by Mr. Thomas Danforth, who had inspection over him, under the care of a physician in order to his health; where he wanted not for the best means the country could afford, both of food and physic; but God denied the blessing, and put a period to his days.

Of this disease of the consumption sundry of those Indian youths died, that were bred up to school among the English. The truth is, this disease is frequent among the Indians; and sundry die of it, that live not with the English. A hectic fever, issuing in a consumption, is a common and mortal disease among them. I know some have apprehended other causes of the mortality of these Indian scholars. Some have attributed it unto the great change upon their bodies, in respect of their diet, lodging, apparel, studies; so much different from what they were inured to among their own countrymen.

These awful providences of God, in frustrating the hopeful expectations concerning the learned Indian youth, who were designed to be

for teachers unto their countrymen, concurring with some other severe dispensations of God obstructive to this work,—some whereof may be hereafter mentioned,—caused great thoughts of heart unto the well-willers and promoters thereof. Some conceived, God was not pleased yet to make use of any of the Indians to preach the Gospel; and that the time of the great harvest of their ingathering is not yet come, but will follow after the calling of the Jews. Others thought that this honor of their instruction and conversion shall be continued with Englishmen. Others were of opinion, that Satan, the great enemy and opposer of men's salvation, who had for many years held these poor barbarians under his dominion, did use all his stratagems and endeavors to impede the spreading of the Christian faith, that he might the better keep possession of his kingdom among them. But others, whose faith I hope in God was active and vigorous, did conclude that there was nothing more in these providences and remoras, than did usually attend and accompany all good designs, tending to the glory of God and salvation of souls; whereof plentiful examples are recorded in Holy Scriptures, especially in the primitive times; which in several chapters of the Acts of the Apostles may be demonstrated.

THE PRAYING SAVAGES OF NATICK.

[*From the Same.*]

HERE I shall take the liberty, though it be a digression, to relate a story of remark concerning a child at Natick, a youth of about eleven years of age, who was of a sober and grave carriage, and an attentive hearer of the Word, considering his age and capacity, but he had a weak body and was consumptive. This child hearing Mr. Eliot preach upon a time at Natick, when the ordinance of baptism was to be administered unto some children, whose parents had made profession of their faith and were joined to the church; upon which occasion Mr. Eliot said, that baptism was Christ's mark, which he ordered to be set upon his lambs, and that it was a manifest token of Christ's love to the offspring of his people to set this mark upon them; this child taking special notice of this passage, did often solicit his father and mother that one or both of them would endeavor to join to the church, that he might be marked for one of Christ's lambs before he died. The parents who were well inclined, especially the mother, and being also very affectionate to their child, as the Indians generally are, did seriously ponder the child's reiterated entreaties; and not long after,

first the mother, and then the father of the child, joined to the church. Soon after the lad was baptized; in which he did greatly rejoice and triumph, that now he was marked for one of Christ's lambs; and now said he to his father and mother, "I am willing to die;" which shortly after came to pass; and I doubt not, but as the child had Christ's name set upon him in baptism and by faith, so his immortal soul is now in glory, rejoicing in communion with Christ.

This relation, which is a most true and certain thing, should methinks be argumentative to persuade the Antipædobaptists of our age to so much affection and humanity unto their offspring, as the poor Indians had to their child, to offer them up to God, that his mark and name in baptism might be set upon them.

There are many Indians that live among those that have subjected to the Gospel, that are catechised, do attend public worship, read the Scriptures, pray in their family morning and evening; but being not yet come so far, as to be able or willing to profess their faith in Christ, and yield obedience and subjection unto him in his church, are not admitted to partake in the ordinances of God, proper and peculiar to the church of Christ; which is a garden enclosed, as the Scripture saith.

The manner practised by these Indians in the worship of God is thus. Upon the Lord's days, fast days, and lecture days, the people assemble together at the sound of a drum,—for bells they yet have not,—twice a day, in the morning and afternoon, on Lord's days, but only once upon lecture days; where one of their teachers, if they have more than one, begins with solemn and affectionate prayer. Then, after a short pause, either himself or some other thereunto appointed readeth a chapter distinctly out of the Old or New Testament. At the conclusion thereof a psalm, or part of a psalm, is appointed, rehearsed, and solemnly sung. Then the minister catechises and prays before his sermon; and so preacheth from some text of Scripture. Then concludeth with prayer, and a psalm, and a blessing pronounced. Sometimes, instead of reading the chapter, some persons do answer some part of the catechism.

In all these acts of worship, for I have been often present with them, they demean themselves visibly with reverence, attention, modesty, and solemnity; the menkind sitting by themselves and the womenkind by themselves, according to their age, quality, and degree, in a comely manner. And for my own part, I have no doubt, but am fully satisfied, according to the judgment of charity, that divers of them do fear God and are true believers; but yet I will not deny but that there may be some of them hypocrites, that profess religion, and yet are not sound-hearted. But things that are secret belong to God; and things that are revealed, unto us and our children.

Their teachers are generally chosen from among themselves,—except some few English teachers,—of the most pious and able men among them. If these did not supply, they would generally be destitute: for the learned English young men do not hitherto incline or endeavor to fit themselves for that service, by learning the Indian language. Possibly the reasons may be: First, the difficulty to attain that speech. Secondly, little encouragement, while they prepare for it. Thirdly, the difficulty in the practice of such a calling among them, by reason of the poverty and barbarity, which cannot be grappled with, unless the person be very much mortified, self-denying, and of a public spirit, seeking greatly God's glory; and these are rare qualifications in young men. It is but one of an hundred that is so endowed.

Mr. Eliot hath of late years fallen into a practice among the Indians, the better to prepare and furnish them with abilities to explicate and apply the Scriptures, by setting up a lecture among them in logic and theology, once every fortnight, all the summer, at Natick; whereat he is present and ready, and reads and explains to them the principles of those arts. And God hath been pleased graciously so to bless these means, that several of them, especially young men of acute parts, have gained much knowledge, and are able to speak methodically and profitably unto any plain text of Scripture, yea, as well as you can imagine such little means of learning can advantage them unto. From this church and town of Natick hath issued forth, as from a seminary of virtue and piety, divers teachers that are employed in several new praying towns; of which we shall hear more, God willing, hereafter.

WANNALANCET'S CANOE.

[*From the Same.*]

WE met at the wigwam of one called Wannalancet, about two miles from the town, near Pawtuckett Falls, and bordering upon Merrimac River. This person, Wannalancet, is the eldest son of old Pasaconaway, the chiefest sachem of Pawtuckett. He is a sober and grave person, and of years, between fifty and sixty. He hath been always loving and friendly to the English. Many endeavors have been used several years to gain this sachem to embrace the Christian religion; but he hath stood off from time to time, and not yielded up himself personally, though for four years past he hath been willing to hear the word of God preached, and to keep the Sabbath. A great reason that hath kept him off, I conceive, hath been the indisposition and

averseness of sundry of his chief men and relations to pray to God; which he foresaw would desert him, in case he turned Christian. But at this time, May 6th, 1674, it pleased God so to influence and overcome his heart, that it being proposed to him to give his answer concerning praying to God, after some deliberation and serious pause he stood up, and made a speech to this effect:

"Sirs, you have been pleased for four years last past, in your abundant love, to apply yourselves particularly unto me and my people, to exhort, press, and persuade us to pray to God. I am very thankful to you for your pains. I must acknowledge," said he, "I have, all my days, used to pass in an old canoe" (alluding to his frequent custom to pass in a canoe upon the river), "and now you exhort me to change and leave my old canoe, and embark in a new canoe, to which I have hitherto been unwilling: but now I yield up myself to your advice, and enter into a new canoe, and do engage to pray to God hereafter."

This his professed subjection was well pleasing to all that were present, of which there were some English persons of quality; as Mr. Richard Daniel, a gentleman that lived in Billerica, about six miles off: and Lieutenant Henchman, a neighbor at Chelmsford; besides brother Eliot and myself, with sundry others, English and Indians. Mr. Daniel before named desired brother Eliot to tell this sachem from him, that it may be, while he went in his old canoe, he passed in a quiet stream: but the end thereof was death and destruction to soul and body. But now he went into a new canoe, perhaps he would meet with storms and trials; but yet he should be encouraged to persevere, for the end of his voyage would be everlasting rest. Moreover he and his people were exhorted by brother Eliot and myself to go on and sanctify the Sabbath, to hear the Word, and use the means that God hath appointed, and encourage their hearts in the Lord their God. Since that time I hear this sachem doth persevere, and is a constant and diligent hearer of God's Word, and sanctifieth the Sabbath, though he doth travel to Wamesit meeting every Sabbath, which is above two miles; and though sundry of his people have deserted him, since he subjected to the Gospel, yet he continues and persists.

HERESY IN MARTHA'S VINEYARD.

[*From the Same.*]

AND here I may take occasion to mention a short, but true story, of certain Quakers, who landing upon that island, went to some

of the Indian wigwams; and discoursing with some of the Indians that understood English, as divers of them do, the Quakers persuaded and urged the Indians to hearken to them; and told the Indians that they had a light within them, that was sufficient to guide them to happiness; and dissuaded the Indians from hearing Mr. Mayhew, or reading the Scriptures; and said, that those ministers that preached from, or used the Scriptures, were as Baal's priests and hirelings, etc. And at last the Quakers offered the Indians some of their pamphlet books, which they always carry with them; exhorting the Indians to read them; and they would be of greater benefit to them than the Bible.

The Indians heard all this discourse patiently; and then one of the principal of them that could speak English, gravely answered the Quakers after this manner: "You are strangers to us, and we like not your discourse. We know Mr. Mayhew, that he is a good and holy man; but you we know not. You tell us of a light within us, that will guide us to salvation; but our experience tells us that we are darkness and corruption, and all manner of evil within our hearts. You dehort us from using the Bible; but offer your books and commend them to us. We cannot receive your counsel, contrary to our own experience, and the advice and exhortations of our ancient and good teachers. Therefore we pray you, trouble us no further with your new doctrines; for we do not approve it."

So the Quakers, not long after, departed from the island; and never since have they been infested with them.

Sir William Berkeley.

Born near London, England. Royal Governor of Virginia, 1641–51, 1660–77. Died at Twickenham, England, 1677.

HIS DECLARATION AGAINST THE PROCEEDINGS OF NATHANIEL BACON.

[*From the "Aspinwall Papers," published by the Mass. Hist. Soc.* 1871.]

THE declaration and remonstrance of Sir William Berkeley, his most sacred Majesty's Governor and Captain-General of Virginia,

Sheweth: That about the year 1660, Col. Mathews the then Governor died, and then in consideration of the service I had done the country, in defending them from and destroying great numbers of the Indians, without the loss of three men in all the time that war lasted, and in

contemplation of the equal and uncorrupt justice I had distributed to all men, not only the Assembly, but the unanimous votes of all the country concurred to make me Governor in a time when, if the rebels in England had prevailed, I had certainly died for accepting it. 'T was, Gentlemen, an unfortunate love showed to me, for, to show myself grateful for this, I was willing to accept of this government again, when by my gracious King's favor I might have had other places much more profitable and less toilsome than this hath been. Since that time that I returned into the country, I call the great God, Judge of all things in heaven and earth, to witness, that I do not know of any thing relative to this country, wherein I have acted unjustly, corruptly, or negligently, in distributing equal justice to all men, and taking all possible care to preserve their proprieties and defend them from their barbarous enemies.

But, for all this, perhaps I have erred in things I know not of. If I have, I am so conscious of human frailty and my own defects, that I will not only acknowledge them, but repent of and amend them, and not, like the rebel Bacon, persist in an error only because I have committed it; and tells me in divers of his letters that it is not for his honor to confess a fault, but I am of opinion that it is only for devils to be incorrigible, and men of principles like the worst of devils; and these he hath, if truth be reported to me of divers of his expressions of atheism, tending to take away all religion and laws.

And now I will state the Question betwixt me as a Governor and Mr. Bacon, and say that if any enemies should invade England, any counsellor, justice of peace, or other inferior officer might raise what forces they could to protect his Majesty's subjects. But I say again, if, after the King's knowledge of this invasion, any the greatest peer of England should raise forces against the King's prohibition, this would be now—and ever was in all ages and nations—accounted treason. Nay, I will go further,—that though this peer was truly zealous for the preservation of his King and subjects, and had better and greater abilities than all the rest of his fellow-subjects to do his King and Country service, yet if the King (though by false information) should suspect the contrary, it were treason in this noble peer to proceed after the King's prohibition: and for the truth of this I appeal to all the laws of England, and the laws and constitutions of all other nations in the world. And yet further, it is declared by this Parliament that the taking up arms for the King and Parliament is treason; for the event showed that whatever the pretence was to seduce ignorant and well-affected people, yet the end was ruinous both to King and people,—as this will be if not prevented. I do therefore again declare that Bacon, proceeding against all laws of all nations modern and ancient, is rebel

to his sacred Majesty and this country; nor will I insist upon the swearing of men to live and die together, which is treason by the very words of the law.

Now, my friends, I have lived thirty-four years amongst you, as uncorrupt and diligent as ever Governor was; Bacon is a man of two years amongst you, his person and qualities unknown to most of you, and to all men else, by any virtuous action that ever I heard of. And that very action which he boasts of was sickly and foolishly, and, as I am informed, treacherously carried to the dishonor of the English nation; yet in it he lost more men than I did in three years' war; and by the grace of God will put myself to the same dangers and troubles again when I have brought Bacon to acknowledge the laws are above him, and I doubt not but by God's assistance to have better success than Bacon hath had. The reason of my hopes are, that I will take counsel of wiser men than myself; but Mr. Bacon hath none about him but the lowest of the people.

Yet I must further enlarge, that I cannot without your help do any thing in this but die in defence of my King, his laws, and subjects, which I will cheerfully do, though alone I do it; and, considering my poor fortunes, I cannot leave my poor wife and friends a better legacy than by dying for my King and you: for his sacred Majesty will easily distinguish between Mr. Bacon's actions and mine, and kings have long arms either to reward or punish.

Now, after all this, if Mr. Bacon can show one precedent or example where such actings in any nation whatever was approved of, I will mediate with the King and you for a pardon and excuse for him; but I can show him an hundred examples where brave and great men have been put to death for gaining victories against the command of their superiors.

Lastly, my most assured friends, I would have preserved those Indians that I knew were hourly at our mercy, to have been our spies and intelligence, to find out our bloody enemies; but as soon as I had the least intelligence that they also were treacherous enemies, I gave out commissions to destroy them all, as the commissions themselves will speak it.

To conclude, I have done what was possible both to friend and enemy; have granted Mr. Bacon three pardons, which he hath scornfully rejected, supposing himself stronger to subvert than I and you to maintain the laws, by which only, and God's assisting grace and mercy, all men must hope for peace and safety. I will add no more, though much more is still remaining to justify me and condemn Mr. Bacon, but to desire that this declaration may be read in every county court in the country, and that a court be presently called to do it before the Assem-

bly meet, that your approbation or dissatisfaction of this declaration may be known to all the country, and the King's Council, to whose most revered judgments it is submitted.

Given the 29th day of May, a happy day in the 28th year of his most sacred Majesty's reign, Charles the Second, who God grant long and prosperously to reign, and let all his good subjects say Amen.

WILLIAM BERKELEY.

Nathaniel Bacon.

BORN in England, 1630–40. DIED at Gloucester C. H., Va., 1676.

HIS DECLARATION IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA.

JULY 30TH, 1676.

[*From the "Aspinwall Papers," published by the Mass. Hist. Soc.* 1871.]

FIRST. For having upon specious pretences of public works raised great unjust taxes upon the Commonalty for the advancement of private favorites and other sinister ends, but no visible effects in any measure adequate. For not having, during this long time of his government, in any measure advanced this hopeful Colony, either by fortifications, towns or trade.

2. For having abused and rendered contemptible the Magistrates of Justice, by advancing to places of judicature scandalous and ignorant favorites.

3. For having wronged his Majesty's prerogative and interest by assuming monopoly of the beaver trade, and for having in that unjust gain betrayed and sold his Majesty's Country and the lives of his loyal subjects to the barbarous heathen.

4. For having protected, favored, and emboldened the Indians against his Majesty's loyal subjects; never contriving, requiring, or appointing any due or proper means of satisfaction for their many invasions, robberies, and murders committed upon us.

5. For having, when the army of English was just upon the track of those Indians, who now in all places burn, spoil, murder, and when we might with ease have destroyed them who then were in open hostility, for then having expressly countermanded and sent back our army, by passing his word for the peaceable demeanor of the said Indians, who immediately prosecuted their evil intentions, committing horrid murders and robberies in all places, being protected by the said engagement and word past of him the said Sir William Berkeley; having ruined and laid desolate a great part of his Majesty's Country, and have

now drawn themselves into such obscure and remote places, and are by their success so emboldened and confirmed, by their confederacy so strengthened, that the cries of blood are in all places, and the terror and consternation of the people so great, are now become, not only a difficult, but a very formidable enemy, who might at first with ease have been destroyed.

6. And lately, when upon the loud outcries of blood the Assembly had with all care raised and framed an army for the preventing of further mischief and safeguard of this his Majesty's Colony:

7. For having, with only the privacy of some few favorites, without acquainting the people, only by the alteration of a figure, forged a commission, by we know not what hand, not only without, but even against the consent of the people, for the raising and effecting civil war and destruction; which being happily and without bloodshed prevented, for having the second time attempted the same, thereby calling down our forces from the defence of the frontiers and most weakly exposed places.

8. For the prevention of civil mischief and ruin amongst ourselves, whilst the barbarous enemy in all places did invade, murder and spoil us, his Majesty's most faithful subjects.

Of this and the aforesaid Articles we accuse Sir William Berkeley as guilty of each and every one of the same, and as one who hath traitorously attempted, violated and injured his Majesty's interest here by a loss of a great part of this his Colony, and many of his faithful, loyal subjects by him betrayed and in a barbarous and shameful manner exposed to the incursions and murder of the heathen. And we do further declare these, the ensuing persons in this list, to have been his wicked and pernicious counsellors, confederates, aiders, and assisters against the Commonalty in these our civil commotions. . . .

And we do further demand that the said Sir William Berkeley with all the persons in this list be forthwith delivered up or surrender themselves within four days after the notice hereof; or otherwise we declare as followeth:

That in whatsoever place, house, or ship, any of the said persons shall reside, be hid, or protected, we declare the owners, masters or inhabitants of the said places to be confederates and traitors to the people, and the estates of them, as also of all the aforesaid persons, to be confiscated; and this we the Commons of Virginia do declare, desiring a firm union amongst ourselves that we may jointly and with one accord defend ourselves against the common enemy: and let not the faults of the guilty be the reproach of the innocent, or the faults or crimes of the oppressors divide and separate us who have suffered by their oppressions.

These are therefore in his Majesty's name to command you forthwith to seize the persons above mentioned as traitors to the King and Country, and them to bring to Middle Plantation, and there to secure them until further order; and in case of opposition, if you want any further assistance, you are forthwith to demand it in the name of the people in all the counties of Virginia.

NATH. BACON,
General by consent of the People.

Anonymous.

CAUSES OF THE STRIFE BETWEEN GOVERNOR BERKELEY AND NATHANIEL BACON, GENTLEMAN.

[*From "Bacons Proseedings," in the "Burwell Papers." Published by the Mass. Hist. Soc.* 1814.]

THE people chose Col. Bacon their General, which post he accepted. He was a man of quality and merit, brave and eloquent; became much endeared, not so much for what he had yet done as the cause of their affections, as for what they expected he would do to deserve their devotion; while with no common zeal they sent up their reiterated prayers, first to himself, and next to heaven, that he may become their guardian angel, to protect them from the cruelties of the Indians, against whom this gentleman had a perfect antipathy.

It seems that at the first rise of the war this gentleman had made some overtures unto the Governor for a commission to go and put a stop to the Indians' proceedings. But the Governor at present, either not willing to commence the quarrel (on his part) till more suitable reasons presented for to urge his more severe prosecution of the same, against the heathen; or that he doubted Bacon's temper, as he appeared popularly inclined; a constitution not consistent with the times or the people's dispositions, being generally discontented, for want of timely provisions against the Indians, or for annual impositions laid upon them too great (as they said) for them to bear, and against which they had some considerable time complained, without the least redress,—for these or some other reasons the Governor refused to comply with Bacon's proposals: which he looking upon as undervaluing as well to his parts as a disparagement to his pretensions, he in some elated and passionate expressions swore, commission or no commission, the next man or woman he heard of that should be killed by the Indians, he would go out against them though but twenty men would adventure the service with him. Now it so unhappily fell out that the next person that the Indians did

kill was one of his own family. Whereupon having got together about seventy or ninety persons, most good housekeepers, well armed, and seeing that he could not legally procure a commission (after some strugglings with the Governor), some of his best friends who condemned his enterprises, he applies himself. . . . .

The Governor could not bear this insolent deportment of Bacon, and spake freely against him, and condemned his proceedings; which, . . . instead of seeking means to appease his anger, they devised means to increase it, by framing specious pretences which they grounded upon the boldness of Bacon's actions, and the people's affections. They began, some of them, to have Bacon's merits in mistrust, as a luminary that threatened an eclipse to their rising glories; for though he was but a young man, yet they found that he was master and owner of those induements which constitutes a complete man (as to intrinsicals)—wisdom to apprehend and discretion to choose: by which embellishments, if he should continue in the Governor's favor of seniors, they might become juniors; while their younger brother, through the nimbleness of his wit, might steal away that blessing which they accounted their own by birthright. This rash proceeding of Bacon, if it did not undo himself, by his failing in the enterprise, might chance to undo them in the affections of the people; which, to prevent, they thought it conducible to their interest and establishment for to get the Governor in the mind to proclaim him a rebel, as knowing that once being done, since it could not be done but in and by the Governor's name, it must needs breed bad blood between Bacon and Sir William, not easily to be purged; for though Sir William might forgive what Bacon as yet had acted, yet it might be questionable whether Bacon might forget what Sir William had done. However, according to their desires, Bacon, and all his adherents, was proclaimed a rebel, May the 29, and forces raised to reduce him to his duty; with which the Governor advanced from the Middle Plantation to find him out, and if need was to fight him, if the Indians had not knocked him and those that were with him in the head, as some were in hope they had done, and which by some was earnestly desired.

After some days the Governor retracts his march (a journey of some thirty or forty miles), to meet the Assembly, now ready to set down at our metropolis; while Bacon in the meanwhile meets with the Indians, upon whom he falls with abundance of resolution and gallantry (as his own party relates it) in their fastness, killing a great many and blowing up their magazine of arms and powder—to a considerable quantity, if we may judge from himself; no less than four thousand weight. This being done, and all his provisions spent, he returns home, and while here submits himself to be chosen burgess of the county in which he

did live, contrary to his qualifications, take him as he was formerly one of the Council of State, or as he was now a proclaimed rebel. However, he applies himself to the performance of that trust reposed in him by the people, if he might be admitted into the house. But this not saying according to his desire, though according to his expectation, and he remaining in his sloop (then at anchor before the town), in which was about thirty gentlemen besides himself, he was there surprised and made prisoner with the rest, some being put into irons, in which condition they remained some time, till all things were fitted for the trial. Which being brought to a day of hearing, before the Governor and Council, Bacon was not only acquitted and pardoned all misdemeanors, but restored to the Council table as before; and not only, but promised to have a commission signed the Monday following (this was Saturday) as General for the Indian war, to the universal satisfaction of the people, who passionately desired the same; witnessed by the general acclamations of all then in town.

And here who can do less than wonder at the mutable and impermanent deportments of that blind goddess Fortune, who in the morning leads men with disgraces, and, ere night, crowns him with honors; sometimes depressing, and again elevating, as her fickle humor is to smile or frown—of which this gentleman's fate was a kind of epitome in the several vicissitudes and changes he was subjected in a very few days; for in the morning, before his trial, he was, in his enemies' hopes and his friends' fears, judged for to receive the guerdon due to a rebel (and such he was proclaimed to be), and, ere night, crowned the darling of the people's hopes and desires, as the only man fit in Virginia to put a stop to the bloody resolution of the heathen. And yet again, as a fuller manifestation of Fortune's inconstancy, within two or three days, the people's hopes and his desires were both frustrated by the Governor's refusing to sign the promised commission: at which, being disgusted, though he dissembled the same so well as he could, he begs leave of the Governor to dispense with his service at the Council table, to visit his wife, who, as she had informed him, was indisposed; which request the Governor (after some contest with his own thoughts) granted, contrary to the advice of some about him, who suspected Bacon's designs, and that it was not so much his lady's sickness as the troubles of a distempered mind which caused him to withdraw to his own house, and that this was the truth, which in a few days was manifested, when that he returned to town with five hundred men in arms.

The Governor did not want intelligence of Bacon's designs, and therefore sent out his summons for York train-bands to reinforce his guards then at town. But the time was so short, not above twelve hours' warning, and those that appeared at the rendezvous made such a slender

number, that under four ensigns there was not mustered above one hundred soldiers, and not one half of them sure neither, and all so sluggish in their march, that before they could reach town, by a great deal, Bacon had entered the same, and by force obtained a commission, calculated to the height of his own desires. With which commission, being invested (such as it was), he makes ready his provisions, fills up his companies to the designed number (five hundred in all) and so applies himself to those services the country expected from him. And first, for the securing the same against the excursions of the Indians in his absence (and such might be expected), he commissioned several persons (such as he could confide in) in every respective county, with select companies of well-armed men, to ravage the forests, thickets, swamps, and all such suspected places where Indians might have any shelter for the doing of mischief. Which proceedings of his put so much courage into the planters, that they begun to apply themselves to their accustomed employments in their plantations: which till now they durst not do, for fear of being knocked in the head, as God knows, too many were, before these orders were observed.

While the General (for so was Bacon now denominated by virtue of his commission) was sedulous in these affairs, and fitting his provisions about the head of York River, in order to his advance against the Indians, the Governor was steering quite different courses. He was once more persuaded (but for what reasons not visible) to proclaim Bacon a rebel again, and now, since his absence afforded an advantage to raise the country upon him so soon as he should return tired and exhausted by his toil and labor in the Indian war. For the putting this counsel in execution, the Governor steps over in Gloucester County (a place the best replenished for men, arms, and affection of any county in Virginia), all which the Governor summons to give him a meeting at a place and day assigned, where being met according to summons the Governor's proposals was so much disrelished by the whole convention that they all disbanded to their own abodes, after their promise passed to stand by and assist the Governor against all those who should go about to wrong his person or debase his authority; unto which promise they annexed or subjoined several reasons why they thought it not convenient at present, convenient to declare themselves against Bacon, as he was now advancing against the common enemy, who had in a most barbarous manner murdered some hundreds of their dear brethren and countrymen, and would, if not prevented by God and the endeavors of good men, do their utmost for to cut off the whole Colony.

Therefore did they think that it would be a thing inconsistent with right reason if that they, in this desperate conjuncture of time, should

go and engage themselves one against another; from the result of which proceedings, nothing could be expected but ruin and destruction unto both, to the one and other party, since that it might reasonably be conceived, that while they should be exposing their breasts against one another's weapons, the barbarous and common enemy (who would make his advantages by our disadvantages) should be upon their backs to knock out their brains. But if it should so happen (as they did hope would never happen) that the General, after the Indian war was finished, should attempt any thing against his Honor's person or government, that they would rise up in arms, with a joint consent, for the preservation of both.

Since the Governor could obtain no more, he was at present to rest himself contented with this, while those who had advised him to these undertakings, was not a little dissatisfied to find the event not answer their expectations. But he at present, seeing there was no more to be done, since he wanted a power to have that done, which was esteemed the main of the affairs now in hand to be done, namely, the gaining of the Gloucester men to do what he would have done, he thought it best to do what he had a power to do, and that was once more to proclaim Bacon a traitor, which was performed in all public places of meetings in these parts. The noise of which proclamation, after that it had passed the admiration of all that were not acquainted with the reasons that moved his Honor to do what he had now done, soon reached the General's ears, not yet stopped up from listening to apparent dangers.

This strange and unexpected news put him, and some with him, shrewdly to their trumps, believing that a few such deals or shuffles (call them which you please) might quickly wring the cards and game too out his hand. He perceived that he was fallen (like the corn between the stones), so that if he did not look the better about him, he might chance to be ground to powder. He knew that to have a certain enemy in his front, and more than uncertain friends in his rear, portended no great security from a violent death, and that there could be no great difference between his being wounded to death in his breast with bows and arrows, or in the back with guns and musket bullets. He did see that there was an absolute necessity of destroying the Indians, for the preservation of the English, and that there was some care to be taken for his own and soldiers' safety, otherwise that work must be ill done where the laborers are made cripples, and compelled instead of a sword to betake themselves to a crutch.

It vexed him to the heart (as he was heard to say) for to think that while he was hunting wolves, tigers and foxes, which daily destroyed our harmless sheep and lambs, that he and those with him should be

pursued, with a full cry, as a more savage or a no less ravenous beast. But to put all out of doubt, and himself in some degree of safety, since he could not tell but that some whom he left behind might not more desire his death than to hear that by him the Indians were destroyed, he forthwith (after a short consultation held with some of his soldiers) countermarches his army, and in a trice came up with them at the Middle Plantation, a place situated in the very heart of the country.

The first thing that Bacon fell upon (after that he had settled himself at the Middle Plantation) was to prepare his remonstrance, and that as well against a certain anonymous paper of the 29 of May, as in answer to the Governor's proclamation.

THE LION'S STRENGTH AIDED BY THE FOX'S BRAINS.

[*From the Same.*]

BACON soon perceived what easy work he was likely to have in this service, and so begun to set as small an esteem upon these men's courages as they did upon their own credits. He saw, by the prologue, what sport might be expected in the play, and so began to dispose of his affairs accordingly. Yet not knowing but that the paucity of his numbers being once known to those in town, it might raise their hearts to a degree of courage, having so much the odds, and that many times number prevails against resolution, he thought it not amiss, since the Lion's strength was too weak, to strengthen the same with the Fox's brains; and how this was to be effected you shall hear:

For immediately he dispatcheth two or three parties of horse, and about so many in each party, for more he could not spare, to bring into the camp some of the prime gentlewomen, whose husbands were in town; where, when arrived, he sends one of them to inform her own, and the others' husbands, for what purposes he had brought them into the camp, namely, to be placed in the fore-front of his men at such time as those in town should sally forth upon him.

The poor gentlewomen were mightily astonished at this project; neither were their husbands void of amazements at this subtile invention. If Mr. Fuller thought it strange that the devil's black guard should be enrolled God's soldiers, they made it no less wonderful that their innocent and harmless wives should thus be entered a white guard to the devil. This action was a method in war that they were not well acquainted with (no, not those the best informed in military affairs), that before they could come to pierce their enemies' sides, they must

be obliged to dart their weapons through their wives' breast; by which means though they (in their own persons) might escape without wounds, yet it might be the lamentable fate of their better half to drop by gun-shot, or otherwise be wounded to death.

Whether it was these considerations, or some others I do not know, that kept their swords in their scabbards, but this is manifest: That Bacon knit more knots by his own head in one day than all the hands in town was able to untie in a whole week; while these ladies' white aprons became of greater force to keep the besieged from falling out than his works (a pitiful trench) had strength to repel the weakest shot that should have been sent into his leaguer, had he not made use of this invention.

BACON'S DEATH, EULOGY, AND EXECRATION.

[*From the Same.*]

BACON having for some time been besieged by sickness, and now not able to hold out any longer, all his strength and provisions being spent, surrendered up that fort he was no longer able to keep, into the hands of that grim and all-conquering captain, Death, after that he had implored the assistance of the above-mentioned minister for the well making his articles of rendition. The only religious duty (as they say) he was observed to perform during these intrigues of affairs, in which he was so considerable an actor, and so much concerned, that rather than he would decline the cause, he became so deeply engaged in the first rise thereof, though much urged by arguments of dehortations by his nearest relations and best friends, that he subjected himself to all those inconveniences that, singly, might bring a man of a more robust frame to his last home. After he was dead he was bemoaned in these following lines (drawn by the man that waited upon his person, as it is said), and who attended his corpse to their burial place, but where deposited till the general day, not known, only to those who are resolutely silent in that particular. There was many copies of verses made after his departure, calculated to the latitude of their affections who composed them; as a relish taken from both appetites I have here sent you a couple:

BACON'S EPITAPH, MADE BY HIS MAN.

DEATH, why so cruel? What! no other way
To manifest thy spleen, but thus to slay
Our hopes of safety, liberty, our all,
Which, through thy tyranny, with him must fall

To its late chaos? Had thy rigid force
Been dealt by retail, and not thus in gross,
Grief had been silent. Now we must complain,
Since thou, in him, hast more than thousand slain,
Whose lives and safeties did so much depend
On him their life, with him their lives must end.
If't be a sin to think Death brib'd can be
We must be guilty; say 't was bribery
Guided the fatal shaft. Virginia's foes,
To whom for secret crimes just vengeance owes
Deserved plagues, dreading their just desert,
Corrupted Death by Paracelsian art
Him to destroy; whose well tried courage such,
Their heartless hearts, nor arms, nor strength could touch.
Who now must heal those wounds, or stop that blood
The Heathen made, and drew into a flood?
Who is't must plead our cause? nor trump nor drum
Nor Deputations; these, alas! are dumb
And cannot speak. Our Arms (though ne'er so strong)
Will want the aid of his commanding tongue,
Which conquer'd more than Cæsar. He o'erthrew
Only the outward frame: this could subdue
The rugged works of nature. Souls replete
With dull chill cold, he'd animate with heat
Drawn forth of reason's limbec. In a word,
Mars and Minerva both in him concurred
For arts, for arms, whose pen and sword alike
As Cato's did, may admiration strike
Into his foes; while they confess withal
It was their guilt styl'd him a criminal.
Only this difference does from truth proceed:
They in the guilt, he in the name must bleed.
While none shall dare his obsequies to sing
In deserv'd measures; until time shall bring
Truth crown'd with freedom, and from danger free
To sound his praises to posterity.
Here let him rest; while we this truth report
He's gone from hence unto a higher Court
To plead his cause, where he by this doth know
Whether to Cæsar he was friend, or foe.

UPON THE DEATH OF G. B.

WHETHER to Cæsar he was friend or foe?
Pox take such ignorance, do you not know?
Can he be friend to Cæsar, that shall bring
The arms of Hell to fight against the King?
(Treason, rebellion) then what reason have
We for to wait upon him to his grave,
There to express our passions? Will't not be
Worse than his crimes, to sing his elegy

In well tun'd numbers; where each Ella bears
(To his flagitious name) a flood of tears?
A name that hath more souls with sorrow fed,
Than reached Niobe, single tears ere shed;
A name that fill'd all hearts, all ears, with pain,
Until blest fate proclaimed, Death had him slain.
Then how can it be counted for a sin
Though Death (nay, though myself) had bribed been,
To guide the fatal shaft? We honor all
That lends a hand unto a traitor's fall.
What though the well paid Rochit soundly ply
And box the pulpit into flattery;
Urging his rhetoric and strained eloquence,
T' adorn encoffin'd filth and excrements;
Though the defunct (like ours) ne'er tried
A well intended deed until he died?
'T will be nor sin, nor shame, for us to say
A twofold passion checker-works this day
Of joy and sorrow; yet the last doth move
On feet impotent, wanting strength to prove
(Nor can the art of logic yield relief)
How joy should be surmounted by our grief.
Yet that we grieve it cannot be denied,
But 't is because he was, not 'cause he died.
So wept the poor distressed Ilium dames
Hearing those named their city put in flames,
And country ruin'd. If we thus lament,
It is against our present joys' consent.
For if the rule in Physic true doth prove,
Remove the cause, th' effects will after move,
We have outliv'd our sorrows; since we see
The causes shifting of our misery.
Nor is 't a single cause that 's slipped away,
That made us warble out a well-a-day.
The brains to plot, the hands to execute
Projected ills, Death jointly did nonsuit
At his black Bar. And what no bail could save
He hath committed prisoner to the grave;
From whence there's no reprieve. Death keep him close;
We have too many Devils still go loose.

THE SELF-MADE GENERAL INGRAM.

[*From "Ingrams Proceedings," in the "Burwell Papers." Published by the Mass. Hist. Soc.* 1814.]

THE lion had no sooner made his exit, but the ape (by indubitable right) steps upon the stage. Bacon was no sooner removed by

the hand of good providence, but another steps in, by the wheel of fickle fortune. The country had, for some time, been guided by a company of knaves; now it was to try how it would behave itself under a fool. Bacon had not long been dead (though it was a long time before some would believe that he was dead), but one Ingram (or Isgrum, which you will) takes up Bacon's commission (or else by the pattern of that cuts him out a new one), and as though he had been his natural heir, or that Bacon's commission had been granted not only to himself, but to his executors, administrators, and assigns, he (in the military court) takes out a probate of Bacon's will and proclaims himself his successor.

This Ingram, when that he came first into the country, had got upon his back the title of an Esquire; but how he came by it may puzzle all the heralds in England to find out until he informs them of his right name; however, by the help of this and his fine capering (for it is said that he could dance well upon a rope), he capered himself into a fine (though short-lived) estate by marrying here with a rich widow, valued at some hundreds of pounds.

The first thing that this fine fellow did, after that he was mounted upon the back of his commission, was to spur or switch those who were to pay obedience unto his authority, by getting himself proclaimed General of all the forces now raised, or hereafter to be raised, in Virginia: which, while it was performing at the head of the army, the milksop stood with his hat in his hand, looking as demurely as the great Turk's mufti at the reading of some holy sentence extracted forth of the Alcoran. The bellman having done, he put on his hat, and his janizaries threw up their caps, crying out as loud as they could bellow, "God save our new General," hoping, no doubt, but he, in imitation of the great Sultan at his election, would have enlarged their pay, or else have given them leave to have made Jews of the best Christians in the country; but he, being more than half a Jew himself, at present forbade all plunderings but such as he himself should be personally at.

HIS DECLINE AND FALL.

[*From the Same.*]

I HAVE either heard or have read that a complete general ought to be owner of these three induements: Wisdom to foresee, experience to choose, and courage to execute. He that wants the two last,

can never have the first; since a wise man will never undertake more than he is able to perform. He that hath the two first, wanting the last, makes but a lame commander; since courage is an inseparable adjunct to the bare name of a soldier, much more to a general. He that wants the second, having the first and the last, is no less imperfect than the other; since without experience, wisdom and courage (like young doctors) do but grope in the dark, or strike by guess. . . . .

Capt. Grantham had now been some time in York River. A man unto whom Virginia is very much beholden for his neat contrivance, in bringing Ingram (and some others) over to hearken to reason. With Ingram he had some small acquaintance, for it was in his ship that he came to Virginia; and so resolved to try if he might not do that by words, which others could not accomplish with swords. Now although he knew that Ingram was the point where all the lines of his contrivance were for to centre, yet he could not tell very well how to obtain this point. For although he did know that Ingram, in his private condition, was accostable enough; yet since the titmouse (by one of Fortune's figaries) was become an elephant, he did not know but that his pride might be as immense as his power: since the peacock (though bred upon a dunghill) is no less proud of his fine feathers than the princely eagle is of his noble courage. What arguments Grantham made use of, to wring the sword out of Ingram's hand, to me is not visible, more than what he told me of; which I think was not Mercurial enough against an ordinary sophister. But to speak the truth, it may be imagined that Grantham at this time could not bring more reasons to convince Ingram, than Ingram had in his own head to convince himself; and so did only await some favorable overtures (and such as Grantham might, it is possible, now make) to bring him over to the other side. Neither could he apprehend more reason in Grantham's arguments, than in his own affairs, which now provoked him to dismount from the back of that horse which he wanted skill, and strength, to manage; especially there being some of his own party waiting an opportunity to toss him out of the saddle of his new mounted honors; and of whose designs he wanted not some intelligence, in the countenances of his myrmidons; who began for to look askew upon this, their milksop General; who they judged fitter to dance upon a rope, or in some of his wenches' laps, than to caper, either to Bellona's bagpipe, or Mars's whistle.

But though Ingram was won upon to turn honest in this thing (thanks to his necessity, which made it an act of compulsion, not a free-will offering) yet was the work but half done, until the soldiers were wrought upon to follow his example. And though he himself, or

any body else, might command them to take up their arms, when any mischief was to be done, yet it was a question whether he, or any in the country, could command them to lay down their arms, for to effect or do any good. In such a case as this, where authority wants power, discretion must be made use of, as a virtue surmounting a brutish force. Grantham, though he had been but awhile in the country, and had seen but little as to matter of action, yet he had heard a great deal; and so much that the name of Authority had but little power to wring the sword out of these mad fellows' hands, as he did perceive. And that there was more hopes to effect that by smooth words, which was never likely to be accomplished by rough deeds; therefore he resolved to accost them, as the Devil courted Eve, though to a better purpose, with never-to-be-performed promises: counting it no sin to ludificate those for their good, that had been deceived by others to their hurt. He knew that men were to be treated as such, and children according to their childish dispositions; and although it was not with both these he was now to deal, yet he was to observe the several tempers of those he was to work upon.

What number of soldiers was, at this time, in garrison at West Point, I am not certain. It is said about two hundred and fifty, summed up in freemen, servants and slaves; these three ingredients being the composition of Bacon's army, ever since that the Governor left town. These was informed (to prepare the way) two or three days before that Grantham came to them, that there was a treaty on foot between their General and the Governor; and that Grantham did mainly promote the same, as he was a person that favored the cause that they were contending for.

When that Grantham arrived amongst these fine fellows, he was received with more than an ordinary respect; which he having repaid with a suitable deportment, he acquaints them with his commission, which was to tell them that there was a peace concluded between the Governor and their General; and since himself had, in some measure, used his endeavors to bring the same to pass, he begged of the Governor that he might have the honor to come and acquaint them with the terms; which he said was such that they had all cause to rejoice at, than anyways to think hardly of the same; there being a complete satisfaction to be given (by the articles of agreement) according to every one's particular interest; which he summed up under these heads: And first, those that were now in arms, and freemen, under the General, were still to be retained in arms, if they so pleased, against the Indians. Secondly, and for those who had a desire for to return home to their own abodes, care was taken for to have them satisfied for the time they had been out, according to the allowance made the last Assembly.

And lastly, those that were servants in arms, and behaved themselves well in their employment, should immediately receive discharges from their indentures, signed by the Governor, or Secretary of State; and their masters to receive, from the public, a valuable satisfaction for every servant so set free (mark the words), proportionally to the time that they have to serve.

Upon these terms the soldiers forsake West Point, and go with Grantham to kiss the Governor's hands (still at Tindell's Point) and to receive the benefit of the articles mentioned by Grantham; where when they came (which was by water, themselves in one vessel, and their arms in another; and so contrived by Grantham, as he told me himself, upon good reason) the servants and slaves was sent home to their masters, there to stay till the Governor had leisure to sign their discharges, or, to say better, till they were free according to the custom of the country; the rest was made prisoners, or entertained by the Governor, as he found them inclined.

T. M.

The writer of the following graphic relation signs his prefatory note to Secretary Harley simply "T. M.," but he is supposed by Charles Campbell to have been Thomas Matthews, son of Col. Samuel Matthews, sometime Governor of Virginia.

THE VIRGINIA REBELLION IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

[*Written in* 1705.]

ABOUT the year 1675, appeared three prodigies in that country, which from the attending disasters were looked upon as ominous presages.

The one was a large comet every evening for a week or more, at south-west, thirty-five degrees high, streaming like a horse-tail westwards, until it reached almost the horizon, and setting towards the north-west.

Another was flights of pigeons in breadth nigh a quarter of the mid-hemisphere, and of their length was no visible end; whose weights break down the limbs of large trees whereon these rested at nights, of which the fowlers shot abundance and eat them; this sight put the old planters under the more portentous apprehensions, because the like was seen, as they said, in the year 1640, when the Indians committed the last massacre, but not after, until that present year, 1675.

The third strange appearance was swarms of flies about an inch long, and big as the top of a man's little finger, rising out of spigot holes in the earth, which eat the new sprouted leaves from the tops of the trees without other harm, and in a month left us.

My dwelling was in Northumberland, the lowest county on Potomac River, Stafford being the upmost, where having also a plantation, servants, cattle, etc., my overseer there had agreed with one Robt. Hen to come thither and be my herdsman, who then lived ten miles above it. But on a Sabbath-day morning, in the summer anno 1675, people in their way to church saw this Hen lying athwart his threshold, and an Indian without the door, both chopped on their heads, arms and other parts, as if done with Indian hatchets. The Indian was dead; but Hen, when asked who did that, answered, "Doegs, Doegs," and soon died. Then a boy came out from under a bed, where he had hid himself, and told them, Indians had come at break of day and done those murders.

From this Englishman's blood did (by degrees) arise Bacon's rebellion, with the following mischiefs, which overspread all Virginia and twice endangered Maryland, as by the ensuing account is evident.

Of this horrid action Col. Mason, who commanded the militia regiment of foot, and Capt. Brent the troop of horse, in that county (both dwelling six or eight miles downwards), having speedy notice, raised thirty or more men, and pursued those Indians twenty miles up and four miles over that river into Maryland, where landing at dawn of day they found two small paths. Each leader with his party took a separate path, and, in less than a furlong, either found a cabin, which they (silently) surrounded. Capt. Brent went to the Doegs' cabin (as it proved to be), who, speaking the Indian tongue, called to have a "*matchacomicha, weewhio*" (*i. e.* a council) called presently, such being the usual manner with Indians. The king came trembling forth, and would have fled, when Capt. Brent, catching hold of his twisted lock (which was all the hair he wore), told him he was come for the murderer of Robt. Hen. The king pleaded ignorance and slipped loose, whom Brent shot dead with his pistol; the Indians shot two or three guns out of the cabin; the English shot into it, the Indians thronged out at the door and fled; the English shot as many as they could, so that they killed ten, as Capt. Brent told me, and brought away the king's son of about eight years old, concerning whom is an observable passage, at the end of this expedition. The noise of this shooting awakened the Indians in the cabin which Col. Mason had encompassed, who likewise rushed out and fled, of whom his company (supposing from that noise of shooting Brent's party to be engaged) shot (as the Col. informed me) fourteen before an Indian came, who with both hands

shook him (friendly) by one arm, saying, "*Susquehannas netoughs*" (*i. e.* "Susquehanna friends"), and fled; whereupon he ran amongst his men, crying out, "For the Lord's sake shoot no more; these are our friends the Susquehannas."

This unhappy scene ended, Col. Mason took the king of the Doegs' son home with him, who lay ten days in bed, as one dead, with eyes and mouth shut, no breath discerned; but his body continuing warm, they believed him yet alive. The aforenamed Capt. Brent (a Papist) coming thither on a visit, and seeing his little prisoner thus languishing, said, "Perhaps he is powwowed" (*i. e.* bewitched), and that he had heard baptism was an effectual remedy against witchcraft, wherefore advised to baptize him. Col. Mason answered, no minister could be had in many miles. Brent replied, "Your clerk Mr. Dodson may do that office," which was done by the Church of England liturgy; Col. Mason with Capt. Brent godfather and Mrs. Mason godmother, my overseer Mr. Pimet being present, from whom I first heard it, and which all the other persons afterwards affirmed to me; the four men returned to drinking punch, but Mrs. Mason staying and looking on the child, it opened the eyes, and breathed, whereat she ran for a cordial, which he took from a spoon, gaping for more, and so by degrees recovered, though before his baptism, they had often tried the same means, but could not by no endeavors wrench open his teeth.

This was taken for a convincing proof against infidelity.

But to return from this digression, the Susquehannas were newly driven from their habitations, at the head of Chesapeake Bay, by the Seneca Indians, down to the head of Potomac, where they sought protection under the Pascataway Indians, who had a fort near the head of that river, and also were our friends.

After this unfortunate exploit of Mason and Brent, one or two being killed in Stafford, boats of war were equipped to prevent excursions over the river, and at the same time murders being likewise committed in Maryland, by whom not known, on either side the river, both countries raised their quotas of a thousand men, upon whose coming before the fort, the Indians sent out four of their great men, who asked the reason of that hostile appearance. What they said more or offered, I do not remember to have heard; but our two commanders caused them to be instantly slain, after which the Indians made an obstinate resistance, shooting many of our men, and making frequent, fierce and bloody sallies, and when they were called to, or offered parley, gave no other answer, than "Where are our four cockarouses?" (*i. e.* great men.)

At the end of six weeks, marched out seventy-five Indians with their women, children, etc., who by moonlight passed our guards, hallooing

and firing at them without opposition, leaving three or four decrepits in the fort.

The next morning the English followed, but could not, or (for fear of ambuscades) would not overtake these desperate fugitives. The number we lost in that siege I did not hear was published. . . . .

These escaped Indians, forsaking Maryland, took their route over the head of that river, and thence over the heads of Rappahannock and York Rivers, killing whom they found of the upmost plantations, until they came to the head of James River, where (with Bacon and others) they slew Mr. Bacon's overseer, whom he much loved, and one of his servants, whose blood he vowed to revenge if possible.

In these frightful times the most exposed small families withdrew into our houses of better numbers, which we fortified with palisades and redoubts; neighbors in bodies joined their labors from each plantation to others alternately, taking their arms into the fields, and setting sentinels; no man stirred out of door unarmed. Indians were ever and anon espied, three, four, five or six in a party, lurking throughout the whole land, yet (what was remarkable) I rarely heard of any houses burnt, though abundance was forsaken, nor ever of any corn or tobacco cut up, or other injury done, besides murders, except the killing a very few cattle and swine.

Frequent complaints of bloodsheds were sent to Sir Wm. Berkeley (then Governor) from the heads of the rivers, which were as often answered with promises of assistance.

These at the heads of James and York Rivers (having now most people destroyed by the Indians' flight thither from Potomac) grew impatient at the many slaughters of their neighbors and rose for their own defence, who choosing Mr. Bacon for their leader sent oftentimes to the Governor, humbly beseeching a commission to go against those Indians at their own charge, which his Honor as often promised, but did not send. The mysteries of these delays were wondered at, and which I ne'er heard any could penetrate into, other than the effects of his passion, and a new, not to be mentioned, occasion of avarice, to both which he was, by the common vogue, more than a little addicted: whatever were the popular surmises and murmurings, viz.,—

"That no bullets would pierce beaver skins;"

"Rebels' forfeitures would be loyal inheritances," etc.

During these protractions and people often slain, most or all the officers, civil and military, with as many dwellers next the heads of the rivers as made up three hundred men, taking Mr. Bacon for their commander, met, and concerted together the danger of going without a commission on the one part, and the continual murders of their neighbors on the other part (not knowing whose or how many of their own

turns might be next), and came to this resolution, viz., to prepare themselves with necessaries for a march, but interim to send again for a commission, which if could or could not be obtained by a certain day, they would proceed, commission or no commission.

This day lapsing and no commission come, they marched into the wilderness in quest of these Indians, after whom the Governor sent his proclamation, denouncing all rebels, who should not return within a limited day, whereupon those of estates obeyed. But Mr. Bacon with fifty-seven men proceeded until their provisions were near spent, without finding enemies; when coming nigh a fort of friend Indians, on the other side a branch of James River, they desired relief, offering payment, which these Indians kindly promised to help them with on the morrow, but put them off with promises until the third day, so as having then eaten their last morsels they could not return, but must have starved in the way homeward. And now 't was suspected, these Indians had received private messages from the Governor, and those to be the causes of these delusive procrastinations; whereupon the English waded shoulder-deep through that branch to the fort palisades, still entreating and tendering pay, for victuals; but that evening a shot from the place they left on the other side of that branch killed one of Mr. Bacon's men, which made them believe those in the fort had sent for other Indians to come behind them and cut them off.

Hereupon they fired the palisades, stormed and burnt the fort and cabins, and (with the loss of three English) slew one hundred and fifty Indians.

The circumstances of this expedition Mr. Bacon entertained me with, at his own chamber, on a visit I made him, the occasion whereof is hereafter mentioned.

From hence they returned home, where writs were come up to elect members for an Assembly, when Mr. Bacon was unanimously chosen for one, who coming down the river was commanded by a ship with guns to come on board, where waited Major Hone, the high sheriff of Jamestown, ready to seize him, by whom he was carried down to the Governor and by him received with a surprising civility in the following words: "Mr. Bacon, have you forgot to be a gentleman?" "No, may it please your Honor," answered Mr. Bacon; then replied the Governor, "I'll take your parol," and gave him his liberty. In March, 1675–6, writs came up to Stafford to choose their two members for an Assembly to meet in May; when Col. Mason, Capt. Brent and other gentlemen of that county, invited me to stand a candidate; a matter I little dreamt of, having never had inclinations to tamper in the precarious intrigues of government, and my hands being full of my own business; they pressed several cogent arguments, and I having

considerable debts in that county, besides my plantation concerns, where (in one and the other) I had much more severely suffered than any of themselves by the Indian disturbances in the summer and winter foregoing, I held it not then discreet to disoblige the rulers of it, so Col. Mason with myself were elected without objection. He at time convenient went on horseback; I took my sloop, and the morning I arrived to Jamestown, after a week's voyage, was welcomed with the strange acclamations of "All's over, Bacon is taken," having not heard at home of the southern commotions, other than rumors like idle tales, of one Bacon risen up in rebellion, nobody knew for what, concerning the Indians.

The next forenoon, the Assembly being met in a chamber over the general court and our Speaker chosen, the Governor sent for us down, where his Honor with a pathetic emphasis made a short, abrupt speech wherein were these words:

"If they had killed my grandfather and grandmother, my father and mother and all my friends, yet if they had come to treat of peace, they ought to have gone in peace," and sat down; the two chief commanders at the forementioned siege, who slew the four Indian great men, being present and part of our Assembly.

The Governor stood up again and said, "If there be joy in the presence of the angels over one sinner that repenteth, there is joy now, for we have a penitent sinner come before us. Call Mr. Bacon." Then did Mr. Bacon upon one knee at the bar deliver a sheet of paper confessing his crimes, and begging pardon of God, the King, and the Governor; whereto (after a short pause) he answered, "God forgive you, I forgive you," thrice repeating the same words; when Col. Cole (one of the Council) said, "And all that were with him?" "Yea," said the Governor, "and all that were with him," twenty or more persons being then in irons, who were taken coming down in the same and other vessels with Mr. Bacon.

About a minute after this the Governor, starting up from his chair a third time, said, "Mr. Bacon! if you will live civilly but till next quarter court" (doubling the words), "but till next quarter court, I'll promise to restore you again to your place there," pointing with his hand to Mr. Bacon's seat, he having been of the Council before these troubles, though he had been a very short time in Virginia, but was deposed by the foresaid proclamation; and in the afternoon, passing by the court door, in my way up to our chamber, I saw Mr. Bacon on his quondam seat with the Governor and Council, which seemed a marvellous indulgence to one whom he had so lately proscribed as a rebel.

The Governor had directed us to consider of means for security

from the Indian insults, and to defray the charge, etc., advising us to beware of two rogues amongst us, naming Lawrence and Drumond, both dwelling at Jamestown, and who were not at the Pascataway siege.

But at our entrance upon business, some gentlemen took this opportunity to endeavor the redressing several grievances the country then labored under; motions were made for inspecting the public revenues, the collectors' accounts, etc., and so far was proceeded as to name part of a committee, whereof Mr. Bristol (now in London) was, and myself another, when we were interrupted by pressing messages from the Governor to meddle with nothing until the Indian business was dispatched.

This debate rose high, but was overruled, and I have not heard that those inspections have since then been insisted upon, though such of that indigent people as had no benefits from the taxes, groaned under our being thus overborne.

The next thing was a committee for the Indian affairs, whereof, in appointing the members, myself was unwillingly nominated, having no knowledge in martial preparations; and after our names were taken, some of the House moved for sending two of our members to entreat the Governor would please to assign two of his Council to sit with and assist us in our debates, as had been usual.

When seeing all silent, looking each at other with many discontented faces, I adventured to offer my humble opinion to the Speaker, "for the committee to form methods as agreeable to the sense of the House as we could, and report them, whereby they would more clearly see on what points to give the Governor and Council that trouble, if perhaps it might be needful."

These few words raised an uproar, one party urging hard, "It had been customary and ought not to be omitted;" whereto Mr. Presly, my neighbor, an old Assemblyman, sitting next me, rose up, and (in a blundering manner) replied, "'T is true, it has been customary, but if we have any bad customs amongst us, we are come here to mend them," which set the House in a laughter.

This was huddled off without coming to a vote, and so the committee must submit to be overawed, and have every carped-at expression carried straight to the Governor.

Our committee being sat, the Queen of Pamunky (descended from Oppechankenough, a former Emperor of Virginia) was introduced, who entered the chamber with a comportment graceful to admiration, bringing on her right hand an Englishman interpreter, and on the left her son, a stripling twenty years of age, she having round her head a plat of black and white wampum peague three inches broad, in imitation of a crown, and was clothed in a mantle of dressed deer-skins, with the hair outwards and the edge cut round six inches deep, which made

strings resembling twisted fringe, from the shoulders to the feet. Thus with grave, court-like gestures and a majestic air in her face, she walked up our long room to the lower end of the table, where, after a few entreaties, she sat down; the interpreter and her son standing by her on either side, as they had walked up. Our chairman asked her what men she would lend us for guides in the wilderness and to assist us against our enemy Indians. She spake to the interpreter to inform her what the chairman said (though we believed she understood him). He told us she bid him ask her son, to whom the English tongue was familiar, and who was reputed the son of an English colonel; yet neither would he speak to or seem to understand the chairman, but, the interpreter told us, he referred all to his mother, who, being again urged, she (after a little musing), with an earnest, passionate countenance, as if tears were ready to gush out, and a fervent sort of expression, made a harangue about a quarter of an hour, often interlacing (with a high, shrill voice and vehement passion) these words, "*Tatapatamoi Chepiack*" (*i. e.* "Tatapatamoi dead"). Col. Hill being next me, shook his head. I asked him what was the matter. He told me all she said was too true, to our shame, and that his father was General in that battle, where, divers years before, Tatapatamoi her husband had led a hundred of his Indians in help to the English against our former enemy Indians, and was there slain with most of his men; for which no compensation at all had been to that day rendered to her, wherewith she now upbraided us.

Her discourse ending, and our morose chairman not advancing one cold word towards assuaging the anger and grief her speech and demeanor manifested under her oppression, nor taking any notice of all she had said, neither considering that we then were in our great exigency supplicants to her for a favor of the same kind as the former, for which we did not deny the having been so ingrate, he rudely pushed again the same question, "What Indians will you now contribute?" etc. Of this disregard she signified her resentment by a disdainful aspect, and turning her head half aside, sat mute till that same question being pressed a third time, she not returning her face to the board, answered with a low, slighting voice in her own language, "Six;" but being further importuned, she, sitting a little while sullen, without uttering a word between, said, "Twelve," though she then had a hundred and fifty Indian men in her town; and so rose up and gravely walked away, as not pleased with her treatment.

Whilst some days passed in settling the quotas of men, arms and ammunition, provisions, etc., each county was to furnish, one morning early a bruit ran about the town, "Bacon is fled, Bacon is fled;" whereupon I went straight to Mr. Lawrence, who formerly was of Oxford University, and for wit, learning and sobriety was equalled there by

few, and who some years before (as Col. Lee, though one of the Council and a friend of the Governor's, informed me) had been partially treated at law, for a considerable estate on behalf of a corrupt favorite; which Lawrence complaining loudly of, the Governor bore him a grudge, and now shaking his head, said, "Old treacherous villain," and that his house was searched that morning at daybreak, but Bacon was escaped into the country, having intimation that the Governor's generosity in pardoning him and his followers, and restoring him to his seat in Council, were no other than previous wheedles to amuse him and his adherents and to circumvent them by stratagem, forasmuch as the taking Mr. Bacon again into the Council was first to keep him out of the Assembly, and in the next place the Governor knew the country people were hastening down with dreadful threatenings to doubly revenge all wrongs should be done to Mr. Bacon or his men, or whoever should have had the least hand in them.

And so much was true that this young Mr. Nathaniel Bacon (not yet arrived to thirty years) had a nigh relation, namely, Col. Nathaniel Bacon, of long standing in the Council, a very rich, politic man, and childless, designing this kinsman for his heir, who (not without much pains) had prevailed with his uneasy cousin to deliver the forementioned written recantation at the bar, having compiled it ready to his hand, and by whose means 'twas supposed that timely intimation was conveyed to the young gentleman to flee for his life; and also in three or four days after Mr. Bacon was first seized I saw abundance of men in town, come thither from the heads of the rivers, who, finding him restored and his men at liberty, returned home satisfied; a few days after which the Governor, seeing all quiet, gave out private warrants to take him again, intending, as was thought, to raise the militia, and so to dispose things as to prevent his friends from gathering any more into a like numerous body and coming down a second time to save him.

In three or four days after this escape, upon news that Mr. Bacon was thirty miles up the river, at the head of four hundred men, the Governor sent to the parts adjacent, on both sides James River, for the militia and all the men could be gotten to come and defend the town. Expresses came almost hourly of the army's approaches, who in less than four days after the first account of them, at two of the clock, entered the town, without being withstood, and formed a body upon a green, not a flight shot from the end of the state-house, of horse and foot, as well regular as veteran troops, who forthwith possessed themselves of all the avenues, disarming all in town, and coming thither in boats or by land.

In half an hour after this the drum beat for the House to meet, and

in less than an hour more Mr. Bacon came with a file of fusileers on either hand, near the corner of the state-house, where the Governor and Council went forth to him. We saw from the window the Governor open his breast, and Bacon strutting betwixt his two files of men, with his left arm on Kenbow, flinging his right arm every way, both like men distracted; and if, in this moment of fury, that enraged multitude had fallen upon the Governor and Council, we of the Assembly expected the same immediate fate. I stepped down, and amongst the crowd of spectators found the seamen of my sloop, who prayed me not to stir from them, when, in two minutes, the Governor walked towards his private apartment, a quoit's cast distant, at the other end of the state-house, the gentlemen of the Council following him; and after them walked Mr. Bacon with outrageous postures of his head, arms, body, and legs, often tossing his hand from his sword to his hat, and after him came a detachment of fusileers (muskets not being there in use), who with their locks bent presented their fusils at a window of the Assembly chamber filled with faces, repeating with menacing voices, "We will have it, we will have it," half a minute, when as one of our House, a person known to many of them, shook his handkerchief out at the window, saying, "You shall have it, you shall have it," three or four times; at these words they sat down their fusils, unbent their locks and stood still until Bacon, coming back, followed him to their main body. In this hubbub a servant of mine got so nigh as to hear the Governor's words, and also followed Mr. Bacon and heard what he said, who came and told me, that when the Governor opened his breast, he said, "Here! shoot me. Foregod, fair mark! shoot!" often rehearsing the same, without any other words; whereto Mr. Bacon answered, "No, may it please your Honor, we will not hurt a hair of your head, nor of any other man's; we are come for a commission to save our lives from the Indians, which you have so often promised, and now we will have it before we go."

But when Mr. Bacon followed the Governor and Council with the forementioned impetuous (like delirious) actions, whilst that party presented their fusils at the window full of faces, he said, "Damn my blood, I'll kill Governor, Council, Assembly and all, and then I'll sheathe my sword in my own heart's blood;" and afterwards 'twas said Bacon had given a signal to his men who presented their fusils at those gazing out at the window, that if he should draw his sword they were on sight of it to fire, and slay us; so near was the massacre of us all that very minute, had Bacon in that paroxysm of frantic fury but drawn his sword before the pacific handkerchief was shaken out at window.

In an hour or more after these violent concussions Mr. Bacon came

up to our chamber and desired a commission from us to go against the Indians. Our Speaker sat silent, when one Mr. Blayton, a neighbor to Mr. Bacon and elected with him a member of Assembly for the same county (who therefore durst speak to him), made answer, "'Twas not in our province or power, nor of any other, save the King's vicegerent, our Governor." He pressed hard nigh half an hour's harangue on the preserving our lives from the Indians, inspecting the public revenues, the exorbitant taxes, and redressing the grievances and calamities of that deplorable country, whereto having no other answer, he went away dissatisfied.

Next day there was a rumor the Governor and Council had agreed Mr. Bacon should have a commission to go General of the forces we then were raising; whereupon I being a member for Stafford, the most northern frontier, and where the war begun, considering that Mr. Bacon dwelling in the most southern frontier county, might the less regard the parts I represented, I went to Col. Cole (an active member of the Council) desiring his advice, if applications to Mr. Bacon on that subject were then seasonable and safe, which he approving and earnestly advising I went to Mr. Lawrence, who was esteemed Mr. Bacon's principal consultant, to whom he took me with him, and there left me, where I was entertained two or three hours with the particular relations of divers before-recited transactions; and as to the matter I spake of, he told me that the Governor had indeed promised him the command of the forces, and if his Honor should keep his word (which he doubted) he assured me "the like care should be taken of the remotest corners in the land, as of his own dwelling-house," and prayed me to advise him what persons in those parts were most fit to bear commands. I frankly gave him my opinion that the most satisfactory gentlemen to Governor and people, would be commanders of the militia, wherewith he was well pleased, and himself wrote a list of those nominated.

That evening I made known what had passed with Mr. Bacon to my colleague Col. Mason (whose bottle attendance doubled my task); the matter he liked well, but questioned the Governor's approbation of it.

I confessed the case required sedate thoughts, reasoning that he and such like gentlemen must either command or be commanded, and if on their denials Mr. Bacon should take distaste, and be constrained to appoint commanders out of the rabble, the Governor himself with the persons and estates of all in the land would be at their dispose, whereby their own ruin might be owing to themselves. In this he agreed and said, "If the Governor would give his own commission he would be content to serve under General Bacon" (as now he began to be entitled), but first would consult other gentlemen in the same circumstances; who all concurred 'twas the most safe barrier in view against

pernicious designs, if such should be put in practice. With this I acquainted Mr. Lawrence, who went rejoicing to Mr. Bacon with the good tidings that the militia commanders were inclined to serve under him, as their General, in case the Governor would please to give them his own commissions.

We of the House proceeded to finish the bill for the war, which by the assent of the Governor and Council being passed into an act, the Governor sent us a letter directed to his Majesty, wherein were these words: "I have above thirty years governed the most flourishing country the sun ever shone over, but am now encompassed with rebellion, like waters, in every respect like to that of Massanello, except their leader," and of like import was the substance of that letter. But we did not believe his Honor sent us all he wrote to his Majesty.

Some judicious gentlemen of our House likewise penned a letter or remonstrance to be sent his Majesty, setting forth the gradations of those eruptions, and two or three of them with Mr. Minge, our clerk, brought it me to compile a few lines for the conclusion of it, which I did (though not without regret in those watchful times, when every man had eyes on him); but what I wrote was with all possible deference to the Governor and in the most soft terms my pen could find the case to admit.

Col. Spencer, being my neighbor and intimate friend, and a prevalent member in the Council, I prayed him to entreat the Governor we might be dissolved, for that was my first and should be my last going astray from my wonted sphere of merchandise and other my private concernments into the dark and slippery meanders of court embarrassments. He told me the Governor had not then determined his intention, but he would move his Honor about it, and in two or three days we were dissolved, which I was most heartily glad of, because of my getting loose again from being hampered amongst those pernicious entanglements in the labyrinths and snares of State ambiguities, and which until then I had not seen the practice nor the dangers of; for it was observed that several of the members had secret badges of distinction fixed upon them, as not docile enough to gallop the future races that court seemed disposed to lead them, whose maxims I had ofttimes heard whispered before, and then found confirmed by divers considerate gentlemen, viz., "That the wise and the rich were prone to faction and sedition, but the fools and poor were easy to be governed."

Many members being met one evening nigh sunset, to take our leaves each of other, in order next day to return homewards, came Gen. Bacon with his hand full of unfolded papers and overlooking us round, walking in the room, said, "Which of these gentlemen shall I entreat to write a few words for me?" where, every one looking aside

as not willing to meddle, Mr. Lawrence pointed at me, saying, "That gentleman writes very well;" which I endeavoring to excuse, Mr. Bacon came stooping to the ground and said, "Pray, sir, do me the honor to write a line for me."

This surprising accostment shocked me into a melancholy consternation, dreading upon one hand that Stafford County would feel the smart of his resentment if I should refuse him whose favor I had so lately sought and been generously promised on their behalf; and on the other hand fearing the Governor's displeasure, who I knew would soon hear of it. What seemed most prudent at this hazardous dilemma was to obviate the present impending peril; so Mr. Bacon made me sit the whole night by him filling up those papers, which I then saw were blank commissions signed by the Governor, inserting such names and writing other matters as he dictated; which I took to be the happy effects of the consult before-mentioned with the commanders of the militia, because he gave me the names of very few others to put into these commissions; and in the morning he left me with an hour's work or more to finish, when came to me Capt. Carver, and said he had been to wait on the General for a commission, and that he was resolved to adventure his old bones against the Indian rogues, with other the like discourse, and at length told me that I was in mighty favor and he was bid to tell me, that whatever I desired in the General's power was at my service. I prayed him humbly to thank his Honor, and to acquaint him I had no other boon to crave than his promised kindness to Stafford County, for beside the not being worthy, I never had been conversant in military matters, and also having lived tenderly, my service could be of no benefit, because the hardships and fatigues of a wilderness campaign would put a speedy period to my days. Little expecting to hear of more intestine broils, I went home to Potomac, where reports were afterwards various. We had account that General Bacon was marched with a thousand men into the forest to seek the enemy Indians, and in a few days after our next news was that the Governor had summoned together the militia of Gloucester and Middlesex Counties to the number of twelve hundred men, and proposed to them to follow and suppress that rebel Bacon; whereupon arose a murmuring before his face, "Bacon, Bacon, Bacon," and all walked out of the field, muttering as they went, "Bacon, Bacon, Bacon," leaving the Governor and those that came with him to themselves, who being thus abandoned wafted over Chesapeake Bay thirty miles to Accomac, where are two counties of Virginia.

Mr. Bacon, hearing of this, came back part of the way, and sent out parties of horse patrolling through every county, carrying away prisoners all whom he distrusted might any more molest his Indian persecu-

tion, yet giving liberty to such as pledged him their oaths to return home and live quiet; the copies or contents of which oaths I never saw, but heard were very strict, though little observed.

About this time was a spy detected pretending himself a deserter, who had twice or thrice come and gone from party to party, and was by council of war sentenced to death, after which Bacon declared openly to him, "That if any one man in the army would speak a word to save him, he should not suffer," which no man appearing to do, he was executed. Upon this manifestation of clemency Bacon was applauded for a merciful man, not willing to spill Christian blood; nor indeed was it said that he put any other man to death in cold blood, or plunder any house. Nigh the same time came Maj. Langston with his troop of horse and quartered two nights at my house, who (after high compliments from the General) told me I was desired "to accept the lieutenancy for preserving the peace in the s. northern counties betwixt Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers." I humbly thanked his Honor, excusing myself as I had done before on that invitation of the like nature at Jamestown, but did hear he was mightily offended at my evasions and threatened to remember me.

The Governor made a second attempt, coming over from Accomac with what men he could procure in sloops and boats forty miles up the river to Jamestown, which Bacon hearing of, came again down from his forest pursuit, and finding a bank not a flight shot long cast up thwart the neck of the peninsula there in Jamestown, he stormed it, and took the town, in which attack were twelve men slain and wounded, but the Governor with most of his followers fled back down the river in their vessels.

Here, resting a few days, they concerted the burning of the town, wherein Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Drumond, owning the two best houses save one, set fire each to his own house, which example the soldiers following, laid the whole town (with church and state-house) in ashes, saying, "The rogues should harbor no more there."

On these reiterated molestations, Bacon calls a convention at Middle Plantation, fifteen miles from Jamestown, in the month of August, 1676, where an oath with one or more proclamations were formed, and writs by him issued for an Assembly. The oaths or writs I never saw, but one proclamation commanded all men in the land on pain of death to join him, and retire into the wilderness upon arrival of the forces expected from England, and oppose them until they should propose or accept to treat of an accommodation, which we who lived comfortably could not have undergone, so as the whole land must have become an Aceldama if God's exceeding mercy had not timely removed him.

During these tumults in Virginia a second danger menaced Mary-

land by an insurrection in that province, complaining of their heavy taxes, etc., where two or three of the leading malcontents (men otherwise of laudable characters) were put to death, which stifled the farther spreading of that flame. Mr. Bacon (at this time) pressed the best ship in James River, carrying twenty guns, and putting into her his Lieutenant-General, Mr. Bland (a gentleman newly come thither from England to possess the estate of his deceased uncle, late of the Council), and under him the forementioned Capt. Carver, formerly a commander of merchants' ships, with men and all necesaries, he sent her to ride before Accomac to curb and intercept all smaller vessels of war commissioned by the Governor, coming often over and making depredations on the western shore, as if we had been foreign enemies, which gives occasion to this place to digress a few words.

At first Assembly after the peace, came a message to them from the Governor for some marks of distinction to be set on his loyal friends of Accomac, who received him in his adversity; which when came to be considered, Col. Warner (then Speaker) told the House, "Ye know that what mark of distinction his Honor could have set on those of Accomac, unless to give them ear marks or burnt marks for robbing and ravaging honest people, who stayed at home and preserved the estates of those who ran away, when none intended to hurt them."

Now returning to Capt. Carver, the Governor sent for him to come on shore, promising his peaceable return, who answered, "He could not trust his word, but if he would send his hand and seal, he would adventure to wait upon his Honor," which was done, and Carver went in his sloop well armed and manned with the most trusty of his men, where he was caressed with wine, etc, and large promises, if he would forsake Bacon, resign his ship or join with him; to all which he answered that "If he served the devil he would be true to his trust, but that he was resolved to go home and live quiet."

In the time of this reception and parley, an armed boat was prepared with many oars in a creek not far off, but out of sight, which when Carver sailed, rowed out of the creek, and it being almost calm the boat outwent the sloop, whilst all on board the ship were upon the deck, staring at both, thinking the boat's company coming on board by Carver's invitation to be civilly entertained in requital of the kindness they supposed he had received on shore, until coming under the stern, those in the boat slipped nimbly in at the gunroom ports with pistols, etc., when one courageous gentleman ran up to the deck, and clapped a pistol to Bland's breast, saying, "You are my prisoner," the boat's company suddenly following with pistols, swords, etc., and after Capt. Larimore (the commander of the ship before she was pressed) having from the highest and hindmost part of the stern interchanged a signal

from the shore by flirting his handkerchief about his nose, his own former crew had laid handspikes ready, which they (at that instant) caught up, etc., so as Bland and Carver's men were amazed, and, yielded.

Carver, seeing a hurly-burly on the ship's deck, would have gone away with his sloop, but having little wind and the ship threatening to sink him, he tamely came on board, where Bland and he with their party were laid in irons and in three or four days Carver was hanged on shore, which Sir Henry Chicheley, the first of the Council, then a prisoner (with divers other gentlemen) to Mr. Bacon, did afterwards exclaim against as a most rash and wicked act of the Governor, he (in particular) expecting to have been treated, by way of reprisal, as Bacon's friend Carver had been by the Governor. Mr. Bacon now returns from his last expedition sick of a flux, without finding any enemy Indians, having not gone far by reason of the vexations behind him; nor had he one dry day in all his marches to and fro in the forest, whilst the plantations (not fifty miles distant) had a summer so dry as stinted the Indian-corn and tobacco, etc., which the people ascribed to the pow-wowings (*i. e.* the sorceries of the Indians). In awhile Bacon dies and was succeeded by his Lieutenant-Gen. Ingram, who had one Wakelet next in command under him, whereupon hastened over the Governor to York River, and with him they articled for themselves and whom else they could, and so all submitted and were pardoned, exempting those nominated and otherwise proscribed, in a proclamation of indemnity, the principal of whom were Lawrence and Drumond.

Mr. Bland was then a prisoner, having been taken with Carver, as before is noted, and in few days Mr. Drumond was brought in, when the Governor, being on board a ship, came immediately to shore and complimented him with the ironical sarcasm of a low bend, saying, "Mr. Drumond! you are very welcome; I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia. Mr. Drumond, you shall be hanged in half an hour;" who answered, "What your Honor pleases;" and as soon as a council of war could meet, his sentence be dispatched and a gibbet erected (which took up near two hours) he was executed.

This Mr. Drumond was a sober Scotch gentleman of good repute, with whom I had not a particular acquaintance; nor do I know the cause of that rancor his Honor had against him, other than his pretensions in common for the public, but meeting him by accident the morning I left the town, I advised him to be very wary, for he saw the Governor had put a brand upon him. He, gravely expressing my name, answered, "I am in over shoes, I will be over boots," which I was sorry to hear, and left him.

The last account of Mr. Lawrence was from an uppermost plantation, whence he and four others, desperadoes, with horses, pistols, etc.,

marched away in a snow ankle-deep, who were thought to have cast themselves into a branch of some river, rather than to be treated like Drumond.

Bacon's body was so made away, as his bones were never found to be exposed on a gibbet as was purposed, stones being laid in his coffin, supposed to be done by Lawrence.

Near this time arrived a small fleet with a regiment from England, Sir John Berry, Admiral; Col. Herbert Jefferyes, commander of the land forces; and Col. Morrison, who had one year been a former Governor. There, all three joined in commission with or to Sir William Barclay, soon after when a general court and also an Assembly were held, where some of our former Assembly (with so many others) were put to death, divers whereof were persons of honest reputations and handsome estates, as that the Assembly petitioned the Governor to spill no more blood; and Mr. Presley, at his coming home, told me he believed the Governor would have hanged half the country if they had let him alone. The first was Mr. Bland, whose friends in England had procured his pardon to be sent over with the fleet, which he pleaded at his trial was in the Governor's pocket (though whether 't was so, or how it came there, I know not, yet did not hear 't was openly contradicted), but he was answered by Col. Morrison that he pleaded his pardon at sword's point, which was looked upon an odd sort of reply, and he was executed; as was talked, by private instructions from England, the Duke of York having sworn, "By God, Bacon and Bland should die."

The Governor went in the fleet to London (whether by command from his Majesty or spontaneous, I did not hear), leaving Col. Jefferyes in his place, and by next shipping came back a person who waited on his Honor in his voyage (and until his death), from whom a report was whispered about, that the King did say, "That old fool has hanged more men in that naked country than he had done for the murder of his father;" whereof the Governor hearing died soon after, without having seen his Majesty:—which shuts up this tragedy.

Peter Folger.

BORN in Norwich, England, 1618. DIED at Nantucket, Mass., 1690.

A HOMELY PLEA FOR TOLERATION.

[*A Looking-Glass for the Times.* 1677.]

LET all that read these verses know,
That I intend something to show
About our war, how it hath been
And also what is the chief sin,
That God doth so with us contend
And when these wars are like to end.
Read them in love; do not despise
What here is set before thine eyes.

New England for these many years
hath had both rest and peace,
But now the case is otherwise;
our troubles doth increase.

The plague of war is now begun
in some great colonies,
And many towns are desolate
we may see with our eyes.

The loss of many goodly men
we may lament also,
Who in the war have lost their lives,
and fallen by our foe.

Our women also they have took
and children very small,
Great cruelty they have used
to some, though not to all.

The enemy that hath done this,
are very foolish men,
Yet God doth take of them a rod
to punish us for sin.

If we then truly turn to God,
He will remove his ire,
And will forthwith take this his rod,
and cast it into fire.

Let us then search, what is the sin
that God doth punish for;
And when found out, cast it away
and ever it abhor.

Sure 'tis not chiefly for those sins,
that magistrates do name,
And make good laws for to suppress,
and execute the same.

But 'tis for that same crying sin,
that rulers will not own,
And that whereby much cruelty
to brethren hath been shown.

The sin of persecution
such laws established,
By which laws they have gone so far
as blood hath touched blood.

It is now forty years ago,
since some of them were made,
Which was the ground and rise of all
the persecuting trade.

Then many worthy persons were
banished to the woods,
Where they among the natives did,
lose their most precious bloods.

And since that, many godly men,
have been to prison sent,
They have been fined, and whipped also,
and suffered banishment.

The cause of this their suffering
was not for any sin,
But for the witness that they bare
against babe sprinkling.

Of later time there hath been some
men come into this land,
To warn the rulers of their sins
as I do understand.

They call on all, both great and small,
to fear God and repent;
And for their testimonies thus
they suffer a punishment.

Yea some of them they did affirm,
that they were sent of God,
To testify to great and small
that God would send his rod

Against those colonies, because
they did make laws not good;
And if those laws were not repeal'd
the end would be in blood.

And though that these were harmless men,
  and did no hurt to any,
But lived well like honest men,
  as testified by many;

Yet did these laws entrap them so,
  that they were put to death,—
And could not have the liberty
  to speak near their last breath.

But these men were, as I have heard,
  against our College men;
And this was, out of doubt to me,
  that which was most their sin.

They did reprove all hirelings,
  with a most sharp reproof,
Because they knew not how to preach
  till sure of means enough.

Now to the sufferings of these men
  I have but gave a hint;
Because that in George Bishop's book
  you may see all in print.

. . . . . .

Let Magistrates and ministers
  consider what they do:
Let them repeal those evil laws
  and break those bands in two

Which have been made as traps and snares
  to catch the innocents,
And whereby it has gone so far
  to acts of violence.

I see you write yourselves in print,
  the Balm of Gilead;
Then do not act as if you were
  like men that are half mad.

If you can heal the land, what is
  the cause things are so bad?
I think instead of that, you make
  the hearts of people sad.

Is this a time for you to press,
  to draw the blood of those
That are your neighbors and your friends?
  as if you had no foes.

. . . . . .

I would not have you for to think,
  tho' I have wrote so much,
That I hereby do throw a stone
  at magistrates, *as such.*

The rulers in the country, I
do own them in the Lord;
And such as are for government,
with them I do accord.

But that which I intend hereby,
is, that they would keep bounds,
And meddle not with God's worship,
for which they have no ground.

And I am not alone herein,
there's many hundreds more,
That have for many years ago
spake much upon that score.

Indeed I really believe,
it's not your business
To meddle with the Church of Christ
in matters more or less.

There's work enough to do besides,
to judge in *mine* and *thine:*
To succor poor and fatherless,
that is the work in fine.

And I do think that now you find
enough of that to do;
Much more at such a time as this,
as there is war also.

Indeed I count it very low,
for people in these days,
To ask the rulers for their leave
to serve God in his ways.

I count it worse in magistrates
to use the iron sword,
To do that work which Christ alone
will do by his own word.

The Church may now go stay at home,
there's nothing for to do;
Their work is all cut out by law,
and almost made up too.

Now, reader, least you should mistake,
in what I said before
Concerning ministers, I think
to write a few words more.

I would not have you for to think
that I am such a fool,
To write against learning, as such,
or to cry down a school.

But 'tis that Popish college way,
that I intend hereby,
Where men are mew'd up in a cage;
fit for all villainy.

. . . . . .

Now for the length of time, how long
these wars are like to be,
I may speak something unto that,
if men will reason see.

The Scripture doth point out the time,
and 'tis as we do choose,
For to obey the voice of God,
or else for to refuse.

The prophet Jeremy doth say,
when war was threat'ned sore,
That if men do repent and turn
God will afflict no more.

But such a turning unto God,
as is but verbally,
When men refuse for to reform,
it is not worth a fly.

'Tis hard for you, as I do hear,
though you be under rod,
To say to Israel, Go, you,
and serve the Lord your God.

Though you do many prayers make,
and add fasting thereto,
Yet if your hands be full of blood,
all this will never do.

The end that God doth send his sword,
is that we might amend,
Then, if that we reform aright,
the war will shortly end.

New England they are like the Jews,
as like as like can be;
They made large promises to God,
at home and at the sea.

They did proclaim free Liberty,
they cut the calf in twain,
They part between the part thereof,
O this was all in vain.

For since they came into this land,
they floated to and fro,
Sometimes, then, brethren may be free,
while hence to prison go.

According as the times to go,
and weather is abroad,
So we can serve ourselves sometimes
and sometimes serve the Lord.

. . . . . .

If that the peace of God did rule,
with power in our heart,
Then outward war would flee away,
and rest would be our part.

If we do love our brethren,
and do to them, I say,
As we would they should do to us,
we should be quiet straightway.

But if that we a smiting go,
of fellow-servants so,
No marvel if our wars increase
and things so heavy go.

'T is like that some may think and say
our war would not remain,
If so be that a thousand more
of natives were but slain.

Alas! these are but foolish thoughts,
God can make more arise,
And if that there were none at all,
he can make war with flies.

It is the presence of the Lord,
must make our foes to shake,
Or else it's like he will e'er long
know how to make us quake.

Let us lie low before the Lord,
in all humility,
And then we shall with Asa see
our enemies to fly.

But if that we do leave the Lord,
and trust in fleshly arm,
Then 't is no wonder if that we
do hear more news of harm.

Let 's have our faith and hope in God,
and trust in him alone,
And then no doubt this storm of war
it quickly will be gone.

Thus, reader, I, in love to all,
leave these few lines with thee,
Hoping that in the substance we
shall very well agree.

If that you do mistake the verse
for its uncomely dress,
I tell thee true, I never thought
that it would pass the press.

If any at the matter kick,
it's like he's galled at heart,
And that's the reason why he kicks,
because he finds it smart.

I am for peace, and not for war,
and that's the reason why
I write more plain than some men do,
that use to daub and lie.

But I shall cease and set my name
to what I here insert,
Because to be a libeller,
I hate it with my heart.

From Sherbon town, where now I dwell,
my name I do put here,
Without offence your real friend,
it is PETER FOLGER.

Captain Thomas Wheeler.

BORN in England. A Resident of Concord, Mass. DIED, 1686.

THE SIEGE OF BROOKFIELD.

[*A Thankefull Remembrance of Gods Mercy to several Persons at Quabaug or Brookfield.* 1676.]

A true narrative of the Lord's Providences in various dispensations towards Captain Edward Hutchinson of Boston and myself, and those that went with us into the Nipmuck Country, and also to Quabaug, alias Brookfield: The said Captain Hutchinson having a Commission from the Honored Council of this Colony to Treat with several Sachems in those parts in order to the public peace, and myself being also ordered by the said Council to accompany him with part of my Troop for Security from any danger that might be from the Indians: and to Assist him in the Transaction of matters committed to him.

THE said Captain Hutchinson and myself with about twenty men or more marched from Cambridge to Sudbury, July 28th, '75, and from thence into the Nipmuck country, and finding that the Indians had deserted their towns, and we having gone until we came within twenty miles of New Norwich, on July 31st (only we saw two Indians having an horse with them, whom we would have spoke with, but they

fled from us and left their horse, which we took). We then thought it not expedient to march any further that way, but set our march for Brookfield, whither we came on the Lord's day about noon. From thence the same day (being August 1st), we understanding that the Indians were about ten miles north-west from us, we sent out four men to acquaint the Indians that we were not come to harm them, but our business was only to deliver a message from our honored Governor and Council to them, and to receive their answer, we desiring to come to a treaty of peace with them (though they had for several days fled from us), they having before professed friendship and promised fidelity to the English.

When the messengers came to them, they made an alarm and gathered together about an hundred and fifty fighting men, as near as they could judge. The young men amongst them were stout in their speeches and surly in their carriage. But at length three of the chief Sachems promised to meet us on the next morning about eight of the clock, upon a plain within three miles of Brookfield, with which answer the messengers returned to us. Whereupon, though their speeches and carriage did much discourage divers of our company, yet we conceived that we had a clear call to go to meet them at the place whither they had promised to come. Accordingly we with our men accompanied with three of the principal inhabitants of that town marched to the plain appointed; but the treacherous Heathen intending mischief (if they could have opportunity) came not to the said place, and so failed our hopes of speaking with them there. Whereupon the said Captain Hutchinson and myself with the rest of our company considered what was best to be done, whether we should go any further towards them, or return, divers of us apprehending much danger in case we did proceed, because the Indians kept not promise there with us. But the three men who belonged to Brookfield were so strongly persuaded of their freedom from any ill intentions towards us (as upon other grounds, so especially because the greatest part of those Indians belonged to David, one of their chief Sachems, who was taken to be a great friend to the English), that the said Captain Hutchinson, who was principally instructed with the matter of treaty with them, was thereby encouraged to proceed and march forward towards a swamp where the Indians then were.

When we came near the said swamp, the way was so very bad that we could march only in a single file, there being a very rocky hill on the right hand and a thick swamp on the left, in which there were many of those cruel bloodthirsty Heathen, who there waylaid us, waiting an opportunity to cut us off; there being also much brush on the side of the said hill, where they lay in ambush to surprise us. When

we had marched there about sixty or seventy rods, the said perfidious Indians sent out their shot upon us as a shower of hail, they being, as was supposed, about two hundred men or more. We seeing ourselves so beset, and not having room to fight, endeavored to fly for the safety of our lives. In which flight we were in no small danger to be all cut off, there being a very miry swamp before us, into which we could not enter with our horses to go forwards; and there being no safety in retreating the way we came, because many of our enemies, who lay behind the bushes and had let us pass by them quietly, when others had shot, they came out and stopt our way back;—so that we were forced as we could to get up the steep and rocky hill. But the greater our danger was, the greater was God's mercy in the preservation of so many from sudden destruction. Myself being gone up part of the hill without any hurt, and perceiving some of my men to be fallen by the enemies' shot, I wheeled about upon the Indians, not calling on my men who were left to accompany me, which they in all probability would have done had they known of my return upon the enemy. They firing violently out of the swamp, and from behind the bushes on the hillside, wounded me sorely and shot my horse under me, so that he faltering and falling, I was forced to leave him, divers of the Indians being then but a few rods distant from me. My son Thomas Wheeler flying with the rest of the company missed me amongst them, and fearing that I was either slain or much endangered, returned towards the swamp again, though he had then received a dangerous wound in the reins; where he saw me in the danger aforesaid. Whereupon he endeavored to rescue me, showing himself therein a loving and dutiful son, he adventuring himself into great peril of his life to help me in that distress; there being many of the enemies about him. My son set me on his own horse, and so escaped awhile on foot himself, until he caught an horse whose rider was slain, on which he mounted, and so through God's great mercy we both escaped. But in this attempt for my deliverance he received another dangerous wound by their shot in his left arm.

There were then slain to our great grief eight men, viz.—Zechariah Philips of Boston, Timothy Farlow of Billericay, Edward Coleborn of Chelmsford, Samuel Smedly of Concord, Sydrach Hopgood of Sudbury, Sergeant Eyres, Sergeant Prichard, and Corporal Coy, the inhabitants of Brookfield aforesaid. It being the good pleasure of God that they should all there fall by their hands, of whose good intentions they were so confident, and whom they so little mistrusted. There were also then five persons wounded, viz., Captain Hutchinson, myself and my son Thomas as aforesaid, Corporal French of Billericay, who having killed an Indian was (as he was taking up his gun) shot, and part of one of

his thumbs taken off, and also dangerously wounded through the body near the shoulder. The fifth was John Waldoe of Chelmsford, who was not so dangerously wounded as the rest. They also then killed five of our horses and wounded some more, which soon died after they came to Brookfield. Upon this sudden and unexpected blow given us (wherein we desire to look higher than man, the instrument) we returned to the town as fast as the badness of the way and the weakness of our wounded men would permit, we being then ten miles from it. All the while we were going we durst not stay to staunch the bleeding of our wounded men for fear the enemy should have surprised us again, which they attempted to do, and had in probability done, but that we perceiving which way they went, wheeled off to the other hand, and so by God's good Providence towards us, they missed us; and we all came readily upon, and safely to the town, though none of us knew the way to it, those of the place being slain as aforesaid, and we avoiding any thick woods and riding in open places to prevent danger by them. Being got to the town we speedily betook ourselves to one of the largest and strongest houses therein, where we fortified ourselves in the best manner we could in such straits of time, and there resolved to keep garrison, though we were but few, and meanly fitted to make resistance against so many enemies. The news of the Indians' treacherous dealing with us, and the loss of so many of our company thereby, did so amaze the inhabitants of the town, that they being informed thereof by us presently left their houses, divers of them carrying very little away with them, they being afraid of the Indians' sudden coming upon them: and so came to the house we were entered into, very meanly provided of clothing, or furnished with provisions.

I perceiving myself to be disenabled for the discharge of the duties of my place by reason of the wound I had received, and apprehending that the enemy would soon come to spoil the town and assault us in the house, I appointed Simon Davis of Concord, James Richardson and John Fiske of Chelmsford to manage affairs for our safety with those few men whom God hath left us, and were fit for any service, and the inhabitants of the said town,—who did well and commendably perform the duties of the trust committed to them, with much courage and resolution, through the assistance of our gracious God, who did not leave us in our low and distressed state, but did mercifully appear for us in our greatest need, as in the sequel will clearly be manifested.

Within two hours after our coming to the said house, or less, the said Captain Hutchinson and myself posted away Ephraim Curtis of Sudbury and Henry Young of Concord to go to the honored Council at Boston to give them an account of the Lord's dealings with us and our present condition. When they came to the further end of the town

they saw the enemy rifling of houses which the inhabitants had forsaken. The post fired upon them and immediately returned to us again, they discerning no safety in going forward, and being desirous to inform us of the enemies' actings, that we might the more prepare for a sudden assault by them. Which indeed presently followed, for as soon as the said post was come back to us, the barbarous Heathen pressed upon us in the house with great violence, sending in their shot amongst us like hail through the walls, and shouting as if they would have swallowed us up alive; but our good God wrought wonderfully for us, so that there was but one man wounded within the house, viz., the said Henry Young who, looking out at a garret window that evening, was mortally wounded by a shot, of which wound he died within two days after. There was the same day another man slain, but not in the house. A son of Sergeant Prichard's, adventuring out of the house wherein we were to his father's house not far from it, to fetch more goods out of it, was caught by those cruel enemies as they were coming towards us, who cut off his head, kicking it about like a foot-ball, and then putting it upon a pole, they set it up before the door of his father's house, in our sight.

The night following the said blow, they did roar against us like so many wild bulls, sending in their shot amongst us till towards the moon-rising, which was about three of the clock; at which time they attempted to fire our house by hay and other combustible matter which they brought to one corner of the house and set it on fire. Whereupon some of our company were necessitated to expose themselves to very great danger to put it out. Simon Davis, one of the three appointed by myself as Captain, to supply my place by reason of my wounds as aforesaid, he, being of a lively spirit, encouraged the soldiers within the house to fire upon the Indians; and also those that adventured out to put out the fire (which began to rage and kindle upon the house side) with these and the like words, that "God is with us and fights for us, and will deliver us out of the hands of these Heathen,"—which expressions of his the Indians hearing, they shouted and scoffed, saying: "Now see how your God delivers you," or "will deliver you," sending in many shots whilst our men were putting out the fire. But the Lord of Hosts wrought very graciously for us, in preserving our bodies both within and without the house from their shot, and our house from being consumed by fire. We had but two men wounded in that attempt of theirs, but we apprehended that we killed divers of our enemies.

I being desirous to hasten intelligence to the honored Council of our present great distress, we being remote from any succor, it being between sixty and seventy miles from us to Boston, where the Council

useth to sit, and fearing our ammunition would not last long to withstand them if they continued so to assault us, I spake to Ephraim Curtis to adventure forth again on that service, and to attempt it on foot, as the way wherein there was most hope of getting away undiscovered. He readily assented and accordingly went out, but there were so many Indians everywhere thereabouts, that he could not pass without apparent hazard of life, so he came back again. Yet towards morning the said Ephraim adventured forth the third time, and was fain to creep on his hands and knees for some space of ground, that he might not be discerned by the enemy, who waited to prevent our sending, if they could have hindered it. But through God's mercy he escaped their hands and got safely to Marlborough, though very much spent and ready to faint by reason of want of sleep before he went from us and his sore travel night and day in that hot season till he got thither; from whence he went to Boston. Yet before the said Ephraim got to Marlborough, there was intelligence brought thither of the burning of some houses and killing some cattle at Quabaug by some who were going to Connecticut. But they seeing what was done at the end of the town, and hearing several guns shot off further within the town, they durst proceed no further, but immediately returned to Marlborough, though they then knew not what had befallen Captain Hutchinson and myself and company, nor of our being there. But that timely intelligence they gave before Ephraim Curtis his coming to Marlborough, occasioned the honored Major Willard's turning his march towards Quabaug for our relief, who were in no small danger every hour of being destroyed; the said Major being, when he had that intelligence, upon his march another way as he was ordered by the honored Council, as is afterwards more fully expressed.

The next day being August 3d they continued shooting and shouting, and proceeded in their former wickedness, blaspheming the name of the Lord and reproaching us, his afflicted servants, scoffing at our prayers as they were sending in their shot upon all quarters of the house. And many of them went to the town's meeting-house, which was within twenty rods of the house in which we were, who mocked, saying: "Come and pray and sing psalms," and in contempt made an hideous noise somewhat resembling singing. But we to our power did endeavor our own defence, sending our shot amongst them, the Lord giving us courage to resist them, and preserving us from the destruction they sought to bring upon us. On the evening following we saw our enemies carrying several of their dead or wounded men on their backs, who proceeded that night to send in their shot as they had done the night before, and also still shouted as if the day had been certainly theirs, and they should without fail have prevailed against us; which

they might have the more hopes of in regard that we discerned the coming of new companies to them to assist and strengthen them, and the unlikelihood of any coming to our help.

They also used several stratagems to fire us, namely, by "wild fire" in cotton and linen rags with brimstone in them, which rags they tied to the piles of their arrows, sharp for the purpose, and shot them to the roof of our house, after they had set them on fire; which would have much endangered the burning thereof had we not used means, by cutting holes through the roof and otherwise, to beat the said arrows down, and God being pleased to prosper our endeavors therein. They carried more combustible matter, as flax and hay, to the sides of the house and set it on fire, and then flocked apace towards the door of the house, either to prevent our going forth to quench the fire as we had done before, or to kill our men in their attempt to go forth; or else to break into the house by the door. Whereupon we were forced to break down the wall of the house against the fire to put it out. They also shot a ball of "wild fire" into the garret of the house, which fell amongst a great heap of flax or tow therein; which one of our soldiers through God's good Providence soon espied, and having water ready, presently quenched it. And so we were preserved by the Keeper of Israel, both our bodies from their shot, which they sent thick against us, and the house from being consumed to ashes, although we were but weak to defend ourselves; we being not above twenty and six men with those of that small town who were able for any service, and our enemies, as I judged them, about (if not above) three hundred. I speak of the least, for many there present did guess them to be four or five hundred. It is the more to be observed that so little hurt should be done by the enemies' shot, it commonly piercing the walls of the house and flying amongst the people, and there being in the house fifty women and children besides the men before mentioned. But abroad in the yard one Thomas Wilson of that town, being sent to fetch water for our help in further need (that which we had being spent in putting out the fire), was shot by the enemy in the upper jaw and in the neck, the anguish of which wound was such at the first that he cried out with a great noise, by reason whereof the Indians hearing him rejoiced and triumphed at it. But his wound was healed in a short time, praised be God.

On Wednesday, August the fourth, the Indians fortified themselves at the meeting-house, and the barn belonging to our house, which they fortified both at the great doors at both ends with posts, rails, boards, and hay to save themselves from our shot. They also devised other stratagems to fire our house on the night following, namely, they took a cart, and filled it with flax, hay and candlewood, and other combus-

tible matter, and set up planks fastened to the cart to save themselves from the danger of our shot. Another invention they had, to make the more sure work in burning the house: They got many poles of a considerable length and bigness and spliced them together at the ends one of another, and made a carriage of them about fourteen rods long, setting the poles in two rows with piles laid cross over them at the front end, and dividing them said poles about three foot asunder, and in the said front of this their carriage they set a barrel, having made an hole through both heads, and put an axle-tree through them, to which they fastened the said poles, and under every joint of the poles where they were spliced, they set up a pair of truckle wheels to bear up the said carriages; and they loaded the front or fore-end thereof with matter fit for firing, as hay, and flax, and chips, etc. Two of these instruments they prepared, that they might convey fire to the house with the more safety to themselves, they standing at such a distance from our shot whilst they wheeled them to the house. Great store of arrows they had also prepared to shoot fire upon the house that night; which we found after they were gone, they having left them there. But the Lord who is a present help in times of trouble, and is pleased to make his people's extremity his opportunity, did graciously prevent them of effecting what they hoped they should have done by the aforesaid devices; partly by sending a shower of rain in season, whereby the matter prepared being wet would not so easily take fire as it otherwise would have done, and partly by aid coming to our help. For our danger would have been very great that night, had not the only wise God (blessed forever) been pleased to send to us about an hour within night the worshipful Major Willard, with Captain Parker of Groton and forty-six men more with five Indians, to relieve us in the low estate into which we were brought.

Our eyes were unto Him the Holy One of Israel; in Him we desired to place our trust, hoping that He would in the time of our great need appear for our deliverance, and confound all their plots by which they thought themselves most sure to prevail against us. And God who comforteth the afflicted, as He comforted the holy Apostle Paul by the coming of Titus to him, so He greatly comforted us, his distressed servants, both soldiers and town inhabitants, by the coming of the said honored Major and those with him. In whose so soon coming to us the good Providence of God did marvellously appear. For the help that came to us by the honored Council's order, after the tidings they received by our post sent to them, came not to us till Saturday, August 7th, in the afternoon, nor sooner could it well come in regard of their distance from us, *i. e.*, if we had not had help before that time, we see not how we could have held out, the number of the Indians so increas-

ing, and they making so many assaults upon us, that our ammunition before that time would have been spent and ourselves disenabled for any resistance, we being but few, and always fain to stand upon our defence, that we had little time for refreshment of ourselves either by food or sleep. The said honorable Major's coming to us so soon was thus occasioned: He had a commission from the honored Council (of which himself was one) to look after some Indians to the westward of Lancaster and Groton, where he himself lived, and to secure them, and was upon his march towards them on the aforesaid Wednesday in the morning, August 4th. When tidings coming to Marlborough by those that returned thither as they were going to Connecticut, concerning what they saw at Brookfield as aforesaid, some of Marlborough knowing of the said Major's march from Lancaster that morning presently sent a post, to acquaint him with the information they had received. The Major was gone before the post came to Lancaster; but there was one speedily sent after him, who overtook him about five or six miles from the said town. He being acquainted that it was feared that Brookfield (a small town of about fifteen or sixteen families) was either destroyed or in great danger thereof, and conceiving it to require more speed to succor them (if they were not past help) than to proceed at present, as he before intended; and being also very desirous (if it were possible) to afford relief to them (he being then not above thirty miles from them), he immediately altered his course and marched with his company towards us; and came to us about an hour after it was dark, as above said; though he knew not then, neither of our being there nor of what had befallen us at the swamp and in the house those two days before.

The merciful Providence of God also appeared in preventing the danger that the honored Major and his company might have been in, when they came near to us; for those beastly men, our enemies, skilful to destroy, endeavored to prevent any help from coming to our relief, and therefore sent down sentinels (some nearer and some further off), the furthest about two miles from us, who if they saw any coming from the Bay they might give notice by an alarm. And there were about an hundred of them who for the most part kept at an house some little distance from us, by which, if any help came from the said Bay, they must pass, and so they intended (as we conceive) having notice by their sentinels of their approach to waylay them, and, if they could, to cut them off before they came to the house where we kept.

But as we probably guess, they were so intent and busy in preparing their instruments (as above said) for our destruction by fire that they were not at the house where they used to keep for the purpose aforesaid, and that they heard not their sentinels when they shot; and so

the Major's way was clear from danger till he came to our house. And that it was their purpose so to have fallen upon him, or any other coming to us at that house, is the more probable in that (as we have since had intelligence from some of the Indians themselves) there was a party of them at another place who let him pass by them without the least hurt or opposition, waiting for a blow to be given him at the said house, and then they themselves to fall upon them in the rear, as they intended to have done with us at the swamp, in case we had fled back, as is before expressed. The Major and company were no sooner come to the house, and understood (though at first they knew not they were English who were in the house, but thought they might be Indians, and therefore were ready to have shot at us, till we discerning they were English by the Major's speaking, I caused the trumpet to be sounded) that the said Captain Hutchinson, myself and company, with the town's inhabitants, were there, but the Indians also discerned that there were some come to our assistance; whereupon they spared not their shot, but poured it out on them. But through the Lord's goodness, though they stood not far asunder one from another, they killed not one man, wounded only two of his company, and killed the Major's son's horse. After that we within the house perceived the Indians shooting so at them, we hastened the Major and all his company into the house as fast as we could, and their horses into a little yard before the house, where they wounded five other horses that night. After they were come into the house to us, the enemies continued their shooting some considerable time, so that we may well say, "Had not the Lord been on our side when these cruel Heathens rose up against us, they had then swallowed us up quick," when their wrath was kindled against us. But wherein they dealt proudly, the Lord was above them.

When they saw their divers designs unsuccessful, and their hopes therein disappointed, they then fired the house and barn (wherein they had before kept to lie in wait to surprise any coming to us) that by the light thereof they might the better direct their shot at us; but no hurt was done thereby, praised be the Lord. And not long after they burnt the meeting-house wherein their fortifications were, as also the barn which belonged to our house, and so perceiving more strength come to our assistance, they did, as we suppose, despair of effecting any more mischief against us. And therefore the greatest part of them towards the breaking of the day, August the fifth, went away and left us, and we were quiet from any further molestations by them; and on that morning we went forth of the house without danger, and so daily afterward; only one man was wounded about two days after, as he went out to look after horses, by some few of them skulking thereabouts. We cannot tell how many of them we killed in all that time, but one

that afterwards was taken confessed that there were killed and wounded about eighty men or more. Blessed be the Lord God of our Salvation who kept us from being all a prey to their teeth. But before they went away they burnt all the town except the house we kept in, and another that was not then finished. They also made great spoil of the cattle belonging to the inhabitants; and after our entrance into the house and during the time of our confinement there, they either killed or drove away almost all the horses of our company.

We continued there both well and wounded towards a fortnight, and August the thirteenth Captain Hutchinson and myself with the most of those that had escaped without hurt, and also some of the wounded, came from thence; my son Thomas and some other wounded men came not from thence, being not then able to endure travel so far as we were from the next town, till about a fortnight after. We came to Marlborough on August the fourteenth, where Captain Hutchinson being not recovered of his wound before his coming from Brookfield, and overtired with his long journey by reason of his weakness, quickly after grew worse and more dangerously ill, and on the nineteenth day of the said month died and was there the day after buried, the Lord being pleased to deny him a return to his own habitation and his near relations at Boston, though he was come the greatest part of his journey thitherward. The inhabitants of the town also not long after, men, women and children, removed safely with what they had left to several places, either where they had lived before their planting or sitting down there; or where they had relations to receive and entertain them. The honored Major Willard stayed at Brookfield some weeks after our coming away, there being several companies of soldiers sent up thither and to Hadley and the towns thereabouts, which are about thirty miles from Brookfield, whither also the Major went for a time upon the service of the country in the present war, and from whence, there being need of his presence for the ordering of matters concerning his own regiment and the safety of the towns belonging to it, he through God's goodness and mercy returned in safety and health to his house and dear relations at Groton.

Thus I have endeavored to set down and declare both what the Lord did against us in the loss of several persons' lives, and the wounding of others, some of which wounds were very painful in dressing, and long ere they were healed, besides many dangers that we were in, and fears that we were exercised with; and also what great things HE was pleased to do for us in frustrating their many attempts, and vouchsafing such a Deliverance to us.

Roger Clap.

BORN in Devonshire, England, 1609. DIED in Boston, Mass., 1692.

HOW THE PURITANS SUFFERED AND LOVED ONE ANOTHER.

[*Memoirs of Capt. Roger Clap, written about* 1676.]

NOW coming into this country, I found it a vacant wilderness, in respect of English. There were indeed some English at Plymouth and Salem, and some few at Charlestown, who were very destitute when we came ashore; and planting time being past, shortly after provision was not to be had for money. I wrote to my friends, namely to my dear father, to send me some provision; which accordingly he did, and also gave order to one of his neighbors to supply me with what I needed (he being a seaman): who coming hither, supplied me with divers things. But before this supply came, yea, and after too, (that being spent, and the then unsubdued wilderness yielding little food), many a time if I could have filled my belly, though with mean victuals, it would have been sweet unto me. Fish was a good help unto me and others. Bread was so very scarce, that sometimes I thought the very crusts of my father's table would have been very sweet unto me. And when I could have meal and water and salt boiled together, it was so good, who could wish better?

In our beginning many were in great straits for want of provision for themselves and their little ones. Oh, the hunger that many suffered, and saw no hope in an eye of reason to be supplied, only by clams, and mussels, and fish. We did quickly build boats, and some went a-fishing. But bread was with many a very scarce thing, and flesh of all kind as scarce. And in those days, in our straits, though I can not say God sent a raven to feed us, as he did the prophet Elijah, yet this I can say, to the praise of God's glory, that he sent not only poor ravenous Indians, which came with their baskets of corn on their backs to trade with us (which was a good supply unto many), but also sent ships from Holland and from Ireland with provisions, and Indian-corn from Virginia, to supply the wants of his dear servants in this wilderness, both for food and raiment. And when people's wants were great, not only in one town but in divers towns, such was the godly wisdom, care, and prudence (not selfishness, but self-denial), of our Governor Winthrop and his Assistants, that when a ship came laden with provisions, they did order that the whole cargo should be bought for a general stock; and so accordingly it was, and distribution was made to every town, and to every person in each town, as every man

had need. Thus God was pleased to care for his people in times of straits, and to fill his servants with food and gladness. Then did all the servants of God bless his holy name, and love one another with pure hearts fervently.

In those days God did cause his people to trust in him, and to be contented with mean things. It was not accounted a strange thing in those days to drink water, and to eat samp or hominy without butter or milk. Indeed, it would have been a strange thing to see a piece of roast beef, mutton or veal; though it was not long before there was roast goat. After the first winter, we were very healthy, though some of us had no great store of corn. The Indians did sometimes bring corn, and truck with us for clothing and knives; and once I had a peck of corn, or thereabouts, for a little puppy-dog. Frost-fish, mussels, and clams were a relief to many. If our provision be better now than it was then, let us not, and do you, dear children, take heed that you do not, forget the Lord our God. You have better food and raiment than was in former times; but have you better hearts than your forefathers had? If so, rejoice in that mercy, and let New England then shout for joy. Sure, all the people of God in other parts of the world, that shall hear that the children and grandchildren of the first planters of New England have better hearts and are more heavenly than their predecessors, they will doubtless greatly rejoice, and will say, "This is the generation whom the Lord hath blessed."

I took notice of it as a great favor of God unto me, not only to preserve my life, but to give me contentedness in all these straits; insomuch that I do not remember that ever I did wish in my heart that I had not come into this country, or wish myself back again to my father's house. Yea, I was so far from that, that I wished and advised some of my dear brethren to come hither also; and accordingly one of my brothers, and those two that married my two sisters, sold their means and came hither. The Lord Jesus Christ was so plainly held out in the preaching of the Gospel unto poor lost sinners, and the absolute necessity of the new birth, and God's Holy Spirit in those days was pleased to accompany the Word with such efficacy upon the hearts of many, that our hearts were taken off from Old England and set upon heaven. The discourse not only of the aged, but of the youth also, was not, "How shall we go to England?" (though some few did not only so discourse, but also went back again), but, "How shall we go to heaven?"

THE BUILDING OF BOSTON CASTLE.

[*From the Same.*]

BEFORE I proceed any further, I will inform you that God stirred up his poor servants to use means in their beginning for their preservation; though a low and weak people, yet a willing people to lay out their estates for the defence of themselves and others. They having friends in divers places who thought it best for our safety to build a fort upon the island now called Castle Island, at first they built a castle with mud walls, which stood divers years. First, Capt. Simpkins was commander thereof; and after him Lieut. Monish for a little space. When the mud walls failed, it was built again with pine trees and earth; and Capt. Davenport was commander. When that decayed, which was within a little time, there was a small castle built with brick walls, and had three rooms in it—a dwelling-room below, a lodging-room over it, the gun-room over that, wherein stood six very good saker guns, and over it, upon the top, three lesser guns. All the time of our weakness, God was pleased to give us peace, until the wars with the Dutch, in Charles the Second's time. At that time our works were very weak, and intelligence came to us that De Ruyter, a Dutch commander of a squadron of ships, was in the West Indies, and did intend to visit us; whereupon our battery also was repaired, wherein are seven good guns. But in the very time of this report, in July, 1665, God was pleased to send a grievous storm of thunder and lightning, which did some hurt at Boston, and struck dead here at the Castle Island that worthy, renowned Captain, Richard Davenport. Upon which the General Court, in August 10th following, appointed another Captain in the room of him that was slain. But, behold! God wrought for us; for although De Ruyter intended to come here, yet God by contrary winds kept him out; so he went to Newfoundland, and did great spoil there. And again, when danger grew on us by reason of the late wars with Holland, God permitted our castle at that very time to be burnt down, which was on the 21st day of March, 1672–3. But still God was pleased to keep this place in safety. The Lord enlarge our hearts unto thankfulness!

THORNS IN THE FLESH OF THE FATHERS.

[*From the Same.*]

I WILL now return unto what I began to hint unto you before, namely, that Satan and his instruments did malign us, and oppose our godly preachers, saying they were legal preachers, but themselves were for free grace and for the teachings of the Spirit; and they prevailed so by their flatteries and fair speeches, that they led away not only "silly women, laden with their lusts," but many men also, and some of strong parts too, who were not ashamed to give out that our ministers were but legal preachers, and so endeavored to bring up an evil report upon our faithful preachers, that they themselves might be in high esteem; and many of them would presume to preach in private houses, both men and women, much like the Quakers. They would talk of the Spirit, and of revelations by the Spirit without the Word, as the Quakers do talk of the Light within them, rejecting the holy Scriptures. But God, by his servants assembled in a Synod at Cambridge in 1637, did discover his truth most plainly, to the establishment of his people, and the changing of some, and to the recovery of not a few, which had been drawn away with their dissimulations. Thus God delivered his people out of the snare of the devil at that time. Let us, and do you in your generations, bless the holy name of the Lord. "The snare is broken, and we and ours are delivered." There were some that not only stood out obstinate against the truth, but continually reviled both our godly ministers and magistrates, and greatly troubled our Israel. But, by order of the General Court, they were banished out of this jurisdiction; and then had the churches rest, and were multiplied.

Many years after this, Satan made another assault upon God's poor people here, by stirring up the Quakers to come amongst us, both men and women; who pretended holiness and perfection, saying they spake and acted by the Spirit and Light within, which (as they say) is their guide; and most blasphemously said that the Light within is the Christ, the Saviour, and deceived many to their persuasion. But, blessed be God, the Government and Churches both did bear witness against them and their loathsome and pernicious doctrine; for which they were banished out of this jurisdiction, not to return without license, upon pain of death. The reason of that law was because God's people here could not worship the true and living God, as He hath appointed us in our public assemblies, without being disturbed by them; and other weighty reasons, as the dangerousness of their opinions, etc. Some of them presumed to return, to the loss of their lives for breaking that law, which was made for our peace and safety.

Now as Satan has been a lying spirit to deceive and ensnare the mind, to draw us from God by error, so hath he stirred up evil men to seek the hurt of this country. But God hath delivered his poor people here from time to time; sometimes by putting courage into our magistrates to punish those that did rebel, and sometimes God hath wrought for us by his providence other ways. Here was one Ratcliff spake boldly and wickedly against the Government and Governors here, using such words as some judged deserved death. He was for his wickedness whipped, and had both his ears cut off in Boston, A. D. 1631. I saw it done. There was one Morton, that was a pestilent fellow, a troubler of the country, who did not only seek our hurt here, but went to England and did his utmost there, by false reports against our Governor; but God wrought for us, and saved us, and caused all his designs to be of none effect. There arose up against us one Bull, who went to the eastward a trading, and turned pirate, and took a vessel or two, and plundered some planters thereabouts, and intended to return into the Bay, and do mischief to our magistrates here in Dorchester and other places. But, as they were weighing anchor, one of Mr. Short's men shot from the shore and struck the principal actor dead, and the rest were filled with fear and horror. They having taken one Anthony Dicks, a master of a vessel, did endeavor to persuade him to pilot them unto Virginia; but he would not. They told him that they were filled with such fear and horror that they were afraid of the very rattling of the ropes; this, Mr. Dicks told me with his own mouth. These men fled eastward, and Bull himself got into England; but God destroyed this wretched man. . . . . .

About that time, or not long after, God permitted Satan to stir up the Pequot Indians to kill divers Englishmen, as Mr. Oldham, Mr. Tilly, and others; and when the murderers were demanded, instead of delivering them, they proceeded to destroy more of our English about Connecticut; which put us upon sending out soldiers once and again, whom God prospered in their enterprises until the Pequot people were destroyed.

END OF VOL. I.

INDEX OF AUTHORS, ETC., IN VOL. I.

	PAGE
Alsop, George	403
Bacon, Nathaniel	448
Bay Psalm Book, The	211
Berkeley, Sir William	445
Bradford, William	93
"Bradford's and Winslow's Journal"	116
Bradstreet, Anne	311
Bulkley, Peter	244
Cambridge Platform, The	285
Clap, Roger	496
Cotton, John	253
Cudworth, James	390
Davenport, John	386
Denton, Daniel	419
Dudley, Thomas	290
Eliot, John	332
Folger, Peter	479
Gookin, Daniel	433
Hammond, John	343
Higginson, Francis	140
Holyoke, Edward	351
Hooke, William	202
Hooker, Thomas	189
Johnson, Captain Edward	316
Josselyn, John	427
Mason, Major John	180
Mather, Richard	170
Morrell, William	138
Morton, Nathaniel	412
Morton, Thomas	147
Norton, John	361
Norwood, Colonel	50
Noyes, James	274
Percy, George	32
Pory, John	41
Quaker Petition, The	401
Quakers, Letters of the	394
Rich, R.	21
Rolfe, John	17
Shepard, Thomas	216
Smith, Captain John	3
Stone, Samuel	272
Strachey, William	24
Thacher, Anthony	165
"T. M."	462
Underhill, Captain John	175
Walley, Thomas	410
Ward, Nathaniel	276
Welde, Thomas	233
Wheeler, Captain Thomas	485
Whitaker, Alexander	36
Williams, Roger	246
Winslow, Edward	130
Winthrop, John	291
Winthrop, Margaret	310
Wood, William	156
Woodbridge, Benjamin	359

Anonymous..... Pages 44, 290, 450.

A General Index of Authors and Selections will be found in the Closing Volume.

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